11

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru





KASHMIR 1940

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru

Volume Eleven

A Project of the
Jawaharlal Nehru
Memorial Fund



B. R. PUBLISHING CORPORATION
[Division of D. K. Publishers Distributors (P) Ltd.]
DELHI-110007

© ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

Enquires about copyright to:
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund
Teen Murti House, New Delhi-110011

ISBN 81-7018-491-6 (Set)
ISBN 81-7018-496-7 (Vol.. 11)

First published : 1978
Reprinted : 1988

Reprinted by: B.R.Publishing Corporation
(Division of D.K. Publishers Distributors (P) Ltd.)
at Regd. Office 29/9, Nangia Park, Shakti Nager,
Delhi-110007.
Printed at : D.K. Fine Arts Press Delhi.

PRINTED IN INDIA

Advisory Board

M. Chalapathi Rau
H.Y. Sharada Prasad
B.R. Nanda

General Editor

S. Gopal

FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in

civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.

Indira Gandhi

New Delhi
18 January 1972

Chairman
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

EDITORIAL NOTE

This volume opens with the Ramgarh Congress where the only resolution reiterated the inability of the Congress to participate in a war undertaken for 'imperialist ends' and reaffirmed that nothing short of complete independence could be accepted by the people of India. The Muslim League reacted with the 'Pakistan resolution' which Jawaharlal dismissed as a 'mad scheme'.

Jawaharlal as always advocated immediate action but Mahatma Gandhi felt that any step toward direct action would only result in defeating the very purpose of civil disobedience. The July resolution of the Congress Working Committee offered to cooperate with the British Government in the defence of the country if a full national government was set up. In their usual unimaginative fashion the British Government responded with the 'August Offer' which boiled down to a few seats in the Viceroy's Executive Council.

The Congress went back to its stand of noncooperation and resolved upon 'individual satyagraha'. Jawaharlal was chosen by Mahatma Gandhi to be the second satyagrahi but was arrested even before he could stage 'symbolic satyagraha'. At his trial he stated that it was his particular function and privilege to spread disaffection against the British Government in India. He was sentenced to four years rigorous imprisonment but from the very beginning felt that he would not serve the full term. This volume ends with his release on 4 December 1941 when all civil disobedience prisoners including Jawaharlal and Azad were set free.

Biographical footnotes which have appeared in earlier volumes are not repeated. Editorial omissions are indicated by dots.

Much of the material in this volume has been selected from the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru. The cooperation extended by the staff of the Nehru Memorial Library is acknowledged.

Shri Krishna Kripalani has permitted us to consult his papers. The Maharashtra Government and the National Archives of India have authorized us to utilize material in their possession. *The Bombay Chronicle*, *The Hindustan Times*, *National Herald*, and *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* have allowed us to reprint texts of speeches, statements, articles and editorials first published by them. The Asia Publishing House has permitted us to reprint one letter from *A Bunch of Old Letters*.

Our grateful thanks to Vivan Sundaram for allowing us to reproduce the photograph of Jawaharlal with Amrita Sher Gil.

The item entitled 'Five Years Later' is reprinted with the permission of the John Day Company, "Copyright (c) 1941 by The John Day Company, copyright renewed 1969 by Indira Gandhi, reprinted from TOWARD FREEDOM by Jawaharlal Nehru by permission of The John Day Company, publisher."

CONTENTS

1. India and the War

1	On the Eve of Ramgarh	11 March	1940	1
2	Why We Ask for a Constituent Assembly		1940	4
3	On the Edge of a Supreme Crisis	14 March	1940	7
4	The Task Ahead	17 March	1940	8
5	On the Patna Resolution	20 March	1940	11
6	To Carl Marzani	23 March	1940	12
7	To Edward C. Carter	8 April	1940	13
8	On the German Invasion of Scandinavia	10 April	1940	13
9	To V.K. Krishna Menon	12 April	1940	14
10	The Demand for Pakistan	13 April	1940	17
11	True Significance of a Constituent Assembly	18 April	1940	18
12	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	19 April	1940	21
13	No Change in Congress Attitude	19 April	1940	21
14	To V.K. Krishna Menon	27 April	1940	22
15	To Morris Henry Frank	29 April	1940	24
16	Dangers of Adventurism	6 May	1940	25
17	The Fundamental Issues at Stake	10 May	1940	27
18	On the New Secretary of State	May	1940	28
19	To Rajendra Prasad	16 May	1940	29
20	To V.K. Krishna Menon	16 May	1940	33
21	To Abul Kalam Azad	16 May	1940	34
22	U.P.P.C.C. Resolution on the War	19 May	1940	36

23	On the New Phase of the War Crisis	19 May	1940	39
24	To V.K. Krishna Menon	21 May	1940	40
25	To H.N. Spalding	22 May	1940	41
26	No Provisional Solutions	24 May	1940	45
27	The Unbridgeable Gulf	24 May	1940	46
28	Resist All Aggression	25 May	1940	48
29	To V.K. Krishna Menon	2 June	1940	50
30	On Mahatma Gandhi's Statement	12 June	1940	51
31	Congress Policy Unchanged	12 June	1940	52
32	Our Countrymen Abroad	14 June	1940	53
33	Working Committee Resolution on the War	14 June	1940	55
34	On the Resolution of the Working Committee	23 June	1940	63
35	The Pertinence of Nonviolence	30 June	1940	66
36	On the Political Situation	2 July	1940	67
37	A Realist Resolution	8 July	1940	68
38	No Compromise by the Congress	9 July	1940	70
39	Quatorze Juillet	16 July	1940	71
40	A Crumbling World	16 July	1940	73
41	To Abul Kalam Azad	16 July	1940	76
42	What of Us?	17 July	1940	77
43	To Abdul Ghaffar Khan	18 July	1940	80
44	To Vallabhbhai Patel	18 July	1940	81
45	To Peter J. Alvares	18 July	1940	82
46	India, China and England	21 July	1940	83
47	Dominion Status is Dead	27 July	1940	87
48	Fundamental Policy Unchanged	27 July	1940	87
49	Prudence or Courage?.	28 July	1940	89
50	The Price of Freedom	28 July	1940	91
51	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	29 July	1940	96
52	To Mrs. Rallia Ram	5 August	1940	97
53	To Mumtaz Shah Nawaz	6 August	1940	97
54	Seva Dal to Continue	7 August	1940	99
55	India in Travail	9 August	1940	99
56	The Parting of the Ways	10 August	1940	101

57	To Edward C. Carter	10 August	1940	114
58	Time for Action	11 August	1940	115
59	On the Ban on Volunteer Organizations	12 August	1940	118
60	Free India and the World	12 August	1940	119
61	A World Federation	16 August	1940	120
62	To Mohammed Yunus	20 August	1940	121
63	The Arrests in the United Provinces	21 August	1940	122
64	Nonviolence and the State	25 August	1940	123
65	Empires Must Go	27 August	1940	127
66	Cable to the President, India League, U.S.A.	29 August	1940	130
67	A Challenge to Indian Nationalism	1 September	1940	130
68	The Next Step	8 September	1940	133
69	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	8 September	1940	134
70	The Imminence of Satyagraha	10 September	1940	135
71	The Twofold Task	14 September	1940	136
72	No Indefinite Bondage	16 September	1940	139
73	Gandhi Jayanti	17 September	1940	140
74	The Coils of War	19 September	1940	141
75	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	19 September	1940	142
76	On the Verge	28 September	1940	142
77	Settlement with Britain Unlikely	29 September	1940	145
78	The Role of Kisans	3 October	1940	147
79	Swaraj and Social Justice	3 October	1940	148
80	Air Bombing of Cities	4 October	1940	149
81	The Congress and the Kisans	6 October	1940	150
82	The March of Mighty Events	6 October	1940	156
83	On Mahatma Gandhi's Statement	16 October	1940	160
84	On the Detention of Jaya Prakash Narayan	16 October	1940	161
85	Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon	17 October	1940	162
86	Five Years Later	17 October	1940	162

87	The Meaning of Swaraj	18 October	1940	181
88	A Report on His Own Tour	22 October	1940	183
89	To Mahatma Gandhi	24 October	1940	186
90	To H.C. Puxley	25 October	1940	187
91	Eastern Nations Unite!	25 October	1940	188
92	To Charan Singh	25 October	1940	189
93	To Arthur D. Wiser	26 October	1940	190
94	The Eastern Federation	28 October	1940	191
95	Conversations with Mahatma Gandhi	29-30 October	1940	192

2. The Congress Organization

1	To Rajendra Prasad	11 March	1940	203
2	To V.K. Krishna Menon	14 March	1940	203
3	To Jaipal Singh	15 March	1940	206
4	India, Burma and Ceylon	25 March	1940	207
5	To H.M. Desai	26 March	1940	209
6	To H.M. Desai	9 April	1940	210
7	To H.M. Desai	20 April	1940	211
8	To Abul Kalam Azad	21 April	1940	212
9	To N.S. Hardikar	24 April	1940	214
10	Rally Round the Congress	28 April	1940	215
11	To V.K. Krishna Menon	6 May	1940	216
12	To Abul Kalam Azad	11 May	1940	217
13	To B.I. Ali Khan	16 May	1940	218
14	The Problem of the North West Frontier	28 May	1940	219
15	Message to the Frontier	28 May	1940	219
16	An Appeal to the People of the Frontier Province	30 May	1940	220
17	No Return to Office	15 June	1940	221
18	The Khaksars	18 June	1940	221
19	To Mrs. Rallia Ram	11 July	1940	222
20	To J.B. Kripalani	11 July	1940	223
21	To Mahatma Gandhi	17 July	1940	224
22	To J.R. Jayewardene	1 August	1940	225

23	To the Secretary, Karnataka P.C.C.	4 August	1940	227
24	To Abul Kalam Azad	4 August	1940	228
25	To Mohammed Yunus	6 August	1940	229
26	To Abul Kalam Azad	7 August	1940	230
27	To J.R. Jayewardene	24 August	1940	231
28	To J.B. Kripalani	28 August	1940	233
29	Cable to the President, Indian Congress, Durban	29 August	1940	234
30	To Lal Bahadur Shastri	10 September	1940	234
31	On the Resolution of the Working Committee	18 September	1940	235
32	To Mahatma Gandhi	23 September	1940	236
33	To M.N. Roy	23 September	1940	237
34	To Sampurnanand	24 September	1940	239
35	The Coming Struggle	29 September	1940	239
36	A Note on Indo-Sri Lanka Relations	4 October	1940	240
37	To Syed Mahmud	12 October	1940	242
38	The Sikhs and the Congress	17 October	1940	245
39	On the Discussions of the Working Committee	17 October	1940	246
40	To Abul Kalam Azad	18 October	1940	247
41	To Vallabhbhai Patel	20 October	1940	248
42	To M.N. Roy	23 October	1940	249
43	To Abul Kalam Azad	24 October	1940	250
44	To Abul Kalam Azad	24 October	1940	251
45	To Abul Kalam Azad	25 October	1940	252

3. The Indian States

1	A Cry from Jobat	28 March	1940	257
2	To V.K. Krishna Menon	9 April	1940	259
3	Arson in Bidar	20 April	1940	261
4	To V.K. Krishna Menon	21 April	1940	262
5	What of the Indian States?	27 April	1940	264
6	The Congress and the States	1 June	1940	266
7	The Minority Problem in Kashmir	3 June	1940	267

8	Farewell Message to Kashmir	12 June	1940	268
9	To Dwarka Nath Kachru	1 July	1940	269
10	To the Secretary, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind	3 July	1940	272
11	To Amrit Kaur	28 July	1940	274
12	To Mahatma Gandhi	10 August	1940	275
13	The Anachronisms that are the Indian States	18 September	1940	277
14	To K.B. Menon	25 October	1940	280

4. National Planning Committee

1	To Begum Hamid Ali	24 March	1940	283
2	To Lakshmibai Rajwade	30 March	1940	284
3	To Abul Kalam Azad	20 April	1940	287
4	The Progress of Planning	1 May	1940	289
5	On the Work of the Sub-Committees	15 May	1940	298
6	Planning for India's Future	15 May	1940	300
7	The Importance of Planning	30 June	1940	302
8	The Task Ahead	30 June	1940	303
9	To Abul Kalam Azad	1 July	1940	304
10	To V.K.R.V. Rao	10 July	1940	306
11	To P.N. Katju	13 August	1940	308
12	To K.T. Shah	21 August	1940	309
13	The War and Planning	30 August	1940	310
14	The Purpose of Planning	4 October	1940	315
15	The Content of Social Welfare	20 October	1940	316

5. Large-Scale & Cottage Industries

1	The Demands of the Workers	10 April	1940	321

2	Boycott of Imperial Tobacco Company	13 April	1940	322
3	The Sugar Muddle	12 July	1940	323
4	To B.M. Birla	21 July	1940	326
5	To Rajendra Prasad	4 August	1940	327
6	The Handicrafts of Kashmir	20 August	1940	329
7	In Gorakhpur	13 October	1940	331

6. India and China

1	To Purshotamdas Thakurdas	6 April	1940	339
2	To Chu Chia-hwa	20 April	1940	339
3	To Chu Chia-hwa	16 May	1940	340
4	To Madame Chiang Kai-shek	11 July	1940	341
5	The Closing of the Burma-China Road	16 July	1940	342
6	To Madame Sun Yat-sen	20 July	1940	343
7	To Cheng Yin-fun	10 September	1940	344
8	Aerial Bombardment of China	4 October	1940	345
9	A New Road to China	28 October	1940	346
10	A Distinguished Visitor	28 October	1940	347

7. National Herald

1	To Sri Prakasa	9 July	1940	353
2	To K. Rama Rao	9 July	1940	353
3	To Raghunandan Saran	18 July	1940	354
4	To K. Rama Rao	23 August	1940	356
5	To M.N. Tholal	10 September	1940	357
6	Two Years of Storm and Stress	10 September	1940	358
7	On the Government Order	27 October	1940	358

1	To the Editor, Hindusthan Standard	4 March	1940	365
2	To Tushar Kanti Ghosh	4 March	1940	365
3	How India is Defended	26 April	1940	369
4	The Newspaper Man, the Censor and the Public	24 October	1940	371

9. General

1	To V.K. Krishna Menon	13 March	1940	377
2	To Michael Carritt	23 March	1940	377
3	To Edward Thompson	23 March	1940	378
4	To Syed Mahmud	27 March	1940	381
5	C.F. Andrews	5 April	1940	381
6	To Edward Thompson	7 April	1940	382
7	To Anne V. Paston	8 April	1940	385
8	To J. Vijayatunga	8 April	1940	385
9	To Jane Seymour Blomfield	8 April	1940	387
10	To Traverse Clement	24 April	1940	387
11	To Richard J. Walsh	27 April	1940	388
12	To Agatha Harrison	4 May	1940	390
13	To Edward Thompson	22 May	1940	392
14	The Role of Students in Politics	4 June	1940	392
15	To J.R.D. Tata	26 June	1940	393
16	To Eslanda Goode Robeson	10 July	1940	395
17	To W.E.B. Du Bois	12 July	1940	397
18	To Margaret W. Patterson	13 July	1940	398
19	To Florence Garvin	13 July	1940	398
20	Mohan Lal Kashmiri	13 July	1940	399
21	Kashmir	24-31 July	1940	401
22	To Surendraray Bapubhai Mehd	4 August	1940	416
23	To Richard J. Walsh	5 August	1940	417
24	To Amrit Kaur	6 August	1940	418

25	To V.K. Krishna Menon	9 August	1940	419
26	To Krishna Hutheesing	19 August	1940	421
27	To Constancia de la Mora	10 September	1940	422
28	Cable to Indira Nehru	10 September	1940	423
29	To Narinder Chand	10 September	1940	423
30	To Bharati Sarabhai	10 September	1940	424
31	To Hidayat Ullah Ansari	21 September	1940	424
32	To Mahatma Gandhi	21 September	1940	425
33	To Rajnikant M. Patel	21 September	1940	427
34	To V.K. Krishna Menon	21 September	1940	428
35	To R.S. Nimbkar	23 September	1940	429
36	To Horace G. Alexander	23 September	1940	430
37	To Krishna Kripalani	24 September	1940	430
38	To G.P. Hutheesing	25 September	1940	431
39	To Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya	25 September	1940	432
40	To R. Ramani	25 September	1940	433
41	Home-Coming	29 September	1940	434
42	To Mahatma Gandhi	2 October	1940	436
43	To Mridula Sarabhai	17 October	1940	438
44	Union of Free Nations	25 October	1940	438
45	To Rajan Nehru	25 October	1940	439
46	To Rajan Nehru	25 October	1940	440
47	To Brahma Prakash Sharma	25 October	1940	440
48	To Rajnikant M. Patel	26 October	1940	441
49	To Dorothy Enge	27 October	1940	442

10. Personal

1	To Indira Nehru	11 March	1940	445
2	To Indira Nehru	19 March	1940	447
3	To Indira Nehru	23 March	1940	449
4	To Indira Nehru	7 April	1940	452
5	To Indira Nehru	8 April	1940	456
6	To Indira Nehru	10 April	1940	457
7	To Indira Nehru	20 April	1940	458
8	To Indira Nehru	25 April	1940	459
9	To Indira Nehru	1 May	1940	463

10	To Indira Nehru	10 May	1940	464
11	To Indira Nehru	11 May	1940	465
12	To Indira Nehru	16 May	1940	467
13	To Indira Nehru	23 May	1940	468
14	To Indira Nehru	23 May	1940	469
15	To Indira Nehru	29 May	1940	472
16	To Indira Nehru	3 June	1940	473
17	To Indira Nehru	16 June	1940	474
18	To Indira Nehru	1 August	1940	475
19	To Indira Nehru	11 August	1940	476
20	To Indira Nehru	20 August	1940	477
21	To Indira Nehru	12 October	1940	478
22	To Indira Nehru	25 October	1940	479

11. Prison Diary with Letters I
31 October 1940—21 May 1941

Prison Diary with Letters 485

12. Prison Diary with Letters II
26 May 1941—4 December 1941

Prison Diary with Letters 601

13. Postscript to the Autobiography

Postscript to the Autobiography 753

ILLUSTRATIONS

Kashmir, 1940		*frontispiece*
Ramgarh, 1940 Ramgarh, 1940	*between pp.*	16—17
With U B. Lwin, Allahabad, March 1940 With a Burmese Buddhist Monk, 1940		96—97
At U.P. Congress Volunteers Camp, Allahabad, April 1940 With Amrita Sher Gil		224—225
With Members of the National Planning Committee, Bombay, April 1940 With Mohammed Yunus and Sheikh Abdullah, Srinagar, June 1940		288—289
With Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Kashmir, June 1940 At Congress Working Committee Meeting, Bombay, August 1940		400—401
At his Trial at Gorakhpur Prison, November 1940 A Page from the Prison Diary		496—497
Facsimile of a Letter to Padmaja Naidu A Page from the Prison Diary, August 1941		672—673

1

INDIA AND THE WAR

1. On the Eve of Ramgarh[1]

The Ramgarh Congress[2] approaches and the city of huts grows up on the plains of Chhota Nagpur. And we who are fortunate enough to be delegates, or are mere journalists or visitors, pack up our khadi clothes and roll up our beddings and prepare for the annual pilgrimage. What is the prospect surrounding us? What are we going to do there?

In a sense the Working Committee has taken the kick out of this Congress by the resolution it has framed, for the decision has been made already. Yet the kick remains in the very circumstances and in the nature of this dynamic crisis. There will no doubt be much argument and debate, but this resolution will in all probability be passed by a huge majority. It is well that it should be so passed for it clarifies our position and says exactly what we stand for.. There is no room left for controversy about certain vital points. The war in Europe is, so far as we are concerned, an imperialist war between rival empires, each trying to gain the mastery and strengthen and extend its imperialist power. All the talk about democracy and freedom is just the stuff out of which poor deluded mortals seek escape in fantasy from the ugly reality of life. All the fine ideals proclaimed by statesmen but cover their evil designs. Democracy and freedom will come to this long-suffering world sometime or other, but never will they grow out of the poisonous soil of imperialism. This war, though it may consume the bright lives of innumerable young men and exploit their idealism, is a war run by the old guardians of imperialism. So to this war we shall give no countenance, no support, and when the time comes we shall take such further steps as we can enforce to give effect to the national will.

That is the first point that is settled. The second is that all vague talk about Dominion Status of the Westminster or any other variety must end. We have had enough of it by well-meaning people who have tried to ride two horses at the same time. Let there be no more of it. Nothing that keeps us in the orbit of imperialism, howsoever slender the threads that bind, can be tolerated by the Indian people. Only full-blooded independence is our aim and objective, and the right to do as we will with our constitution and our future.

1. 11 March 1940. Editorial in the *National Herald*, 14 March 1940.
2. The fifty-third session of the Indian National Congress was held on 19 and 20 March 1940 at Ramgarh, a village in Bihar.

The time had long come for the realisation of our desire, the achievement of our freedom. The war, with all its horror and intrigue and false assurances, has added fire to that consuming urge, and demonstrated the urgency of vital change.

Let us look round. On the Western front little happens, the war is elsewhere. It is being fought in Finland, it is being prepared for in the Middle East and all manner of odd places. The Finnish war may end soon, as appears likely, or it may not.[3] Left to the Finns, it would undoubtedly end soon, but it is clear that it is not being left to the Finns. The British and French Governments want it to go on and possibly to develop and extend itself to other far-away fronts. We have expressed our sympathy for Finland and have condemned Russian action there. We hold that this action was wrong. But we may not forget that this is not an affair just between Russia and Finland; it is an extension of the major war to other fronts. It is the modern way of fighting by intervention and so-called non-intervention, and not by declaration of war. Finland is just a battleground for England and France to attack Russia. Field-Marshal Mannerheim[4] is a chip of the old Tsarist block whose consuming passion since the Soviets came into power is to destroy them. In the Tsarist days when the Finns struggled for national freedom, Baron Mannerheim sided with the Tsar and not with his own people. When freedom came to the Finns in 1918 and a socialist national government was established, Baron Mannerheim destroyed it with the help of German troops. Finland became for all practical purposes a German colony and might have remained so but for Germany's defeat in the last Great War. During the last twenty years, Finland has presented a spectacle of the White Guards and the fascist Lappo movement[5] dominating the parliament, occasionally raiding it, arresting its members, suppressing trade unions and outlawing Left parties. During this period British military, naval and air missions have visited Finland to help in strengthening its armed forces, and in matters of trade, Finland became a hanger-on of Britain.[6]

3. The first phase of the Finnish-Soviet war, which had begun when the Soviets attacked Finland in November 1939, ended with the signing of a peace treaty on 12 March 1940.
4. (1867-1951); commanded Finnish forces against the Bolsheviks, 1918, and against Soviet forces, 1939-40 and 1941-44; elected President of Finland, August 1944 and retired in 1946 because of illness.
5. The Lapuan movement, strongly religious and nationalist, had been organized to oppose communism. It gradually took on a fascist complexion and was banned in 1932.
6. A trade agreement was signed between Britain and Finland on 30 September 1932, which sought to facilitate the import of British goods into Finland. Britain in turn agreed to give the 'most favoured nation privileges' to Finland.

It was not love of Finland or a passion for the independence of the small states of Europe that moved various British governments to act in this fashion. It was hatred and fear of Soviet Russia and the desire to strike at her through Finland. When the chance came they seized it, in the name, of course, of freedom and democracy.

So let us remember that the struggle in Finland is essentially a part of the larger struggle.

Let us now turn our attention to that huge but undefined area known as the Middle or Near East. We have little news about it. The fog of approaching war seems to cover it and in this semi-darkness the legions gather. Reuter's special correspondent in those regions tells us that "the Transjordan Frontier Force, like the rest of the huge concourse of imperial troops in the Near East, is ready for an instant call to arms". "If the war moves to the Near East, Britain will be in a far stronger defensive position than the Turks were in the last war." Are not Egypt, Palestine and Transjordania, full of British camps and troop concentrations? And nearby is Syria with masses of French troops. It is interesting to note, as Reuter's correspondent takes pains to tell us, that the British imperial unit in Transjordan has, among other nationalities, White Russians.

And that perhaps gives us the clue to all this mysterious propaganda that has surrounded us for so long. Why should there be war in the Near East? Who wants it? Who profits by it? Certainly not Soviet Russia. Any person with the least knowledge of international affairs can say with confidence that Russia does not want war in the Middle East. Who else then? All these frantic troop concentrations lead to only one result—that the British and French Governments want to entangle Russia in the East. It is a well-planned preparation for that attack which has so long been the dream of British imperialism, and all the resources of propaganda are being used to prepare for it. The Arabs, for a change, are patted on the back, pan-Islamism is whispered from ear to ear, even our own particular Muslim League gets more attention than it is used to.

And all this to bring about the consummation of that devout and long-cherished wish—to attack the Soviet and try to enfeeble it; to remove thus from the field of effective action the one irreconcilable opponent of all imperialism. The path will be clear then, or so it is imagined. How many of us remember today that just twenty years ago Britain's chiefs dreamt of a new Middle Eastern empire stretching from the shores of the Bosphorus to the frontiers of India?

This is the prospect, and if we understand its inner significance, all that is happening or not happening on the Western front, or in Finland,

or in the Near East begins to have meaning. The Western war becomes just a side-show, a preparation, for the real war in the East where British imperialism plays for the high stake of empire. For it, the real enemy, as ever, is Soviet Russia.

Even if this was not so, we had taken our decision about this war. But this being so, it becomes doubly necessary for us to be on our guard against the propaganda and activities of the imperialism that holds us in its grip.

2. Why We Ask for a Constituent Assembly[1]

Circumstances, over which I had little control, made me a politician. They associated me with a great organisation and sometimes, perhaps, that association made a difference to the course of events. Certainly it made a difference to me. I occupied positions of responsibility and dignity in that organisation, and the high privilege of working for a great cause in comradeship with many brave men and women was mine. How can I complain of something which has brought so much joy to me and fulfilment of life's purpose? I do not complain, of course, I am proud of my organisation, my comrades and the work we have done together. But still positions of responsibility and dignity are apt to cramp one's style, to limit one in some respects, to prevent one from that free expression of one's being in word and deed which, in a saner world, should be the natural prerogative of each individual.

These thoughts came to me when I was asked by Shri Jai Gopal Narang to write a foreword to his booklet. My first impulse was to refuse, indeed I wrote to express my regret. It was difficult for an active politician, however ill-fitted he might be for the role, to forget the native caution of his species. To write a foreword to a book might lead the reader to imagine an approval of everything contained in the book. It was probable that there was something in the book with which I did not agree; there might be much here and there which might complicate matters for me. And even if I agreed with the burthen of the argument, the manner of presenting it might not be to my taste. In any event I had no business to commit even indirectly the organisation of which

1. Foreword to *Constituent Assembly* by Jai Gopal Narang, published in 1940.

I was a member to something they might not like. So, without even looking into the book, I refused.

There was also another difficulty—the problem of finding time on the eve of the Ramgarh Congress when there was so much to be done.

And yet I was drawn to the manuscript and I glanced through it. I began to relent. I did not like everything it contained, but I did feel that it was a job competently done and deserving commendation. The subject was a vital one. Everyone was talking about it and some had written about it. And there were the critics, of course. And yet it was astonishing how few had given serious thought to the matter; and perhaps our critics, who had favoured us with their criticisms so generously, had given the least thought of all. There are a number of worthwhile writings on this subject. Shri M. N. Roy has written frequently; Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia has issued a pamphlet on behalf of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee.[2] Yet there is room for far more. It is immaterial whether one agrees or not with everything that is written in these brochures. It is enough that they force us to think of the varied implications of this idea which has become a solid fact in our politics today.

So I thought that I should commend this booklet to all who are interested in the constituent assembly. And this thought has led me to pen these lines in the small hours of the morning.

I can understand, though I do not appreciate, the criticisms of those who differ from us fundamentally in politics; those whose ideas of Indian freedom are limited by the will and desire of the British Parliament; those who are afraid of revolutionary change; those who are terrified at the prospect of the masses marching along the stage of Indian politics. But it has surprised me greatly to find some—there are not many—among those who claim to be the most ardent champions of Indian independence, who have also joined this band of critics.

I am convinced that there is no way out for us, if we aim at real democratic freedom, except through a constituent assembly. The alternatives are: (1) continuation, in a greater or less degree, under the control of the British Parliament; (2) some kind of fascist of military dictatorship or dictatorships; (3) Soviet communism in some parts of India with disruption and chaos in other parts; (4) complete disruption and chaos.

For my part I would like to have a socialist economy all over India, and I think that the Soviet form of government, with certain variations and adaptations suited to India, may well fit in here. Thereby I do

2. *Constituent Assembly*, published in 1940.

not mean that the Russian system or methods should be introduced here *in toto*. I disapprove of much that has been done there. I think that the Soviet system can be allied to a vast deal of real democracy. But any attempt to introduce Sovietism in India would, I am sure, now and for some time to come, lead to terrible conflicts and disruption. Whatever the outcome might be, and the outcome would be doubtful, the cost would be almost unbearable.

Therefore, of necessity, I am led to the conclusion that the way of the constituent assembly is the only way. But let it be remembered that this way is not the way of advancing step by step to the haven of Dominion Status. It means the creation of a new state; it means the walking out and away from the economic foundations and structure of imperialism. This cannot be done by the wisest of lawyers sitting together in conclave; it cannot be done by small committees trying to balance interests and calling that constitution-making; it can never be done under the shadow of an external authority. It can only be done effectively when the political and psychological conditions are present, and the urge and the sanctions come from the masses. Hence the vital importance of adult suffrage.

Are these political and psychological conditions present today? No, obviously not, or else we would have got the constituent assembly already. But I cannot say about tomorrow or the day after, for we live in dynamic and swiftly-moving times and all manner of forces are at play.

Why do we ask the British Government for a constituent assembly? Strictly speaking, we are not asking for any gift. We are stating what we propose to have and are going to have sometime or other. We shall have it when we are strong enough for it, no sooner, and probably after a struggle. But, then, are we to refrain from saying what we want and aim at, because for the moment we cannot attain it? Surely that is not even the way of preparation. And then it is never wise to rule out the odd possibility of gaining our objective otherwise, for our strength and world events may force the pace. To envisage this possibility does us no harm, unless it leads us to complacency and a giving up of the idea of struggle.

Why do we ask the British Government to acknowledge the independence of India? Does that make any difference? Of course it does, though it does not mean that we have gained our objective or that the British Government will not go back on their word. The mere fact that they refuse to acknowledge it, itself shows what value they attach to such a declaration. If there was such a clear declaration of Indian independence, of the right of the Indian people to frame their own constitution through a constituent assembly elected by adult franchise and

without any external i .erference, that in itself would create a psychological situation of revolutionary significance. That in itself will not take us to our goal but it will strengthen us enormously and bring the masses into play.

The question of a constituent assembly is an acid test for all of us. It shows where each one of us stands. Britain refuses because she will not give up her imperialism. The Liberals in India, or the Muslim League, or other protestants, oppose because they do not want real independence and they have no conception of a new state, or, if they can conceive of it, they dislike it. Howsoever much they might dislike things as they are, they prefer them to that new free state where the people can make or unmake. Hence the objection to adult suffrage, and even to large numbers of people being associated with this undertaking. Small committees of the elect are suggested whose chief function will be to move warily within the limits laid down by the British Government and to discuss interminably communal claims and counter-claims.

That is not our idea of Indian freedom or the state that we seek to build.

3. On the Edge of a Supreme Crisis[1]

I welcome the publication of a souvenir volume on the occasion of the Ramgarh session of the Congress. A souvenir inevitably means thinking of what has been. There is a great deal to think about in the past history of the Congress, a great deal to inspire us and a great deal to teach us and warn us. For, after all, the last fifty-four years of the Congress are intimately related to half a century's Indian history. And yet, though there is so much to look back, everyone's mind is thinking of the present, of today with its problems and difficulties, rather than of yesterday.

And we think of today because it is the prelude to tomorrow. What that tomorrow is going to be here in India as well as in the rest of the world no one can foretell. Vast elemental forces, above and below the surface of ordinary human activity, are shaping destiny and individuals appear to be helpless agents of these forces. Yet, individuals count and

1. 15 March 1940. *National Herald*, 16 March 1940.

often count for a great deal in moments of crisis. Ultimately, they count because they put themselves in line with the great forces which are moving humanity. If they do not do so, they become ineffective and the world passes on.

Here in India, it has become a trite saying for us to go on repeating that we stand at a crisis of our destiny. There have been so many crises; we live in an age of crises. Nevertheless, who can doubt that we do stand on the edge of a supreme crisis. That crisis may be and is likely to be a prolonged one.

It is at this stage of war and revolution and crisis that the Ramgarh Congress meets. Those who have, in a measure, the shaping of our future policy have a terrible burden to carry. In this age of power politics, only strength tells in the end and neither the arguments of the lawyer nor loud shouting carry us far, unless behind them lies the strength of an organized nation.

We see glimpses of that mighty strength in India. We see also disruptive forces trying to weaken that strength. Even the conception of Indian unity is challenged and our demand for independence is made subject to all manner of reservations.

We have to ho'd to our anchor and stand fast by the essentials that have guided us so far—Indian unity, Indian independence, mass organization and the peaceful way of struggle. We are clear enough about Indian independence, but we have to be clearer about the social and economic goal. There is going to be no peace in India or the world unless a new social fabric emerges out of the dissolving structure of modern capitalist imperialism.

Let us keep that in mind and build for that, so that the hundreds of millions of our peop'e may have the gates of opportunity opened to them and the poverty and ignorance and misery that have pursued them for generations past may be driven out from this fair land.

4. The Task Ahead[1]

There has been discussion on the question of a constituent assembly. The resolution before the House is plain enough. Whatever kind of

1. Speech at the Subjects Committee meeting, 17 March 1940. From the *National Herald*, 18 March 1940.

constituent assembly is contemplated it must be clearly understood that it shall be out of the orbit of British imperialism. It may be a very difficult task to achieve. The point to consider is India's claim to decide her own fate, to decide what is good or bad for her without any extraneous interference.

Some critics claim that it is absurd to demand a constituent assembly under the aegis of Britain. They insist that it should come out of the inherent strength of the nation. I agree. But there is nothing wrong in our agitating for a constituent assembly now and pressing our demand for the convening of such a national assembly. Whatever may be our differences in approach to this important question, nothing prevents us from declaring that we want a constituent assembly.

Difficulties there are, undoubtedly, but we must face them. What will happen in a few months time, I cannot say now. I know many people are opposed to the idea of a constituent assembly for their own reasons. For example, the Liberals oppose the idea because they are fundamentally opposed to the very idea of complete independence. There is nothing surprising in this, but it is surprising that those who demand independence for India should oppose our demand for a constituent assembly.

The communal problem has been cited as an impediment in the way of convening a constituent assembly, but I am convinced that the so-called communal problem of India can never be solved so long as the third party, namely the British, remain and continue to offer temptations.

Dominion Status even of the Westminster variety is not a practicable proposition for India. I am not opposed to India having friendly connections with Great Britain, because I am a firm believer that no country can afford to live in isolation in these days of international complications, but such friendly relations can be only on the basis of equality and not on the basis of domination.

Two important factors have to be taken into consideration in this respect. First, the economic structure and second, foreign policy. Dominion Status even of the Westminster variety will keep us under British economic structure and British foreign policy to some extent. India can never agree to enter into such a framework. We must carry on our relations with other countries on the basis of equality and independence. While I admit there are difficulties in the way of our achieving this independence, I am not for a moment prepared to ask for protection of the British sword to overcome such difficulties.

I am convinced that Britain is not fighting to destroy Nazism or to save democracy, but only to further strengthen her own imperialist interests. Therefore, India cannot be a party to such a war. In the circumstances, a conflict in India is inevitable.

Some struggle, therefore, may become necessary. Whatever the nature of that struggle may be, it will be on a mass scale, and it will surpass all past movements in respect of its extent and magnitude. When that struggle will come, I cannot say. That is for others to decide. But I can say that it will mean much more than mere waving of the flags and singing of the national songs. It will mean a much greater national effort, and we will all have to make greater sacrifices and face greater suffering than we have done in the past.

I am surprised that people ask us to immediately start civil disobedience, but I ask them, why are they indulging in tall talk instead of starting direct action if they have the courage to do so!

Unity and discipline are essential before we start any fight on a mass basis. Whoever wants to fight is at liberty to do so. Why don't they do it? But if we are to do it properly, and march forward with confidence and strength, we must organise ourselves and ensure complete discipline and unity in our ranks.

I challenge those who are clamouring to start a fight to say what they have done to ensure complete unity and discipline. I want to know from them if they have thought of the grave implications of the new campaign.

What is wanted today is a country-wide effort to create a national wave of strength and determination to win freedom. This is more urgently necessary today than the launching of a fight. Anyone who obstructs such a national effort should be regarded as an enemy of the cause of the country's fight for freedom.

We should launch the fight only after the country is fully prepared. Otherwise we will have to repent for our rash action and lack of foresight. Civil disobedience may, however, become necessary, because of the action of the British Government. We cannot take things lying down if our hands are forced.

We are no longer going to pass a resolution expressing our anger. The cup of anger is full to the brim. The time has come for us to decide and take some action.

5. On the Patna Resolution[1]

Yesterday's downpour was unfortunate, but it had its good points also. It has shown our preparedness to face difficulties. I compliment you, the delegates, visitors and kisans, on the manner in which you have conducted yourselves during the downpour.

One of the main points of the resolution is that it declares anew that independence is the goal of India. Not that it requires further reiteration, as it has all along been our goal, but because doubts are being expressed in certain quarters about the exact nature of this demand. It is just as well that we reiterated and affirmed this as our goal. Another point in the proposal embodied for the constituent assembly, that is a panchayat of the people of India, is a competent body to frame India's constitution. The third point refers to the minorities. It lays down clearly that the rights of all the minorities will be completely protected and the minorities therefore need have no apprehension that their rights will be jeopardized by the majority. If no agreement can be reached on the question affecting the minorities it is open to them to get the matter settled by arbitration.

The minorities problem can never be solved by the good offices of the British Government and so long as the people look to this quarter for the solution of the problem, it will remain unsolved. It is for us to settle this problem among ourselves. A constituent assembly comprising representatives of the people should be the final arbiter of India's problems. The Swaraj we seek will not be a Hindu raj or a Muslim raj or a Christian raj. It will be Swaraj for the whole country in which it will not be a top few who will wield power, but the masses.

The war is a war between two imperialisms. We do not want the victory of Nazism with its unjust and repressive rule. Neither do we want a further strengthening of British imperialism.

It has become clear now that a struggle is inevitable, but how and when will have to be decided for us by our leaders and Mahatma Gandhi. We should be ready for everything. There should be unity and discipline so that we may create a favourable atmosphere for the struggle.

1. Speech at the Congress session at Ramgarh, 20 March 1940. From *The Hindustan Times*, 21 March 1940.

It is a critical time for the Congress and we hardly know where and when the next Congress will meet. The resolution should set at rest all uncertainties and doubts regarding the future course of action. Misguided enthusiasm of a few people to go head-on for any objective has often caused disruption in fighting forces. Such enthusiasts are counter-revolutionaries and rebels. Our object should be to get the entire army moving and not a few headstrong people who can be described as adventurers. They are no better than terrorists. These people are not led by reason but by cheap sentiment. India is renowned for her high level of intellect. I regret that attempts are being made to solve national problems by mere shouting and bluster.

6. To Carl Marzani[1]

March 23, 1940

Dear Carl Marzani,

Your letter of January 30th has just reached me, and I have read it with great interest. I have been following from the newspapers and otherwise the course of events in the U.S.A. and have noticed the developments you write about.

I agree with you that it is very desirable for Indian news and views to be properly represented in America and yet the difficulties at the moment seem to be great. There are not too many people who can do this job well. Possibly I am one of the number. My leaving India in the near future is exceedingly difficult and even unwise from many points of view. I should myself like to go to America for many reasons. But apart from the difficulty of leaving India at present or in the near future, I am not quite sure that such a propaganda tour at this moment will be right for me to undertake. It is difficult, however, to say what the future will bring us. Anyhow, I fully realise the implications of all you say. I expect to meet Rajni Patel[2] on his return to India.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Rajnikant M. Patel (b. 1915); thrice jailed for taking part in the freedom struggle; President, Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, 1972-77.

7. To Edward C. Carter[1]

Allahabad
April 8, 1940

Dear Carter,

... So far as I know, there has been no deliberate group attempt in India at working out war aims or peace aims.[2] It is not, however, correct to say that our line is to ask Britain to state them. We have in the very first statement we made on behalf of the Congress indicated what the war and peace should aim at. We were naturally interested in India most of all and secondly in other countries subject to various imperialisms. These were referred to in greater detail. We felt that unless certain fundamental propositions were agreed to discussions about details would be fruitless. There has been a good deal of individual writing on the subject in India. Inevitably all this is dominated by the present crisis between India and the British Government which threatens to develop rapidly....

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. He had asked Jawaharlal to help in arranging for a study of India's economic and political relations with the countries of the Pacific for the Institute of Pacific Relations.

8. On the German Invasion of Scandinavia[1]

The German invasion of Scandinavia[2] is a further evidence that aggressive imperialisms observe no rules of decency and behave as beasts of prey. Our sympathies are with the Scandinavian countries.

These developments make no difference to our attitude to British imperialism. If Britain stands for freedom, she must shed her imperialism and acknowledge Indian independence. She cannot have it both ways.

1. Interview to the press, Allahabad, 10 April 1940. *National Herald*, 11 April 1940.
2. German troops invaded Norway and Denmark on 9 April 1940.

9. To V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Allahabad
April 12, 1940

My dear Krishna,
I have received your two letters dated the 27th and 29th March ...

I have already sent you a goodly collection of my old essays, etc. These have been sent by ocean mail but lists have been sent by air. There may be some others lying about, but I cannot easily trace them and probably they are not worthwhile. I think the title—*The Unity of India and Other Essays*—is good. I had thought of this independently. There are, however, some speeches also. They can hardly be described as essays. Drummond need not send me a copy of my article on the unity of India. I have got my manuscript. *Foreign Affairs* made some slight changes in it but they are not important. I should not like to change this essay but it might be added to at the end. For the rest, you have got all the material to choose from and you can go ahead with it, letting me know what you have selected. I understand that the *Atlantic Monthly* article has appeared but I have not seen it yet.[2]

Do not worry about the report about Bhulabhai's speech.[3] That may have been his own view; it certainly does not represent the Congress viewpoint or Gandhiji's, as explained by him at length.

The news that Jinnah was inviting Gandhiji to discuss the partition of India is entirely unfounded. There has been no such invitation and there is likely to be no such discussion. Maulana Azad's address was

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 273-282.
3. On 10 March 1940, Bhulabhai Desai had stated : "Whether India should be free to choose British alliance after the declaration of independence, or whether she should be free to go out of it, is not necessarily a matter of substance, for, once her independent status is recognized, the basic imperialistic idea of her being a part of an empire in which there is different status for different constituent parts of it disappears, and further, the empire condition and empire spirit, to which objection is taken, and the sense of superiority equally disappear."

entirely a translation and a very literal one at that. But it was done skilfully in good English.[4]

The news about one hundred thousand or eight hundred thousand Afridis mobilising against the Soviet is entirely bunkum. There is no truth in it.

I am not satisfied at all about our news contacts with America. There are plenty of people there, full of goodwill for India. I get large numbers of letters expressing goodwill and wanting to know when my *Autobiography* will be available. That is one reason why I am keen on the *Autobiography* appearing even in a truncated form. About the news, I do not quite see what can be done under present circumstances. If you have any suggestion to make, you can write to me or to Keskar.[5] Or you can develop your own contacts with the States. You realise of course that the difficulties due to war-time conditions and censorship are considerable.

It is clear to me that there is still no clear appreciation among people in England of conditions in India. To talk about Dominion Status after the war and defence and foreign affairs being handed over twenty years later, is to talk not about India but about the moon. Even the Viceroy in India has gone further than this. Opinions and conditions have hardened here and events move forward implacably. The problem is, as you say, insoluble in terms of what the British Government says and what we say. We are as the poles asunder. There is no chance of any bridging of the gulf, but at any rate, it is worthwhile to understand what the position is. Even that British politicians refuse to do. We cannot help their slowness of mind or their refusal to understand the obvious. Generally speaking the tendency in India is to forget what is taking place in England or in the minds of British officials or public men. We think more and more of our job in India and how to prepare for it.

4. The translation of Maulana Azad's Presidential address at the Ramgarh Congress had been done by Jawaharlal himself. Writing about this to Jawaharlal on 27 March 1940, Azad had said : "The impression it has created on me compels me to shake off my usual reserve for the moment, and offer my sincere tribute to your first-rate intellect and your exceptional talents ... what particularly strikes me in your translation is the fact that no feature of the original has suffered through it, and you have conveyed my Urdu literary style so successfully in English that I should not be surprised if it occurs to the reader that the original was English and not Urdu!"

5. B.V. Keskar (b. 1903); general secretary, Indian National Congress, 1946; member, Constituent Assembly, 1948; Minister for Information and Broadcasting, 1952-62; Chairman, National Book Trust, 1962-73.

Jinnah's fantastic proposals[6] are mildly deprecated by the authorities but at the same time they are used as an answer to the Congress.[7] That is the usual technique. Sikandar Hayat is opposed to these new proposals.

It is not Jinnah's opposition which has killed the constituent assembly demand. Nothing is going to kill it. But it cannot be acceded to by the British Government except in the context which the Congress has suggested. That is too big a pill to swallow for the present and so constituent assembly, like other things, remains.

Everything remains here and elsewhere and awaits some kind of a decision on a world scale. I do not suppose that any of our present-day knots will be untied till big developments cut them.

Maulana Azad wanted me very much to become the general secretary of the A.I.C.C. but in spite of his strong desire I have not agreed to it. I need not go into the reasons for this. I have, however, promised to take some interest in the office work and more specially to look after the Foreign, Overseas and the States departments.

Odd arrests are taking place in various parts of India from day to day. Some Forward Bloc young people are courting arrest. Possibly the pace may quicken as events are moving faster in the war and otherwise. But Gandhiji will not be hurried into any big steps. Indeed the steps he has taken already are big enough if we understand them and act up to them. The point is that we must realise that the real decision has been taken and there is no going back on it; all else is in the nature of a corollary.

The spreading of the war to the Scandinavian fronts must accelerate the speed of all events in Britain as well as in India.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

6. On 22 March 1940, at the Lahore session of the Muslim League, Jinnah said: "... Muslims are a nation according to any definition of a nation, and they must have their homelands, their territory and their state...." The next day the League unanimously adopted the famous "Pakistan resolution," which said that "... no constitutional plan would be workable in this country or acceptable to the Muslims unless it is designed on the following basic principles, viz., that geographically contiguous units are demarcated into regions which should be so constituted with such territorial readjustments as may be necessary that the area in which the Muslims are numerically in the majority... should be grouped to constitute independent states in which the constituent units shall be autonomous and sovereign."
7. Zetland, in a broadcast on 3 April 1940, said: "... no lasting settlement in India will be possible without real reconciliation between Muslims and Hindus."



RAMGARH 1940



RAMGARH 1940

10. The Demand for Pakistan[1]

All the old problems, associated with the so-called communal question, namely, separate electorates, composite cabinets and communal representations in different services, pale into insignificance before the latest stand taken up by the Muslim League leaders at Lahore. There can be no more Hindu-Muslim problem that the Congress can talk with the League, because the latter's Lahore resolution precludes any such talks. There have been complaints in the press that the Congress leaders had not successfully negotiated with the League. The Lahore resolution has shown clearly the mentality of the League leaders and is an answer to such complaints.

The whole problem has taken a new complexion and there is no question of settlement or negotiation now. The knot that is before us is incapable of being untied by settlement; it needs cutting open. It needs a major operation. Without mincing words, I want to say that we will have nothing to do with this mad scheme. I do not know what the consequences to the country would be. Who can say?

The League is not interested in the Indian nation but in something else, and hence there can be no common meeting ground between the Congress and the League. On the other hand, it has become the clear duty of the Congress to fight out the League and its scheme of denationalising India.

However, I welcome this stand of the League leadership inasmuch as it clears all misunderstanding that might have prevailed in some minds, and shows up the League leadership in its true colours. The latest attitude has simplified the issue without solving it.

Where has the League leadership drifted? There was a time when Sir Mohammad Iqbal, a prominent Muslim League leader, sang of the common motherland with pride. But today the League leadership feels itself to be an alien in this country, and thinks it has no roots in it. Look at the picture presented by the League leadership today, with its contempt for the country and its hymn of hatred. It has at last unmasked itself and left no room for misunderstanding. We will, of course, oppose the partition scheme, but our goal is clear and we will march on our path. A struggle is inevitable now.

1. Speech at Allahabad, 13 April 1940. From the *National Herald*, 14 April 1940, and *The Hindustan Times*, 15 April 1940.

11. True Significance of a Constituent Assembly[1]

A few weeks ago I wrote a foreword to a book on constituent assembly. Another little book dealing with the same topic, but in a different way, has now come before me and at the author's request I am contributing this foreword. This question of a constituent assembly has become one of the most vital questions of our day in India. It represents our demand for independence and full self-determination, and therefore it is desirable that every aspect of it should be fully considered by the public and its significance realised. Every book on the subject, if competently written, is therefore to be welcomed, from whatever viewpoint it may approach the subject. Mr. Krishnamurti's brochure deals not only with the constituent assembly but with many of the problems which may come up before such an assembly. It touches on a variety of subjects briefly and is a useful little book for reference.

It is right that we should have some knowledge of the history of the idea of the constituent assembly and how it has worked in different countries. And yet it is far more important that we should understand the dynamic significance of this idea and to appreciate what this demand really means for us in India. A constituent assembly may be any assembly which draws up a constitution of a country. And yet this is a poor enough definition of it. The real conception of such an assembly is a dynamic one. It does not mean a body of people, or a gathering of able lawyers, who are intent on drawing up a constitution. It means a nation on the move, throwing away the shell of its past political and possibly social structure, and fashioning for itself a new garment of its own making. It means the masses of a country in action through their elected representatives. It has thus a definite revolutionary significance. At any time this would be so, much more so at present when all the world is in the throes of a change and a rebirth. Therefore to consider a constituent assembly divorced from this revolutionary background of masses in action and vital change is to miss entirely its significance.

1. Wardha, 18 April 1940. Foreword to *Constituent Assembly and Indian Federation* by Y.G. Krishnamurti.

It is because of this that the Congress has laid stress on the recognition by the British Government of Indian independence and of the right of a constituent assembly to frame India's constitution without any external interference. It is also because of this that adult suffrage is postulated, for that brings in the masses in its fold. A recognition of all this does not necessarily lead to revolutionary conditions. But it does create a psychological revolution in men's minds and gives freedom of action to that assembly. Obviously such an assembly can only function satisfactorily as a sovereign body for the particular object for which it is elected, and giving place to a sovereign legislature of its own creation.

Ordinarily, such sovereign assemblies come into existence after a successful revolution in a country. But it is certainly a possibility, if not a probability, that the shadow of coming events and world changes might lead to an agreement that such an assembly should be elected and should function as formulated. The demand for such an assembly is ultimately a declaration of what we intend to do whenever we have the power to do so. That power may conceivably come to us by agreement without a conflict, or it may come after a conflict. Like the demand for independence, this is not the request for a gift from a dominating authority, but a declaration of our objective and will, which may be realised in a variety of ways. Whatever these ways might be, they represent ultimately a recognition of the power of the Indian nation. In the case of a successful revolution, there is a clean slate to write upon. In the event of an agreement, howsoever specific that might be, the slate is not so clean and all manner of difficulties might arise. Those difficulties have to be faced. It must be remembered that the acceptance of the premises of a real constituent assembly itself adds to the strength of the nation. The election and constitution of such an assembly adds still further to that strength and makes it difficult for external and internal disruptive forces to come in the way of its work.

The ideal of the Indian National Congress is the creation of an independent democratic state and so far we have thought in terms of some kind of parliamentary democracy. If this is the objective, then the only fully democratic method is the method of the constituent assembly elected by the mass of the people. The alternatives to this are no democracy or the Soviet form of democracy. The absence of democracy means either a continuation of foreign rule or individual or group dictatorship. Those who criticise the proposal for a constituent assembly should be clear in their own minds as to which of these alternatives they prefer. It is not good enough to adopt an attitude of mere negation. So far there has only been this negation from some of the critics. It is legitimate for us to know whether the opponents to this proposal

do not like democracy, or they do not like independence for India and a break-away from British imperialism. I take it that few of them will agree to go a step further and advocate the Soviet form of government.

Behind our many problems, and ultimately behind the demand for independence itself, lie vast social and economic problems which insistently demand solution. Any constitution that fails to solve them will have a short life. Similar problems in other parts of the world have brought about the present war in Europe where rival imperialisms fight for mastery. Even if one of these imperialisms triumphs in the end, it will have to face these very problems in an accentuated form. It is well recognised today that if peace and freedom are to exist in the world, the imperialist structure must vanish and a new world order must be established. Such a world order will have to be largely based on socialistic principles.

For us in India also this aspect of the problem is important and cannot be ignored. We seek political freedom, but this freedom must lead rapidly to vital social and economic changes which will facilitate a solution of our many problems. The content of political freedom is therefore important. It may be arguable that these basic economic problems cannot ultimately be solved within the structure of a parliamentary state on the old model. And yet it need not necessarily be so. But it is quite clear that there is no chance of a solution if the content of political freedom is such that power rests in the hands of small groups at the top. The giving of the vote for the constituent assembly to the adult masses does not give them real power. But it does mean something and they can influence events and developments. To limit this franchise can only indicate a deliberate desire to keep out the masses and to avoid any vital economic change.

From the point of view of minority interests, a constituent assembly procedure is far the best. The Congress has laid down definite provisions further to safeguard these interests, for instance, declaration of fundamental rights, election by separate electorates where desired, decision of special minority problems, where this is not possible, by arbitration. It passes the wit of man to devise any further safeguards for a minority in India. But if any new suggestion is made which can be incorporated without offending the basic concept of Indian freedom, unity and democracy, that can also be considered.

Despite all this, if the idea of a constituent assembly is opposed, one must regretfully come to the conclusion that the idea of Indian freedom itself is opposed.

Recently proposals have been put forward for a partition of India. It is doubtful if these proposals are seriously meant, for they are fantastic

in the extreme and they exhibit a strange ignorance of Indian history and of India's culture, as well as of present conditions in India and the world. All over the world today there is a demand for a removal of national barriers and for a closer union among nations. In India, however, to our misfortune, there are some elements who still think in medieval terms and on whom the lessons of history and even the tragedies of the present day have been completely lost.

I do not wholly agree with everything that Mr. Krishnamurti says, but I need not discuss these matters here. At one place, however, he refers to 300 language groups in India. I do not know where he has got this extraordinary figure from. There are only a dozen main languages in India.

12. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

19.4.1940

Your cable. No marked change in the situation. Congress committees under Gandhiji's directions are converting themselves into satyagraha committees,[2] enrolling pledged satyagrahis and making other preparations. No precipitate action is likely. Individual arrests and the application of section 144 continues. Repression in the states is worsening.

Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. On 25 March 1940, Mahatma Gandhi had instructed that every Congress committee should convert itself into a satyagraha committee and enrol volunteers and carry out the Congress constructive programme.

13. No Change in Congress Attitude[1]

There is nothing new in Lord Zetland's statement.[2] Our position has

1. Interview to the press, Bombay, 19 April 1940. *The Hindustan Times.* 20 April, 1940.
2. Zetland had said on 18 April 1940: "I shall labour for reconciliation between these two great communities, the Muslims and the Hindus....the Congress Party have aroused in the minds of many Muslims apprehensions which only they can allay."

been laid down by the Congress, and to that we are going to adhere. We are interested in work in India and in preparation for what is to come here, and not in what is said in the British Parliament or elsewhere.

14. To V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Bombay
April 27, 1940

My dear Krishna,
I enclose a copy of a letter I have sent to Richard Walsh of the John Day Company.[2]

I have read in today's papers the report of some of the speeches delivered in the House of Commons in the course of the India debate, last week. Most of them were after the usual pattern. But I must confess to a feeling of amazement at what Ellen Wilkinson said.[3] I do not expect her to agree with our viewpoint, but what she has said is not a matter of agreement or disagreement. It is a fundamentally different approach, an approach which I could not have conceived from any person really acquainted with Indian conditions or looking at them from the viewpoint of a Socialist or even an advanced Liberal. It is indeed a completely imperialistic approach to the problem. If Ellen thinks in this way, I can well imagine what must all your other so-called Leftists and advanced politicians think. It shows the enormous gap between India and England. I had not realised, when I was in England last, that this gap, which was obviously present, was quite so wide and unbridgeable as I

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. See *post*, section 9, item 11.
3. On 18 April 1940, Ellen Wilkinson had said : "We here tend to think of the civil disobedience movement of the 1929-32 period as a purely political movement... It was much more an economic than a political movement.... the real strength behind it was derived from the fact that the world depression had reached India.... and had hit India hard.... I recall the number of occasions on which older men in the movement....explained that really the English were being too awful for words but even this treatment was better than anything they would be likely to get from any other quarter."

now feel it is. Of course the war makes a difference and confuses people's minds. But what a difference!

The other day here I had a long talk with Sir Malcolm Darling,[4] the Punjab civilian who has written about agricultural matters. He is retiring and going to take charge of some big job in the B.B.C. Of course, there is little in common between my approach and Darling's approach to the Indian problem. He is an old type civilian, with certain leanings towards the peasant and interested in the agrarian conditions in India, but still thinking in terms of India as it has been. Yet even a man like him was more conscious of the crisis in India than Ellen or your Labour leaders in England seem to be.

Darling and Lionel Fielden are apparently going to start Hindustani broadcasts from the B.B.C. Possibly even in English there might be more broadcasting relating to India. Inevitably this will be from the British viewpoint.

I enclose a kind of general introductory letter which might be of use to you if you go to America.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

Allahabad
April 27, 1940

I am glad to learn that Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon is going to pay a visit to the United States of America. Mr. Krishna Menon, for many years past, has served the cause of India with great ability and perseverance in England through the India League of which he has been the Honorary Secretary. He has been particularly helpful to us in developing our international contacts. He has represented the Indian National Congress on the Executive of the International Peace Campaign since 1937.

It is a matter of satisfaction to me that he is visiting America. Though he is going there in his personal capacity, he will carry with him our goodwill and will convey our greetings to the American people. It has not been our practice to send representatives to foreign countries as we have realised that the burden of our struggle for freedom must be carried by ourselves and that the real work has to be done by us in India. We have, however, thought of the freedom of India progressively in terms of world freedom. We have realised that in the modern texture of the

4. (1880-1969); member, Indian Civil Service, 1904-40; Chairman, Punjab Land Revenue Committee, 1938; Indian editor at the B.B.C., 1940-44; consultant to Indian Planning Commission, 1957; his works include *Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village* and *At Freedom's Door*.

world, freedom is indivisible, and no real solution of the world's problems can be undertaken in isolated bits. So, while we have struggled for Indian freedom, we have tried to develop international contacts and to have friendly relations with the peoples of other countries. India, perhaps more than any country in the world, stands for peace. Even in our own struggle for freedom, we have deliberately avoided all methods of violence. But the peace that we seek and that can endure in the world, must be based on freedom for all nations and peoples. That peace and freedom cannot now be the isolated freedom of each group but the cooperative freedom based on a world order. That is our objective. We have emphasised this in the various aggressions that have taken place in the past, in Abyssinia, in Spain and in China as well as in Europe. In the war that is raging in Europe, it was our attempt to get the British Government to define their policy precisely in terms of this freedom, but our attempts have met with failure.

Of all countries in the world, the United States of America has a vital part to play in the terrible crisis that envelops all of us. It is in the power of the American people, to a large extent, to shape events so that they might ensure the establishment of this free order everywhere and in ending all imperialistic aggressions and continuing wars and conflicts. We in India value American opinion and the idealism and democracy that underlie it.

I trust that our countrymen in America, as well as American friends and sympathisers with our cause, will help Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon during his visit to the United States, and that this visit of his will lead to a closer understanding between the two countries.

Jawaharlal Nehru

15. To Morris Henry Frank[1]

April 29, 1940

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of April 6th.[2] I realise fully the evil that is afoot in the world today. I doubt if there are any people in the world

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Frank, an American lawyer, after reading Jawaharlal's article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, wrote to say that as the Allies were engaged in a death struggle with the worst form of evil forces, Jawaharlal should cease to arouse anti-British feeling and devote his time to educating American people in understanding the problems of India.

who are more averse to violence and aggression than the Indian people. Throughout these past years, we have protested vigorously against such forms of aggression wherever they have taken place. You are aware, no doubt, that these aggressions, whether in Manchuria or Spain, Abyssinia or Czechoslovakia, were either actively encouraged or passively acquiesced to by the British Government of the day.

You refer to a certain incident which occurred in April 1917 in New York City.[3] Surely you do not come to vital decisions because of odd incidents that impress you, or because any individual might misbehave or be wrong. And yet the moral of the flag incident that you mention points another way. A quarter of a century ago, we heard a great deal about the evil against which civilization was contending. We heard of democracy and freedom and self-determination. The history of the past twenty years belies everything that was said then. It would be a tragedy if this experience is repeated. We invited, therefore, the British Government to declare that it was fighting for the right cause. They have not chosen to do so and, instead, have continued their imperialist policy in various parts of the world. Who prevents them from changing this policy? Not surely the evil against which they are fighting.

Perhaps your acquaintance with conditions in India in the past and the present is limited. Unfortunately for us, we have lived in these conditions and we cannot escape them. It does not seem unreasonable to me that India should demand the application to India of the principles for which the Western Allies are supposed to be fighting.

Yours truly,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. He had referred to an incident when he and a friend stopped a flag-bearing Indian from abusing Britain.

16. Dangers of Adventurism[1]

During the last two years or so we have passed through a very difficult phase which has brought many problems which have often embarrassed

1. Message to Bihar Students' Convention, *The Free Press Journal*, 6 May 1940.

us. This is not peculiar to India but is the common lot of almost all countries today. A deepening crisis brings new problems and exposes many underlying conflicts. There is no reason why we should be dejected by these developments. We must realise that the very difficulties that face us are, in a sense, a measure of our advance. Nevertheless the difficulties are there and they have to be faced squarely and without any attempt to cover them up. We have to understand them objectively and ideologically and consider them in the context of India today. It is helpful to us to study what has happened in other countries for essentially the problems are similar. But there can be no greater error than to look at our own problems cut off from the actual conditions in this country. If we do so, we function in the air and are ineffective.

The whole history of Europe during the past few years shows how reaction has grown in spite of powerfully organised Leftist and advanced movements. In many countries these movements have been completely crushed. We have also seen a strong country like Czechoslovakia becoming a subject nation without even fighting and a country like Poland, with a big army and brave fighters, succumbing to conquest within a few days. All this has a lesson for us. We may not for the sake of adventurist Leftism produce reaction which injures that very Leftism. We may not lose sight of our means or adopt any means in the hope of attaining our objective. Means by themselves may be nothing. But they vary and govern ends and the objective itself changes in accordance with those means.

We have built up a powerful sentiment of unity in India, but let us remember that there have been and are strong disruptive forces in the country. Today they are talking in fantastic terms. It becomes our duty therefore not to do anything that encourages disruption within the Congress or in the larger domain of the country. In particular we must hold together in a disciplined way in the Congress for it is the Congress only which promises the unity of India and the freedom of India. Adventurist action will injure the Congress and the cause we have at heart.

To students particularly I should like to say a few words. It is inevitable that the burden of India will have to be shouldered by them in the near future. Ours is a passing generation. Let them be ready and be prepared for this burden for it is a heavy one and the world crisis demands the best that is in us. Cruel and naked facts confront us in all their brutality. We cannot chase them away by brave words and slogans, good as such slogans are to cheer us and enthuse us. Each one of us will be tested to the uttermost and it will be ill for us if we are found wanting at the time of trial. I have found during the

last year or two a great deal of enthusiasm among students but also an amazing indiscipline and lack of responsibility. They will do little that is worth while and effective.

It is easy to criticise others. It is much more difficult to shoulder the burden of some action oneself. Let us hold together, disciplined and prepared for whatsoever may befall us. The finger of destiny beckons to us in these days of crisis and revolutionary change. We shall have to answer that call but we shall do so effectively only if we grow in stature and see the real vision of freedom, forget our petty squabbles and disputes and hatreds and animosities, and march together towards the common goal.

17. The Fundamental Issues at Stake[1]

The new developments in the European war, involving the invasions of Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, mean that the war has now entered a new and Napoleonic phase.[2] They are surprising only because we have got accustomed to the static phase during the last eight months. When the war started one almost expected some such thing to happen. It is clear that this extension of the war is going to have far-reaching and frightful consequences, and all of us must regret it deeply. There is no escape for the world now from an all-embracing war.

While a measure of admiration goes out to the efficiency and thoroughness of the military machinery of Germany, it is obvious that the menace of Nazi domination of Europe and to some extent other parts of the world is a real one. On the other hand, it is equally obvious that the British Government is continually falling between two stools, and it will continue to do so till it makes up its mind on fundamental matters affecting it, the British Empire and the world. On the one hand, it talks vaguely in terms of standing up for democracy in Europe and freedom of small nations and on the other hand it sticks like a leech to its empire, and is not prepared to divest itself of it. The result will surely be that events will divest it of that empire, and what might have been done with grace and advantage to itself and the goodwill of large numbers of human beings will be brought about by

1. Statement to the press, Bombay, 10 May 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 11 May 1940.
2. On 10 May 1940, Germany invaded Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg.

external forces which are too strong for it, because Britain cannot make up her mind. The clinging on to the empire and fight against fascism cannot go together with any effectiveness.

It has been an astonishing thing that the leader of this struggle in England could have been for all these months a person who must bear a great deal of the responsibility for the growth of the fascist menace. That in itself inevitably had to lead to England's incompetence in dealing with the situation. That leader may possibly be changed under the new stress of circumstances, but if the ideals he stood for remain and if Britain still thinks in terms of the empire, she will fail in her endeavour and fail grievously.

All of us, whether in England or in India, have to make this final choice. There is no room for halfway houses anywhere. While India is completely opposed to the idea of the triumph of Nazism, it is no good asking her to come to the rescue of a tottering imperialism which still presumes to speak of her with arrogance and in terms of domination. That language could have only one answer from India, and that answer has been given. Whatever happens, we shall cooperate with no person or country if we are ordered to do so, or if we are treated in any manner other than that as a free country.

The pace of events is so fast and the forces that have been unleashed are so great that individuals matter little now, and perhaps it is not possible to stop this avalanche till it has gone its way.

It is no good getting excited and losing our head and balance because events happen which we do not like. We shall face everything whatever befalls us, and let us be prepared for it.

18. On the New Secretary of State[1]

In February 1933 a debate was held in the British Parliament on Japan's invasion of Manchuria. In the course of this debate many leading British statesmen, including cabinet ministers, supported Japan. Sir John Simon (now Lord Simon and still a prominent member of the British Cabinet) supported Japan's case, as he had done in the League of

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

Nations at Geneva. One of the most interesting and significant speeches delivered was that of Mr. L.S. Amery[2] in the House of Commons on February 27, 1933. He said :

> I confess that I see no reason whatever why, either in act, or in word, or in sympathy, we should go individually, or internationally, against Japan in this matter. Japan has got a very powerful case based upon fundamental realities.... When you look at the fact that Japan needs markets and that it is imperative for her, in the world in which she lives, that there should be some sort of peace and order, then who is there among us to cast the first stone and to say that Japan ought not to have acted with the object of creating peace and order in Manchuria and defending herself against the continual aggression of vigorous Chinese nationalism? Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt, stand condemned, if we condemn Japan.

Mr. L.S. Amery is today a prominent member of the British Cabinet and is Secretary of State for India[3] and as such is responsible for British policy towards India.

2. (1873-1955); Conservative politician; First Lord of the Admiralty, 1922-24; Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1924-29 and for India and Burma, 1940-45.
3. He replaced Zetland on 10 May 1940.

19. To Rajendra Prasad[1]

Wardha
16-5-40

My dear Rajendra Babu,
I came here today to see Bapu. Ever since the last meeting of the Working Committee, I have been in Bombay engaged in the Planning Committee meetings. These ended, or rather were adjourned, on the 14th and I have come here for a day to meet Bapu. I am going tomorrow to Lucknow for our P.C.C. meeting and from there to Allahabad. I intend going to the Frontier Province later. I understand from Maulana Azad that he intends having the next meeting of the Working Committee on the 15th June.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

Bapu showed me your letter to him together with a copy of your letter to Maulana dated 14th May. I had seen previously your brief statement in the press.[2] Curiously enough that very day a statement from me appeared also.[3] I had no particular intention of saying anything then but I was surrounded by insistent pressmen and I capitulated and dictated a statement. I do not know if you saw this in full. I am enclosing a copy.

The new developments in the war situation are surprising and disconcerting in some ways, and yet they did not surprise me overmuch. Ever since the war began, and even earlier, I had given much thought to this matter and all these possibilities were before me. I have been convinced for a long time that the disruption of the British Empire must take place soon, and it is with this background that I have considered our problems. Hence all the talk of Dominion Status and the like seemed singularly unreal to me.

For some months past I have had a personal reason to try to anticipate events in Europe. My daughter is in Switzerland and I was concerned about her future programme. Long before the invasion of Holland, Belgium etc., I wrote to her and to her doctors putting these possibilities as well as others to them. After full consideration we decided that she should remain where she was, even if Switzerland became involved in the war.

I mention all this simply to indicate that the new development did not shock me or upset me. I was prepared for them. My mind had reasoned out the consequences and it was clear to me what our attitude should be. Subsequent events have justified abundantly the line we took up at the beginning of the war. That line must be continued without the least change. That line was dictated not by the war situation but by what transpired between us and the British Government. Therefore the war in Europe made no essential or direct difference. Indirectly it might affect the attitude of the British Government but that was their concern, not ours. Our attitude and line of action must inevitably remain unchanged so long as no effective change took place on the other side.

2. On 10 May 1940, Rajendra Prasad had stated: "We have undoubtedly our grievances against England and we know she has not behaved fairly and squarely towards India. At the same time we realise that England is any day better than the totalitarian states and I cannot but wish that England and France should win the war."
3. See *ante*, item 17.

What has surprised me more than the invasion of Holland etc., has been the quite singular obtuseness of the British. Not even the Nasmyth hammer of war and disaster has made any dent on their imperialist outlook or their attitude to India. The last debate in the British Parliament demonstrated that even the Labour members shared this outlook completely.[4] I do not see how we can have any dealings with people who continue to think and treat us in this way.

To say that Nazism is worse than the present form of British imperialism is true in some respects, though I doubt if there is fundamentally much difference. But to say that because Nazism is worse therefore we must prefer the domination of the British is surely dangerous doctrine. It means that we are helpless people who must have a master and the little choice we have is to choose masters. To say this is to put an end to all our pretensions and to admit the fundamental basis of British rule. I think we can never do this, whatever the consequences. We stand for independence and we shall resist any and every foreign authority which seeks to dominate over us. If we fail, it is better that we perish than willingly put on a yoke which we think might be a lighter one than another.

But I do not think there is the slightest chance of a German or Japanese invasion of India. Hitler may win this war. This grows more likely. But Hitler will not dominate the world. He will fall as Napoleon fell. The real possibility of trouble in India is not from external invasion but from internal adventurism and conflict. That possibility has to be faced and we cannot seek the help of British imperialism to overcome it. Indeed British imperialism will hardly be in a position to help effectively. The only thing we can do is to add to our strength, in so far as we can do so, and to keep a nucleus going round which various elements can gather in time of need. The only possible nucleus is the Congress, and apparently the most effective way of gaining strength is to continue to prepare for satyagraha. That satyagraha is not immediately indicated even if we were ready for it. I think it would be wrong at this particular moment when Britain is in peril for us to take advantage of her distress and rush at her throat. That would be wrong from the larger as well as the satyagrahi point of view; it would also be wrong tactics. But we want the discipline and training of satyagraha to meet other perils also.

4. During the debate on India on 17 and 18 April 1940, Labour leaders like Lord Snell, Wedgwood Benn, Graham White and Ellen Wilkinson supported the official policy and blamed the Congress for the political deadlock.

Any other course is full of dangers for us, apart from the great injury to our self-respect and dignity. Indeed such other course is likely to lead to that very internal commotion which we wish to avoid or provide against. The Congress would then lose the moral prestige it possesses and cease to be the nucleus round which the nation might gather. That other course might even facilitate external attack. In any event, whatever we may do will not make much difference from the military point of view. Modern warfare demands very special mechanised training and we cannot produce this, in large enough numbers, within a short time.

I am convinced that the British Empire has had its day. It will go to pieces and not all the king's horses and all the king's men will be able to put it together again. We surely are not going to indulge in the vain attempt to join together these pieces. If the British people are still imperialistic enough and proud enough to think of holding on to that empire, they deserve failure and no one can save them.

In any event I am quite clear that we cannot change our line of action in the least. Indeed we must resist the slightest variation of it and hold firmly to the recognition of Indian independence and the full and unfettered right of our people to frame our constitution through a constituent assembly. Every suggestion that a small body of men should do this must be rejected. Nor am I prepared to take any promises for the future. I do not understand why vital changes in India should wait till the war is over. The preparation for giving effect to them may take a little time but that has nothing to do with the ending of the war.

I would further add that even if all this is agreed to, it does not follow that we throw our manpower into the war. That will depend upon us, and our decision will no doubt be governed by the conditions then prevailing.

I do not myself like a negative attitude. I wish ours was more positive. Yet just at present I think a negative attitude has certain advantages—the positive side of course is preparation for satyagraha. I am glad that the Working Committee is not meeting for another four weeks. This period will help us to understand the situation better.

One other matter I might draw your attention to : so far as our newspapers are concerned, we get very one-sided and partial news. The radio helps in giving other viewpoints.

I do not know if I have succeeded in explaining my viewpoint. I am writing rather late at night and I have been feeling a little sleepy.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Maulana and giving another copy to Bapu.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

20. To V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Wardha
16.5.1940

My dear Krishna,

I wonder if you saw a statement I made to the press a few days ago. I enclose a copy. I suppose other statements made by Rajendra Babu and others have been given publicity.[2] I just want to tell you that none of these represent the Congress viewpoint or Gandhiji's viewpoint. Gandhiji agrees with the line I have taken up. So do not be misled. Our policy has not changed and will not change. In any event this would have been so. But the recent speeches made by Labour members in Parliament have put the lid on. They can have the satisfaction of having defended the empire so successfully that we are prepared to consider them as differing in no way from the others.

Stafford Cripps, I understand, is back in London and is interviewing all manner of people—Chamberlain, Halifax, etc. Chamberlain is gone[3] but others like him carry on. I suppose some bright statement will be made one of these days. I fear Stafford has completely failed to understand the elements of the Indian problem.

As you must know Indira has decided to stay on in Leysin. Perhaps it is as well that she does so.

I am on my way back to Lucknow and Allahabad for our P.C.C. meeting. After that I go to Lahore and Peshawar and possibly to Kashmir for four or five days.

We are not having a Working Committee meeting till the 15th June. Nothing has happened to warrant us to expedite this meeting.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. On 11 May 1940, S. Satyamurti had said : "I think the future of the world and of India depends on the decisive defeat of the totalitarian states and the triumph of democracies. India must range herself fully on this side." See also previous item.
3. On 10 May 1940, Winston Churchill replaced Neville Chamberlain as Prime Minister.

21. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

Wardha
16.5.1940

My dear Maulana,
Thank you for your telegram agreeing to the 15th June for the Working Committee meeting. This date enables me to go to the Frontier Province and the Punjab. I have to be back in Bombay on June 21st.

Of course the Working Committee meeting should not be postponed just to suit individual convenience. If the situation demands it, it should be held regardless of other factors. I feel however, and Mahatmaji agrees, that it is better for us to wait some time so that we might know how the present situation develops. Events are marching ahead rapidly and even a month may make a great deal of difference. Therefore, from this point of view also, it is desirable not to have an early meeting of the Working Committee.

I came here today and had a talk with Mahatmaji. I was very glad to find that his reaction to international developments was more or less the same as mine. I wonder if you saw a statement I made to the press five or six days ago. I enclose a copy. I was sorry to read Rajendra Babu's press interview on that day. And now I learn from the radio that Asaf Ali has issued some kind of appeal[2] for political parties to come together and join in helping Britain and in organising our defence. I think it was very improper of Asaf Ali, as a member of the W.C., to issue such a statement. It must lead people to think that the W.C. is prepared to adopt this line and, so far as I know, this is certainly not going to be done.

Rajendra Babu has written a letter to Gandhiji and sent him a copy of his letter to you dated 14th May. At Gandhiji's suggestion I am sending a reply to him, a copy of which I enclose. This will give you some idea of how my mind is working. I hope that the U.P.P.C.C. which meets on the 18th will pass a resolution on these lines.

I am quite clear in my mind that our policy must remain unchanged and we must go ahead, as before, with our organisational and other preparations. Our enrolment and training of satyagrahis must go on. I do not think that satyagraha should be started soon, even if we are ready for it. But the possibility of a loosening of central authority

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Asaf Ali, in a statement on 15 May 1940, had said that the time had come when, given an honourable understanding with Britain, a national coalition government responsible to the people could be immediately formed in India.

demands that we should be ready to meet any situation that might arise.

To talk about our joining hands in the defence of India is ridiculous. Defence against whom? and to help the British Empire? I think this will be wrong and degrading, apart from the fact that we are not in a position to do anything effective on these lines. Even the defence of India can only be undertaken by us on the lines of developing the satyagraha organisations. I do not myself see any real danger of foreign invasion. I do see a danger of internal trouble. For that also we have no other remedy except on disciplined satyagrahi lines.

I am quite clear that we must not budge an inch from the position we have taken up, and, what is more, we must not be caught in any trap laid out by the new British Government or the Viceroy. I think they are bound to take some step—invite Gandhiji and others, or make some other vague statement. Our answer to all this must be clear. We are not going to cooperate in the preservation of empire. The independence of India must be recognised—not Dominion Status and the like—and the people of India must frame their constitution through a constituent assembly. No small group of men for this purpose will be accepted. It is only on this basis that we can talk. If this basis is not present, then there is no good talking.

The British Empire is doomed. It is almost a thing of yesterday already. And yet, such is human folly and arrogance, that the British Government in India continues to behave in an imperialist manner. There is not the slightest change. The members of the British Parliament still patronise us and advise us and behave generally in a manner which I find to be intolerable. If even catastrophic events cannot open their eyes to realities, I do not see why we should join the company of the blind.

To say that because Nazism is worse than British imperialism, therefore we prefer to be ruled by the British, is to me the height of degradation. If we are so helpless that we cannot look after ourselves, then the sooner we perish the better. We are not going to change masters. We shall fight against all domination.

Gandhiji has shown me your letter about Dr. Gopi Chand[3] and the appointment of Sardar Sampooran Singh[4] as leader of the Punjab Assembly Party. I entirely agree with you that this was improper but I am

3. He resigned his seat on 30 April 1940 to devote himself to the constructive programme of the Congress.
4. (1889-1951); leader of the opposition, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1940-45; member, Central Legislative Assembly, 1945-47; Deputy High Commissioner for India in Pakistan, 1947-50.

not clear as to what should be done now. I am going to Lahore for two days soon to attend the satyagraha camp. Iftikhar has invited me. If you have any directions to give me, please send them soon.

I enclose a copy of my reply to a correspondent of Gandhiji's.[5] This also deals with the Akalis and the Congress.

My provisional programme is as follows, but the exact dates have not been fixed yet :

In Lucknow for P.C.C. meetings	May 18, 19, 20
In Allahabad	May 21, 22, 23
In Lahore	May 24, 25
In Peshawar	May 26 to 30th
Srinagar, Kashmir	May 31st for a week.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. See *post*, section 2, item 30.

22. U.P.P.C.C. Resolution on the War[1]

The U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, meeting at a time when vast armed forces clash and struggle for mastery in Europe and the fate of empires hangs in the balance, has given its most earnest consideration to the problem as it affects India. Events are taking place, with ever-increasing speed, which affect the entire political and economic structure of the world, and will change it vitally. It is clear that the empires of today disintegrate and will cease to be; small independent countries, howsoever advanced they might be, are helpless and can have no future as independent units unless they are parts of a larger federation. The menace of a new and vast fascist empire looms over Europe, and yet even the possibility of military triumph can give it no stable foundation. The forces which the war has unleashed will find no resting place except in an equilibrium based on political and economic freedom for nations, a new social order, and a world federation of nations.

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. This resolution as drafted by Jawaharlal was passed at the United Provinces Provincial Congress Committee meeting at Lucknow on 19 May 1940.

The Committee has noted with anxious concern the invasion of small and free nations by Nazi Germany, and sends its deep sympathy to the peoples of Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg, who have become the innocent victims in the struggle between rival empires.

The Committee notes also that, in spite of the peril that encompasses it, the British Government still thinks and acts in terms of empire and imperialism, and in India we continue to see the force of British imperialism, and to hear its voice. Instead of recognising Indian independence and fashioning itself so as to give the earliest effect to it, British authority denies and refuses this demand and birthright of the Indian people, and speaks in terms of empire and patronising domination. In India the people's representatives have no authority or place and autocracy holds sway. Large numbers of Congressmen and others have been condemned to prison, public activities interfered with and civil liberties taken away. The picture of India is still the picture of British imperialism in action.

The Committee can never tolerate or agree with this picture, whatever may happen in the battlefields of Europe. India's policy towards Britain is determined by Britain's attitude towards India, and not by other and external considerations. If Indian independence is not recognised and given effect to, if British imperialism still flourishes in India, intent on preserving its vested interests and supporting feudalism and encouraging disruption, then India must continue to refuse all cooperation and to resist imposed decisions.

The Committee is convinced that the decision of the Ramgarh Congress that satyagraha is inevitable and should be prepared for, must be acted upon in its entirety and nothing has happened which should be allowed to vary it. The new turn in world events makes it all the more imperative that India's independence should be secured and that the Indian people should determine the form to be given to this. The Committee deprecates all attempts to confuse this fundamental issue by raising other questions of cooperation with Britain in defence. India will defend herself when she is free against all who seek to deprive her of this freedom; she cannot defend an empire which holds her in its grip and comes in the way of her freedom.

In the supreme crisis that confronts the world, all other questions become secondary and unimportant, and it becomes essential for the Indian people to hold together, to sink their differences, and to face the perils and demands of the future as a united and determined people. Empires fade away, and it is inevitable that the people of India will have to decide for themselves what that future is going to be for them. Our

internal conflicts and disputes have no place today, when the age that we have known passes and gives place to an unknown future, when only nations and peoples, who are strong and disciplined, and capable of looking after themselves, will have an honoured place. The Committee calls upon the people of the province to prepare themselves for this future and to face whatever may happen with fortitude, discipline and confidence in themselves. The Committee earnestly invites the cooperation of all, whether in the Congress or outside, so that all groups and individuals may work together for the larger good of the country and for India's freedom and unity. If India falls a prey to disunity and disruption, all suffer equally and the realisation of our freedom is delayed. At this moment of crisis and ordeal, we must all rise superior to the minor issues and conflicts which have no place when the fundamentals of our existence are in question. There must be no argument for petty advantage, no excitement that weakens, no doubting that confuses.

Whatever the future may hold for India, it is clear that real strength comes to the country by the organisation of disciplined and peaceful satyagrahis, pledged to united action and sacrifice for India's freedom. These satyagrahis are not opposed to any other group working for the same cause and will cooperate wholeheartedly with all who desire India's independence.

The Committee welcomes the transformation of Congress Committees in the province into satyagraha committees and the enrolment of satyagrahis. While fully appreciating the response that has already been made to this appeal for satyagraha volunteers, the Committee desires to emphasize that this work must be continued with full vigour and that every Committee and satyagrahi must carry out the duties laid down. Real strength comes not from mere numbers but from disciplined and coordinated activity.

The Committee further desires to lay stress on the enrolment and training of volunteers in villages and towns alike. In the days of stress and trial ahead of us, many tasks of local defence and self-protection may fall on the residents of urban and rural areas and Congressmen, in cooperation with others, should prepare themselves for them.

All the members of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, assembled at this meeting, pledge themselves anew to the cause of India's independence and unity, to work for this great end to the utmost of their capacity, to maintain the peaceful discipline of the Congress, and to carry out the decisions of our great organisation.

23. On the New Phase of the War Crisis[1]

I did not intend to take part in the P.C.C. discussions but as the President had asked me I am doing so. I have however been feeling of late that I do not fit in with the present atmosphere and feel a little lonely. It may be that I am getting old and therefore cannot appreciate all that is said or the manner of saying it.

New times are coming and the old order is being destroyed. However I regret that even good things of the old order might be destroyed with the bad. This rather saddens me.

While I welcome the ending of old empires which have existed for long and look forward to the liquidation of British imperialism, I will be sorry if the great culture of France with its magnificent heritage also suffers in the cause of human freedom. I will also be sorry if English culture and civilisation goes down. I want to separate them from the imperialism which has corrupted them and ultimately weakened them.

I regret the light tone adopted by some members who spoke on the resolution. They have indulged in catch phrases and high sounding words. All that does not appeal to me. They have attacked our leaders and have tried to show that they are keeping back the country. They have alleged that Mahatma Gandhi does not want to start a struggle. They cannot have it both ways. They have to choose their path and their leader and stick to him till such times as they want to change their leader which they should do deliberately then.

In regard to our objective and the method of attaining it there is no difference of opinion though in some cases there is a difference in approach. It might be that another approach is a better one, let us decide definitely and stick to our decision. It is no good deciding on something and then criticising it all the time.

There is a lot of talk of struggle. Struggle is indeed surrounding us all over the world. In India we live in the midst of a struggle against British imperialism. That struggle will inevitably grow and develop into satyagraha. There can never be an end to our struggle till India is independent. But a struggle or any kind of fight requires leadership and generalship as Macaulay had once said. Bad generals have sometimes won victories but nobody has ever known a debating society to win a battle. Let us, therefore, if we are serious, develop a mentality of

1. Speech supporting the U.P.P.C.C. resolution, 19 May 1940. From the *National Herald*, 20 May 1940.

struggle and discipline and not imagine that we can have the struggle in the manner of a debate.

By saying that Mahatma Gandhi will not start a struggle you are actually hampering the starting of satyagraha. For we cannot go on criticising our leader and saying all the time that he does not mean business and yet expect that he would launch a struggle immediately.

The Congress which has long been a fighting organisation has become more often an electioneering organisation. Far more interest is taken in elections inside and outside the Congress leaving more vital matters; this is not the way of a struggle. We will have to convert the Congress again into a fighting organisation. This is the object of having satyagraha committees.

I am personally opposed to the starting of satyagraha at this particular moment even if we consider ourselves quite ready for it. It seems to me improper to strike at a person when he is surrounded by peril and difficulty. That is not the way of satyagraha. Nor is it good tactics. We have to think in terms of the world and of the ultimate object but the time may not be far distant when we would have to start the struggle. Let us get ready for it. Events are marching fast and they will dictate our policy far more than individuals. I consider the work I have been doing in the National Planning Committee important as it helps us to form a real picture of our objectives in India. Without a clear picture in our mind of what India is going to be when independent, we will waste our time and energy when the opportunity comes.

24. To V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Allahabad
May 21, 1940

My dear Krishna,

I have received a long letter from you enclosing a cutting of some interview of Gandhiji's which appeared in the *News Chronicle*. Events move so fast that to answer old letters is hardly worthwhile. I should like to warn you, however, not to attach too much importance to odd sentences and phrases cut off from their context which are cabled out to England. Quite possibly you might have seen a brief report of what I said at the U.P. Provincial Congress meeting three days ago. I have myself seen some reports of this speech which might convey a wrong impression.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

You must remember that a difference in emphasis creeps in sometimes when one is addressing our own people on a particular resolution or amendment and when one is addressing the world at large. Addressing one's own people the tendency is to emphasise some of our own failings which must be got rid of—one must prepare for action and not talk loosely and so on and so forth.

I enclose a copy of the resolution passed by the U.P.P.C.C. regarding the present situation. I think this represents not only the general Congress view but Gandhiji's view also. Certain very unfortunate statements have been made recently by Rajendra Babu, Asaf Ali and others. These statements are in a sense repudiated by this resolution. I might inform you that Gandhiji, Vallabhbhai and many others of their groups were put out by Rajendra Babu's statement.

The position is that while it is considered improper just at this particular moment of crisis in the war to launch civil disobedience the question of satyagraha has by no means been put off. I think myself that we should wait for a while, which need not be very long, and prepare rather t[illegible] plunge in at this stage.

Gandhiji has at no time thought in terms of a small body of men deciding anything about India. He sticks completely to his old position, that is a recognition of Indian independence and a full-blooded constituent assembly. It is only on the basis of this that he is prepared to talk. But as is his way, he always says that he is prepared to discuss the matter with anybody.

I have returned to Allahabad today after a long absence and am leaving again day after tomorrow for the Punjab and the Frontier Province. I hope that you have received the £100 which were sent to you by the A.I.C.C. office.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

25. To H.N. Spalding[1]

Allahabad
May 22, 1940

Dear Mr. Spalding,[2]
Edward Thompson has sent me your letter of the 18th April. I received this only yesterday on my return to Allahabad. A letter from you is

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Henry Norman Spalding (1877-1953); endowed the Spalding professorship of Eastern Religions and Ethics and a lecturership in Eastern Art at Oxford University.

deserving of every attention and I have read your letter carefully. I am glad you have written to Mahatma Gandhi and me on this subject. I am forwarding the Mahatma's letter to him.

You will forgive me if I write to you briefly and in haste. I want to send you an answer immediately as I am leaving Allahabad again for the Frontier Province.

Events have moved so rapidly during the last few days, that anything one might say now may be out of date a few days hence. Very probably this march of events will itself decide many problems for good or ill. It is at present enough to find how helpless we all are before these tremendous forces which seem to fashion our destiny.

What these events will ultimately lead to, I do not know. But, if anything, they have confirmed me in the views I held previously. I agree with you entirely that the idea of the independent sovereign state has completely broken down.[3] It is clear enough that there can be no independent small states in the future. There may possibly be huge groups of states united together in each group and each group in a state of latent hostility to the other. Though this is a possibility it is obviously a very undesirable possibility and it leads to no stability, but to future wars on a tremendous scale. Therefore we come back to the conclusion that the independent sovereign state must be put an end to, and the political and economic organisation of the world must keep pace with the technique of science, which has united the whole earth. That is to say that there should be a real commonwealth of interdependent states, each state foregoing that part of its independence which is necessary for the sake of this commonwealth or federation.

While I accept completely this ideal, I am quite convinced that this ideal cannot be realised through such groupings as the British Empire, even though that empire may change its imperialist characteristics and become a truer commonwealth. I do not think that it is possible for an empire like this ever to shed its imperialism without liquidating its old structure and building afresh on a new basis. So far as India is concerned, it is almost impossible for it to become a really free member of a free British Commonwealth. But India can much more easily become a member of a wider commonwealth which embraces all countries.

3. Spalding had written: "While freedom and self-government remain a true ideal for every state—independence has become a false ideal. If freedom is to be preserved, statesmanship must aim at a Commonwealth of Man—not of independent but of interdependent states or groups of states."

Similarly I do not believe in a united states of Europe or of Europe and America. This will mean ultimately either the exploitation by Europe and America of Asia and Africa or the building up of vast groups of nations hostile to each other. I think therefore that any approach towards the future world commonwealth through either a British group or a European group is fundamentally wrong and will not lead to a real commonwealth. As you have said in your letter, India is bound to have the closest relations with her neighbour China and other Asiatic countries. Our contacts with China have already increased greatly and there is a desire on both sides to develop them. This cannot happen satisfactorily if we are tied up to any group which excludes China and these countries.

It is worthwhile remembering also the psychological aspect of this question. A long period of British rule and British exploitation of India has put up enormous psychological barriers between us and England. Nationalism is always a somewhat dangerous doctrine. It isolates and is essentially based on an anti feeling. Fortunately for us in India our whole movement, as directed by Gandhiji, has tried to break down this psychological barrier and to lessen the evils of a narrow nationalism. Still they remain and the only way to break them down completely is to have the feeling of complete freedom from British imperialism. Otherwise these barriers and complexes will continue and embitter our relations. This is not merely a psychological question but an economic question. The essential difficulty in England's way is the fear that her enormous vested interests in India will suffer if India is free. There is no doubt that all illegitimate interests will suffer, though we have no desire to injure any legitimate interest. We lay emphasis on independence because we do not want them to have this economic hold on us in any way. If the matter was approached from the world point of view, it would be entirely different.

It is a surprising and depressing thing to note that in spite of everything that has happened and is happening, British authorities in India and in England behave and speak to us in terms of imperialism. There has been not the slightest change in this respect. While Britain has undoubtedly done much good to India consciously or unconsciously, she has injured us greatly in regard to many of the basic things of life. Even today when there was the greatest need for cooperation and consolidation, she has encouraged all the disruptive tendencies in India and made our problem far more difficult than it might have been. It is something which is hard to forgive for it means that India may have to go through a terrible period of internal disruption before she finds herself again.

I feel therefore that an essential preliminary to any reorganisation, is the severance of India from the British Empire. This should not lead to sovereign independence of India or of England or any other country. It should lead to the commonwealth of man to which you refer.

I am sure there are many men of goodwill in all countries at present, including Japan and Germany. But it is sad to find that men of goodwill do not seem to go far in this world of evil and therefore just to trust to goodwill is not enough.

If you have followed events in India in recent months you will have found how the Congress under Mahatma Gandhi's leadership has done everything in its power to avert a conflict between England and India. We have tried to do so in spite of strong feeling to the contrary. Our attitude has been one of conciliation throughout. But conciliation has led people to think in England that we are not serious in what we say and are incapable of doing anything. We have made it clear that we do not wish to hamper Britain or to take advantage of her difficulty. But at the same time there is grave danger that if we allow ourselves to be utilised to imperial advantage, we shall suffer greatly and so will the men of goodwill in Britain and elsewhere. Civil disobedience is, as conceived, the most honourable and civilized way of asserting the dignity of a people without desire to injure the other party. Not to assert that dignity and to submit to evil is itself a dangerous course to adopt. Is it not curious that in spite of all that has happened Britain should still desire to hold on to her empire and vested interests? What a tremendous difference it would have made to England's cause if she had deliberately proclaimed the end of her empire and sought the freely given help of India and other countries. But she cannot get out of her imperialist way of thinking and acting.

It is inconceivable to me that when this war ends and if it ends in the victory of the present governments in the allied countries, that their imperialism will still flourish. Why is England afraid of admitting Indian freedom in the context of world federation and recognise our complete right to self-determination?

I believe myself that science today can supply all reasonable material needs of the whole present population of the earth and give leisure also. It is a tragedy that when we have all this at our door almost we should carry on these terrible conflicts.

My daughter is at present in Switzerland. I shall gladly send her your message.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

20. No Provisional Solutions[1]

We live in a rapidly changing world and astonishing things are happening from day to day, but one of the most astonishing of these happenings is the continuing attitude of the British Government towards India. Perhaps it is this very static and unchanging view that has brought so many difficulties and dangers to England.

The past few years of peace and war have been a succession of the most amazing blunders on the part of the British Government in foreign policy, in their Indian policy, and in other directions. The law of cause and effect is now having its revenge.

The new Secretary of State for India speaks[2] in a tone which is no doubt meant to be conciliatory but the content of his utterances has no relation to facts in India or in Europe. We know the difficulties of the Indian problem. We know that there are differences of opinion here. We know that there are reactionaries here and communalists and feudal rulers and enormous vested interests. We do not underrate the complexity of this problem, no problem in the world today is free of difficulty and complexity. But in spite of this, it is completely out of place for Mr. Amery to talk of a revision of the present Act and of what may be done after the war is over, or of provisional solutions and the like. There can be no provisional solution of the problem, nor can there be any solution within the orbit of British imperialism. There is no question, so far as we are concerned, of amending this act or that act. Nor do we want a part in devising our form of constitution.

The British Government must give up completely its conception of being the patronising overlord of India, generously allowing us to have a say now and then. They must recognize the complete independence

1. Statement to the press, Lahore, 24 May 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 25 May 1940.
2. On 23 May 1940, Amery had stated: "The attainment by India of free and equal partnership in the British Commonwealth is the goal of our policy . . . it is for Indians themselves to play a vital part in devising the form of constitution best adapted to India's conditions and to India's outlook . . . that the present scheme of the Act of 1935 and the policy and plans on which it is based are open to re-examination at the end of the war, necessarily implies discussion and negotiation and not dictation . . . Even if no final agreement on the major issue is immediately in sight, I cannot think that it is beyond the resources of Indian statesmanship to find at any rate such provisional accommodation as would admit the resumption of office. . . ."

of India and the right of the Indian people alone to do what they like in regard to their future constitution as well as in regard to the problems arising from the war. We should try to settle our internal problems however difficult they might be. We shall strain every nerve to come to a settlement which is agreeable to various groups in India and to the vast majority of the people. If we fail, that will be our look-out and we shall face the consequences of the failure. But on no account and under no circumstances can we accept any interference with our future from the British Government or any other foreign authority. We realize fully the serious implications of the present world situation and its possible consequences in India. I wish the British Government would realize this also as well as we do and fashion their course accordingly, giving up all idea of empire and domination.

I said the other day that I thought it against the dignity and honour of India, just to take advantage of England's present difficulty. We are not out to bargain because one does not bargain about one's freedom. We are not out to embarrass at a moment of peculiar difficulty, because that has not been India's way. But we are out to assert and gain our freedom and we cannot give that up because the war situation has developed to England's disadvantage. Our internal policy must be governed by one consideration only—the freedom of India and the attitude of Britain towards that freedom. Any other course would be against the honour and dignity of India.

It must be remembered also, in spite of everything that is happening abroad, there has been no change in British policy in India. Many of our comrades are in prison and they continue to be sent to prison. We are treated as a hostile people and then it is expected that because of fear of consequences we should help in the maintenance of the British Empire. Whatever the consequences, we cannot help an empire to maintain its hold over us.

27. The Unbridgeable Gulf[1]

Proposals have been made that the Congress should help the British authorities in maintaining peace under the present circumstances. While

1. Interview to the press, Lahore, 24 May 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 25 May 1940.

the Congress has always desired a peaceful transition and wants to avoid internal disturbances, it cannot possibly become a handmaiden of the British Government, helping it to preserve its domination. In its own way, it will no doubt in cooperation with other Indian groups try to prevent internal disturbances.

The main sanction behind the Congress is the moral sanction and the sympathy of millions who look up to it and follow its lead. That sanction would disappear if we weakened in our opposition to imperialism and became the agents of that imperialism even for the maintenance of peace and order. There are many risks, of course, in a situation like the one envisaged and many dangers, but the surest way of meeting it is for the Congress in cooperation with all others who desire Indian freedom to exert its moral appeal and to back it up by organization. It may be that even so we have unfortunately to pass through a period of trouble, but I feel sure that the good sense of the Indian people and the strong sense of unity that has grown up all over the country will triumph in the end. In any event it does not help us at all to get frightened and lose heart at the prospect. We should face whatever happens with a stout heart and, I hope, with good humour.

The world situation is so rapidly changing that any decision taken today may have to be varied tomorrow. We are living in an era of revolutionary changes. An old age is passing and inevitably at such a time there is disintegration and dissolution of things as they were. Many people in India are frightened at the prospect. Undoubtedly that prospect has many dangers in it, but it is no good getting frightened or excited over it, and in any event by our excitement we cannot stop it. I do not think there is any real danger of external attack on India. The two countries mentioned in this connection are Russia and Japan. Neither is in a position to attack India effectively. Even if the present structure collapses in India, Japan would have to meet the hostility of the United States as well as Russia. That would be a very big job. Even if Japan was aggressively inclined, the Dutch Indies and the Philippines are more likely prey. Russia in case of an overwhelming Nazi victory would be in considerable danger from Nazi Germany and of course there is Japan in the East. It is obvious that the Russo-German pact is not going to hold for long and there is an essential conflict between Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. This was hidden by their mutual distrust and conflict with imperialist Britain. Once that is out of the way, the old conflict revives. So the danger of any power attacking India is remote.

The situation has changed since the Ramgarh Congress session decided that satyagraha was inevitable. It left the time and method to

Mahatma Gandhi. That position remains. It is very difficult for anyone to say when and how satyagraha will be launched. The other day, an amendment to a resolution of the U.P. Congress Committee to the effect that satyagraha should be immediately launched was opposed by me partly because I said that this matter should be left to Mahatma Gandhi, partly also because I thought just at this moment when the war situation was perilous for England it would be very ungenerous of us to take advantage of it in this war. That referred to the immediate situation and not to a lengthy period.

Any steps that we take should be carefully thought out as it would inevitably lead to far-reaching consequences. It would be improper to take any step precipitately in a situation which changes from day to day. It is never Gandhiji's intention or desire to do anything deliberately to embarrass or injure his opponent; much less would he think of doing so at a moment when that opponent was in great peril. Nevertheless, if the honour of India and circumstances demand certain actions, he would take it, although a consequence of that action might be embarrassment for the opponent. It should not, therefore, be thought that satyagraha must be postponed till the end of the war. Satyagraha ultimately depends not on the war but on the attitude and activities of the British Government in India. The mandate of the Ramgarh Congress is clear and the British Government's attitude has not changed at all. We cannot accept for long the present state of affairs in India. It is right, however, that one should wait for developments in the external and internal situation before launching on satyagraha. The next few weeks may bring about vital changes. So far as I can see the internal situation does not mean any kind of agreement with the British Government. In spite of war and everything, the gulf that separates us seems to be unbridgeable. There is no question of the Congress ministries going back to office or of our cooperating in the war in any way or of any other patched-up agreement at the centre. The fundamental disease India suffers from requires fundamental remedy which means the rooting out of every form of imperialism.

28. Resist All Aggression[1]

We must learn to understand and appreciate the realities and know what our own position and strength is. If we do not do so, we will soon find

1. Speech at Lahore, 25 May 1940. From *The Tribune*, 26 May 1940.

ourselves vanquished and trodden under the heels of others. We in India, situated as we are, are soon going to be put to hard tests and I ask you to be ready for that. There is great necessity for creating discipline among the people for without that we will not be able to hold our own.

British imperialism is tottering. It is on its last legs. The disease from which British imperialism is suffering has reached its last stage. I therefore ask my countrymen not to bother about ending British imperialism because I have faith in the capacity of my countrymen provided they are willing to be disciplined. If the present order collapses the only organisation which will be able to control the situation in India is the Congress and I therefore want everybody to give his loyalty to it instead of always criticising it. I am sure when the hour of trial comes it is not slogans or blind enthusiasm but the spirit of cohesion which will be of avail.

I refuse to believe that India is in any danger of attack from any foreign power. I am pained and perplexed at the suggestions of those who want India to help in the present war because they think that if the British are defeated some other foreign nation will come and rule over us. Such people think that British rule is better than Nazi rule. I refuse to agree to help in the war on these grounds because I think such men presuppose that we in India are born to remain slaves. If and when the present structure crashes, even if we fail to oppose the new aggressor it will not matter. But once we succeed in throwing away our present yoke we will rather perish than let any new aggressor come and saddle us. I want my countrymen to learn to be brave men ready to face consequences instead of being always calculating. With that end in view I think it will perhaps be good if some bombs are thrown in some Indian cities so that people will at least understand the dangers involved and feel like doing something.

I will be sorry if the French civilisation and culture which has played such a great part perishes. But I cannot persuade myself to help in the war in order to strengthen the hold of British imperialism on India. I do not wish to take advantage of the present difficulties of the British. But I will go my own way and if in that any embarrassment is caused to anyone I wi'l be helpless but I will not take any course of action to embarrass anyone.

The status and position of India has grown very high, and even the most ignorant in the countries outside know at least of two names in India, one that of Mahatma Gandhi and the other that of the Congress. The pity of it is that Indians themselves have forgotten their own country. Because of the increased importance and status of India in

world opinion Congress can no longer remain a body of protesting people. The Congress voice has not grown dim, but on the other hand it has become more stern.

Satyagraha has no relation to the war. It will be started when considered opportune by Mahatma Gandhi. But we will not choose to strike simply because the British Government is in great difficulties. I think it will not only be not very honourable but the world opinion will also stand against India.

One thing which has now come to be a fact is that in the new world order there will be no place for smaller countries. The idea of federation or federations of big countries is now getting popular. Even that will not put an end to conflict in my opinion but lead to greater suspicion. The war resulted from not so much the greed of one person but from economic causes. I think that a socialistic form of state as the basis of the new world federation is the only remedy. Even though I am anxious to have full independence for India I will be prepared to have India join in that federation. But it is a sad commentary on our intelligence that while nations and countries are thinking of a federation, demands for cutting India into pieces are being sponsored.

I appeal to the youth of India whose responsibility is increasing not to be caught in the web of 'isms' but to know their implications and understand them.

29. To V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Srinagar
June 2, 1940

My dear Krishna,

I have been in Kashmir for the last four days and I am writing this letter from Srinagar. I have just received two letters from you, one dated the 18th May and the other undated. The latter letter deals with the American edition of my *Autobiography*.

I was glad to read your long letter but I shall not try to answer it in any detail. Just at present I am tied up with a very heavy programme here. But the real reason is that one cannot say much under present conditions and the situation changes rapidly from day to day.

I should like to make it clear that in spite of all difficulties in England and in the war zones, our fundamental policy remains the same,

1. J.N. Correspondence. N.M.M.L. Extracts.

as laid down at Ramgarh and previously. I have written to you about this before. But it is quite possible that you might be misled by odd extracts from people's speeches cabled to England. I have seen it so often even here. There are of course people like Satyamurti and Asaf Ali who have issued very foolish statements.[2] But it is quite clear that they do not represent Congress sentiment in any way. So far as I know, Gandhiji disapproves greatly of what they have said and he is clear that our policy should remain unchanged. This present policy is to go on preparing for satyagraha. Ordinarily we would not have started satyagraha in the course of the next few weeks or so unless the government had forced our hands. Even apart from this, Gandhiji feels that just at this moment of extreme crisis in the war, it would be highly undesirable to launch satyagraha. This does not mean any indefinite or even long postponement. This does not depend on the end of the war. I think it is definitely right and wise that no satyagraha should be started just at this moment or in the near future. But we should continue to prepare for it and should not allow anything of a compromising nature to divert us from this path.

The Working Committee meets on the 17th June and I shall be going back in time to attend it at Wardha....

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. On 16 May 1940, Satyamurti had stated that it was the ardent wish of Mahatma Gandhi and the Congress and every right-thinking Indian that Britain should triumph in the war and that Britain which stood for justice and fair play in Europe, ought not to have a different policy with regard to India. See also *ante*, items 20 & 21.

30. On Mahatma Gandhi's Statement[1]

It means apparently just what it says and nothing more. It does not mean that he has given up the idea of civil disobedience for the duration of the war or for a long period. That will depend on other circumstances. It means, as far as I can understand, that during the

1. Lahore, 12 June 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 14 June 1940. In an article entitled *Not Yet*, on 1 June 1940, Mahatma Gandhi had written : "I fear that any step toward direct action is bound to cause embarrassment. If I start now, the whole purpose of civil disobedience will be defeated.... We do not seek our independence out of Britain's ruin."

present intense phase of the conflict when great changes are taking place from day to day he would like to hold his hand and watch developments. This intense phase is not likely to last a long time. It may lead to some conclusion or to some kind of equilibrium in war itself. Civil disobedience could be aimed at British imperialism exploiting India for its own purposes. At the present moment British imperialism itself is in an exceedingly bad way and no one can say how long it will survive.

The question for the Congress to consider, even apart from the larger issues, is what it should do in regard to the intensive war preparations in India which have been hinted at and which obviously go contrary to the declared policy of the Congress.

It should be clearly understood that there is no question of a minor settlement in regard to provinces or even temporary makeshift regarding the centre. The Congress is not going to resume charge of Congress ministries from which they have resigned. The question can only be solved by the basic recognition of India as an independent country with all its natural consequences which would involve the popular control of the Government of India, steps being taken for a constituent assembly and, as a corollary, provincial ministries. These cannot be separated from each other; there is no half-way house left.

Meanwhile the Congress policy is to prepare for all contingencies including civil disobedience and such difficulties as may arise in India from the development of the war situation. In the latter naturally the Congress would like to cooperate with all groups who are interested. The situation here, as elsewhere, is a difficult one and the future is uncertain, but there seems to be absolutely no reason why people should grow panicky about it or anticipate trouble.

31. Congress Policy Unchanged[1]

I have a great deal of sympathy for the people of France and the people of England in their hour of trial. I have no sympathy at all for the manner in which Italy has declared war[2] after sitting on the fence so long. A more blatant example of sheer opportunism it would be difficult to find.

These developments in the war situation are no doubt very serious, but I do not see how they affect directly the political situation in India,

1. Interview to the press, 12 June 1940. *National Herald*, 13 June 1940.
2. Italy entered the war against the Allies on 11 June 1940.

more especially the Congress attitude. As has been stated before, India's attitude towards the British Government does not depend on the war situation but on the British Government's attitude towards the Indian problem.

We remain, therefore, exactly where we were, that is as laid down at the Ramgarh Congress session. The next Working Committee meeting will no doubt give an authoritative lead in this matter.

It is unfortunate that a number of statements have been made which may lead to some confusion in the public mind. So far as I know the Congress position is completely unchanged. This being the position, the Congress cannot take any part in war measures such as recently suggested by the Viceroy[3] and the Commander-in-Chief[4] nor can we become party to the proposed Civic Guards.

3. On 5 June 1940, the Viceroy announced the formation of war committees in each district as well as of a civic guard which was intended to be a voluntary organization affiliated to the police.
4. On 31 May 1940 the Commander-in-Chief announced certain plans for the strengthening of the defence services.

12. Our Countrymen Abroad[1]

Ever since the national movement took shape in India the problem of our countrymen abroad has been with us, as indeed it must be. And so it will remain till that movement triumphs and brings freedom and independence to India. For the two are inseparably connected and the status of an Indian abroad must ultimately depend on his status at home.

On many an occasion we have been deeply hurt by the indignities heaped on our countrymen abroad and for a while India has been roused to a widespread agitation and sometimes even to action. Occasionally some results have been obtained. More often these results have been transitory and the attack on the human rights of Indians overseas has been maintained. Our agitations have waned and we have lapsed into inactivity. Yet all the while our people have had to face the continuous pressure and humiliation of an aggressive racial imperialism or of newly awakened national consciousness in other countries, which was easily diverted by this imperialism into anti-Indian channels.

1. Allahabad, 14 June 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 20 June 1940. Foreword to *Our Countrymen Abroad* by Dharam Yash Dev published in 1940.

It is true that India has never forgotten her children abroad, but it is also true that she might have taken greater interest in them than she has done. With the notable exception of Mahatma Gandhi, many of our prominent leaders have little personal knowledge of Indians overseas, and even when they go abroad, they visit the countries of Europe and America. With this lack of knowledge there is inevitably an unconscious limitation of outlook. And yet it is perfectly true to say that if you would know India well, you must go out of India. Not only is this true about the plight of Indians abroad and of our international relations, but it applies with even greater force to a study of our past culture. Some of the finest examples of true Indian sculpture are outside India.

The status of Indians abroad depends on their position in their homeland. This question is, however, tied up with the continuance of the imperialistic system, for imperialism inevitably leads to the domination of one country by another. It is usually closely allied to racialism. We cannot therefore expect a satisfactory solution of this problem till the liquidation of imperialism. It is surprising that some people should still think in terms of any freedom for India, or betterment of the condition of Indians abroad, within the orbit of empire. It is within this empire that they have been treated worst and racialism has been most rampant.

But empires fade away, and whatever good or evil the future may hold for us, the present empires will not survive. The old age passes away, the new one is still hidden from us. It is in terms of the new age that we must think of the problems of our countrymen abroad.

It is clear that there must be perfect racial equality and equality in all the privileges and obligations of citizenship. If an Indian cannot have this in any country, or otherwise cannot live honourably there, it is far better for him not to go to that country.

The free India of the future will not be an imperialist or an aggressive country, nor will she desire to thrust her children where they are not wanted. She will not plan emigration as empire countries have done, but she will only send her people to countries where they are welcomed and treated honourably as friends and comrades.

The old order changes giving place to new. Let us prepare ourselves for this new order by learning something about our numerous countrymen abroad. That new order, so far as we are concerned, must include them. And so I commend this book by Dharam Yash Dev[2] to all who are interested not only in Indians overseas but in the new order towards which we are rushing ahead.

2. (b. 1910); Secretary, Department of Indians Overseas, A.I.C.C., 1940; first Indian Commissioner in Mauritius, 1948-50.

33. Working Committee Resolution on the War

Draft, 20 June 1940[1]

The Working Committee have been deeply moved by the tragic events that have taken place in Europe in startling succession and, in particular, by the misfortunes that have befallen the people of France.[3] These events have already had far-reaching consequences, and they are likely to be followed by other happenings which will lead to novel situations and complex problems in India and the world. This Committee have given earnest thought to these, for they have to bear the heavy burden of advising the people of India as to the course they should adopt in this dynamic and revolutionary crisis.

Ever since the commencement of the European war, the Congress has followed a deliberate policy in its resolutions and the action it has taken, which found its natural culmination in the Ramgarh resolution. That policy was based on the principles of the Congress, its past declarations, the response of the British Government to its invitation, and the desire

Resolution passed on 21 June 1940[2]

The Working Committee have been deeply moved by the tragic events that have taken place in Europe in startling succession and, in particular, by the misfortunes that have befallen the people of France. These events have already had far-reaching consequences, and they are likely to be followed by other happenings which will lead to novel situations and complex problems.

Ever since the commencement of the European war, the Congress has followed a policy which was based on its principles and on the attitude of the British Government towards the demand that India should function as a free and independent country. This policy was confirmed in the Ramgarh resolution. The manner of the application of this policy will necessarily depend on the situation which changes from day to day. The problems which were distant are now near at hand and may soon demand solution. The problem of the achievement of national freedom

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
   The draft was prepared by Jawaharlal.
2. *National Herald*, 22 June 1940.
3. On 14 June 1940, German troops entered Paris and the French Government sought an armistice.

that India should function as a free and independent country. Subsequent events have abundantly justified the wisdom of this policy, and the Ramgarh resolution of the Congress holds and declares this policy to the world. The manner of the application of this policy will necessarily depend on the situation which changes from day to day. Problems which were distant are now near at hand and may soon demand solution. The Committee which has so far considered the question of the achievement of power, has now also to consider how such power is to be maintained, and how a state should function in accordance with the principles which the Congress holds. In particular, this applies to the principle of nonviolence which it has been the proud privilege of the Congress to proclaim to the world for the past twenty years.

The war in Europe, resulting from a suicidal race in armaments and a desire for imperialist domination over other countries and peoples, has already led to inhumanities and barbarities on a mass scale, to the wanton butchery of civilians and non-combatants, including women and children, and to human sorrow and misery on a vast scale. It has led to certain temporary triumphs of organised and intensive violence, but it has also demonstrated the inefficacy of organised violence for the defence of national freedom and the liberties of peoples. This war has shown beyond has now to be considered along with the allied one, its maintenance and the defence of the country against possible external aggression and internal disorder.

The war in Europe, resulting from a desire for imperialist domination over other peoples and countries, and a suicidal race in armaments, has led to human sorrow and misery on a scale hitherto unknown. It has demonstrated the inefficacy of organised violence, on however vast a scale, for the defence of national freedom and the liberties of peoples. It has shown beyond a doubt that warfare cannot lead to peace and freedom, and the choice before the world is uttermost degradation and destruction through warfare or the way of peace and nonviolence on a basis of freedom for all peoples. Mahatma Gandhi has presented to the peoples of the world, crying for relief from the crushing burden of war, a weapon in the shape of organised nonviolence designed to take the place of war for the defence of a people's rights and freedom against armed aggression. He feels that at this critical phase in the history of man, the Congress should enforce this ideal by itself declaring that it does not want that India should maintain armed forces to defend her freedom against external aggression or internal disorder.

a doubt that modern warfare cannot lead to peace and freedom, and the choice before the world is destruction and uttermost degradation through warfare or the way of peace and nonviolence on a basis of freedom for all peoples. At a time so critical in the history of man, the Congress, under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, has presented to the peoples of the world, thirsting for relief from the crushing burden of war, a weapon in the shape of organised nonviolence designed to take the place of war for the defence of a people's rights and freedom.

But the Working Committee are fully aware of their limitations and of the limitations of Congressmen in the practice of nonviolence, which, because of these limitations, has not proved efficacious in the solution of communal distemper and other internal disorders. Nevertheless, ever since the Congress adopted nonviolence as its policy in the pursuit of its goal of complete political and economic independence, Congressmen have tested its efficacy in the fight against British domination. They have witnessed under its spell a phenomenal awakening among the masses.

The Working Committee desire to proclaim afresh their belief in the principle of nonviolence and their firm faith that in the effective application of this

While the Working Committee hold that the Congress must continue to adhere strictly to the principle of nonviolence in their struggle for independence, the Committee cannot ignore the present imperfections and failings in this respect of the human elements that they have to deal with, and the possible dangers in a period of transition and dynamic change, until the Congress has acquired nonviolent control over the people in adequate measure and the people have imbibed sufficiently the lesson of organised nonviolence. The Committee have deliberated over the problem that has thus arisen and have come to the conclusion that they are unable to go the full length with Gandhiji. But they recognise that he should be free to pursue his great ideal in his own way and therefore absolve him from responsibility for the programme and activity which the Congress has to pursue under the conditions at present prevailing in India and the world in regard to external aggression and internal disorder.

Many of the problems which the Working Committee have considered in this connection are not of the present, though they may be of the near future. The Committee wish to make it clear that the methods and basic policy of nonviolence in the national struggle for freedom continue with full force and are not affected in the least by the inability

principle will the world find relief from war and its horrors. To that end, and with this principle always in view, the Committee will continue to advise the people of India in the struggle for national independence and world freedom and cooperation. True nonviolence is a weapon of the strong and not a refuge for the weak as some people have considered it. But the Committee cannot ignore the present imperfections and failings in this respect of the human nature they have to deal with, and of the possible dangers in a period of revolutionary transition, if the masses have not imbibed sufficiently the lesson of organised nonviolence and the Congress has not acquired nonviolent control over them. Nor can the Committee lay down now that in all circumstances, and whatever world conditions might be, a free India must necessarily discard the use of arms in repelling external aggression or in dealing with internal disorder. A state has certain duties and obligations to its people and it should make every endeavour to discharge them peacefully and without violence or coercion. But if circumstances prevent it from discharging them in this way, it cannot abdicate its functions, so long as it has the confidence of the people, and is compelled to use, under existing circumstances, armed force. The Committee earnestly hope that, out of the horror and catastrophe of the present war, to extend it to the region of national defence.

The War Committees that are being formed are definitely aimed at increasing the war effort. In view of the Congress policy, they cannot be supported and Congressmen cannot participate in them or contribute to war funds. Nor can Congressmen associate themselves, under the present political conditions, with Government controlled Civic Guards.

Congress committees should organise, wherever necessary, people in villages and other areas for self-defence and in order to maintain a sense of public security in their respective areas. This should be done on a non-communal basis and in full cooperation with all other groups interested in this task.

In view of the difficult times that loom ahead, it is essential that the Congress should function as an active and disciplined organisation. Provincial Committees are enjoined to take necessary steps for this purpose. They should realise that it is of urgent and vital importance that the Congress should function in this way in these days of crisis, and should not be merely a roll of vast numbers of inactive members. All members of executive committees, in particular, are expected to take a continuous and active part in Congress work, and those who are unwilling or unable to do so are failing in their duty

conditions will arise which will eliminate the use of armed force.

The Working Committee have deliberated over this vital question at length, and they owe it to the public to take them into their confidence and to place before them their viewpoint with clarity. This is necessary all the more because in this matter of the application of nonviolence to external aggression and internal disorder, they have the misfortune not to be wholly in agreement with Mahatma Gandhi, whose leadership and advice it has been their high privilege to have for the past twenty years. That leadership and advice will, they are convinced, still be theirs and India's in the trials ahead. But Gandhiji's firm faith in the efficacy of nonviolence, under all circumstances, does not permit him to tolerate any deviation from it and he desires to have complete freedom for himself, and without any commitment to the Congress, to pursue a policy of active nonviolence in the pursuit of the goal which he shares with the Congress and with vast numbers of people in India.

Many of the problems which the Working Committee have considered are not of the present, though they may be of the near future. In any event the Committee wish to make it clear that the creed of nonviolence of the Congress continues with full force to the country and are of no service to the organisation.

The critical situation that faces the world today requires vigilant attention and action whenever needed. For this purpose the Working Committee will meet at frequent intervals, and all members must keep in readiness to obey an urgent summons. The All India Congress Committee should be summoned to meet in the last week of July.

and all Congressmen and Congress volunteers must abide by it.

Some Congressmen have advocated that the Congress should resume office in the provincial governments in order to utilise the government machinery at their disposal to take steps for training citizens in the use of arms. Such a proposal is entirely opposed to Congress policy and the Committee cannot envisage any return to office except in a free India. Only a free India can also consider, if she so chooses, the training of her citizens. Any such training, given under present conditions, may well be to the disadvantage of India and may militate against the national policy.

Nor can Congressmen associate themselves in any way with the proposed official Civic Guards. The War Committees that are being formed are definitely aimed at increasing the war effort, and, in view of the Congress policy, they cannot be supported and Congressmen cannot participate in them or contribute funds to war loans. While the Congress has gone to the utmost length in not taking any step so far to cause embarrassment to the British Government, it must always be remembered that the Congress policy is not to give any cooperation in the pursuit of war. This policy is laid down in the

Ramgarh resolution and Congressmen are expected to adhere to it.

In view of the difficult times that loom ahead, it is essential that the Congress should function as an active disciplined organisation. Those who have taken the satyagraha pledge[4] must abide by the terms of the pledge, and if they are not prepared to act up to it, their names should be removed from the list of satyagrahis. Members of the Congress who are in basic disagreement with the principles and policy of the Congress and express this disagreement publicly should resign from the Congress. Provincial Committees are authorised to take necessary steps for this purpose. They should realise that it is of urgent and vital importance that the Congress should be an active, functioning and disciplined organisation, and not merely a roll of inactive members.

The critical situation that faces the world today requires vigilant attention and action whenever needed. For this purpose the Working Committee will meet at frequent intervals and all members must

4. After the Ramgarh session a new satyagraha pledge was drawn up on the lines of the pledge adopted at the Congress session at Ahmedabad in 1921. The satyagrahi pledged himself to remain nonviolent, promote unity among all races, work for the eradication of untouchability, spin regularly and use hand spun and hand woven cloth and be prepared to be imprisoned and in the event of imprisonment make no claims on the Congress to support him or his dependents.

keep in readiness to obey an urgent summons. An Emergency Committee consisting of the President and..... is hereby formed with authority to act in the name of the Working Committee when occasion may demand. The All India Congress Committee should be summoned to meet in the last week of July.

34. On the Resolution of the Working Committee[1]

The Working Committee have rightly taken the people into their confidence about the basic problems that confront them and about the future that seemed so distant and is now so near. It is exceedingly difficult for most of us to get out of the mental ruts we fall into and we continue to think in terms of a yesterday that is dead and gone.

France has fallen for the moment because she did not adapt herself to today. England's troubles are essentially due to the same reason. Both France and England represented more than any other country the old epoch whose foundations had been uprooted and which is passing before our eyes. England, full of the self-assurances of an old empire and a long period of dominance and security, was blind to the changing age and blundered in India and in her foreign policy despite every warning.

It is absurd to think that the revolutionary developments of recent weeks in Europe are due purely to military reasons or to Germany's superiority in armament or numbers. They are essentially due to the fact that the British and French ruling classes have lost their grip and do not understand the world we live in. They seek to hold on to something which belongs to a past age, and everything slips from their hands. We in India must beware of these mental ruts. Unfortunately too many of us are incapable of getting out of them and it is amazing how they continue to blind themselves to the obvious logic of events.

Let us remember that an age is over and we are witnessing the bloody transition to a new age. I do not know whether this new age will necessarily be better, but I do know that it will be very different. The old empires end, even the old national boundaries fade away. Could a more astonishing proposition have been made than the British Government's suggestion that France and England should become one state?[2]

Greater than any individual or any army, vast elemental forces are at work changing the face of things. Much is happening which grieves us

1. Interview to the press, Bombay, 23 June 1940. *National Herald*, 24 June 1940.
2. On 16 June 1940, the French Government were deliberating on the question of armistice. Winston Churchill offered an indissoluble Franco-British Union. The French Government rejected this and concluded an armistice on 22 June.

and moves us deeply. It is no good getting angry at it or excited. For one does not get angry at an earthquake or at the fury of the elements. But one must seek to understand it, for only then can we fashion our course truly.

In India the time is past for gestures and declarations by the Secretary of State or the Viceroy. Uncontrolled events dictate what happens. New problems have arisen and the achievement of national freedom itself, for which we have laboured so long, has to be considered with the problems that arise after the restrictions to that freedom are removed.

Some people may have thought that what the Congress has said during these past nine months was not seriously meant. They have deluded themselves and suffer for that delusion. The Congress has been and is in deadly earnest and it will follow its consistent policy. This is no time for tall talk. But the full independence of India and our functioning as a free nation is no tall talk for us and this cannot afford to wait till the end of an uncertain war. We have to deal with it here and now. Events are on the march with giant strides and we shall try to keep pace with them.

The Working Committee's resolution makes it clear that in spite of war developments the Ramgarh resolution stands, as indeed it must. Our policy and action must be fashioned accordingly. The Committee are now concerned above all with what is going to happen in India and want the people to prepare for it. They have little interest in declarations made by a foreign authority.

I trust that the people of the country will also think in these terms and rally round the Congress at this supreme moment, for it is the Congress only which might be able to control the situation as it develops from day to day. No other organisation can possibly do so.

The difference between Gandhiji's approach and that of the Working Committee must be understood and the people must not think that there is a break between him and the Congress. The Congress of the past twenty years is his creation and child and nothing can break this bond. I am sure that his guidance and wise counsel will always be available to the Congress.

Even as regards nonviolence the Congress has not gone back on any of its professions and it holds to them strictly. But new problems raised new issues which necessitated the further extension of this principle or the recognition that under present circumstances it was hardly possible to do so. Gandhiji, with the flame of his cherished ideal burning brightly before him, could not tolerate any deviation from nonviolence, even in cases of external aggression or internal disorder. He could not reject the logic of his own argument.

The Working Committee was powerfully attracted by this ideal but they realised the imperfections in this respect of the human material they had to work with and could not lay down that in all circumstances and whatever world conditions might be, a free India must necessarily discard the use of arms in repelling external aggression or in dealing with internal disorder. Indeed Congress governments have used the police. The state has certain duties and obligations to its people and it should endeavour to discharge them peacefully and without violence or coercion. But if circumstances prevent it from discharging them in this way, it cannot abdicate its functions, so long as it has the confidence of the people. This question might appear philosophical and yet it might well be a real question for us soon. It hardly arises so long as India is a subject country but a free India will have to deal with it immediately.

I should personally like to say that this war and the events that preceded it have impressed upon me more than ever the futility of violence, and in India as she is circumstanced today, the idea of our organising violence for defence against the external aggression of a major power is futile. We cannot do so effectively in this present crisis at least and in any event we are not going to do so in order to help an empire that dominates over us.

I am convinced that the very excess of violence and horror that we see today will ultimately burn themselves up in their own fire, or else the world will rapidly revert to barbarism. If I did not believe that and if I thought that armed force and brutal violence will always rule the world, life would have little meaning for me. But if a people are not ready to fight nonviolently, I would sooner that they fought violently than succumb timidly to evil and violence and a slave's fate.

I do not think there is the slightest likelihood of a major invasion of India. There is always a possibility of internal trouble during times of crises and transition. I do not envisage communal trouble, but adventurers and anti-social elements may seek to take advantage of the situation. There is nothing to frighten us. But we should be prepared for this and for all other difficulties of this period of transition, so that India can emerge out of it a free, united and strong country. Hence the Working Committee have asked the Congress committees to organise the villages and other areas for self-defence and have demanded strict discipline and active national service from Congressmen.

Whatever the future may bring, the bonds that unite us to Gandhiji will remain as strong as ever and his inspiration will strengthen and guide us.

Recent developments in regard to China have been distressing. France, defeated by Germany, has been bullied by Japan into closing the door

from Indo-China to China.[3] And now Japan is trying to repeat these tactics in regard to the Burma-China route.[4] If Britain agrees to this, it will be a betrayal of China, which will be deeply resented in India. Britain's policy for some months past has shown a desire to placate Japan even at the cost of India as well as China. Recent Indo-Japanese trade talks have been ominous and the interests of India are threatened.[5] It must be clearly understood that this anti-Indian and anti-Chinese policy will produce strong reactions in India.

3. Japanese southward expansion had begun with the fall of France in June 1940, when Japanese demands obliged the French to close the Haiphong-Kunming railroad as a supply route to free China. On 6 August, Japan demanded from the Governor-General of Indo-China the right to control airfields and to move troops into the northern provinces of that country. The French gave in and on 23 September 1940, Japanese forces moved into the northern provinces.
4. On 16 July the British Government announced its decision to close the Burma Road for 3 months.
5. The Indo-Japanese trade talks were held for the renewal of the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement of 1937-40, which limited Japan's sale of cotton textiles in India and linked them with the purchase of Indian raw cotton.

35. The Pertinence of Nonviolence[1]

India has never asked for an empire while putting forward the demand for her complete independence. A federation of free nations should arise so that no strong nation will dominate the weaker ones. Certain sections of the public want that India should raise an army of her own. This war has made it clear that if at all a country has to raise any army it must be very big and powerful and capable of defeating the biggest enemy. Even France with its traditional military glory and supremacy extending over centuries in Europe collapsed within a short period before the German mechanised forces; the gun and the sword have been reduced to the position of mere toys in these days of highly mechanised warfare. If India wants to raise an army it should be powerful enough

1. Speech on unfurling the National Flag at Congress House, Bombay, 30 June 1940. Maharashtra Government Records, File No. 3036/H/XII—5/1940.

to withstand the onslaught of the most powerful mechanised forces in the world, otherwise it is better that India should not have any army at all. In the event of foreign aggression there is urgent necessity for developing organised nonviolence, with which India has fought British imperialism in the struggle for freedom. Though the weapon of nonviolence will be of no use in the present warfare it can make it impossible for any aggressor to establish and continue his rule in India. I appeal to you to strengthen the Congress by developing organised nonviolence. The Congress does not desire to participate in the imperialistic war and I advise you not to take part in it.

There is no break between the Congress Working Committee and Mahatma Gandhi. It has always been Mahatma Gandhi's habit to place his views before the Working Committee, and the members of the Working Committee also place their own views before him. The old order is gradually giving place to a new one. Be prepared to meet the coming events so that we can all live in peace and freedom. The Congress is ever ready to have negotiations with a view to achieving complete independence for India, and there is nothing unusual or harmful in Mahatma Gandhi's recent talks with the Viceroy.[2]

2. The Viceroy, in an interview with Mahatma Gandhi on 29 June 1940, suggested the grant to India of a status similar to that of the self-governing dominions within one year after the end of the war. He also indicated possible lines of a new constitution, subject to an agreed understanding with regard to British commercial interests, defence, external affairs, the rights of minorities and princes. Mahatma Gandhi did not respond favourably.

16. On the Political Situation[1]

Question: Do you share the pessimism about the outcome of Mahatma Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I never had any high hopes about it. The time for declarations in regard to India's political goal or British war aims and gestures from the Viceroy and the Secretary of State has passed.

1. Interview to the press, New Delhi, 2 July 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 3 July 1940.

Q: Do you agree with Mr. Rajagopalachari that there is no immediate prospect of civil disobedience?[2]

JN : That is so, inasmuch as the British imperialism against which civil disobedience movement is proposed to be launched is tottering.

2. He had stated that the then policy of the Congress was noncooperation but not satyagraha and if civil resistance was started it would create anger in the opponents' heart and there would not be the true atmosphere of satyagraha.

37. A Realist Resolution[1]

The resolution[2] of the Working Committee has been passed after a prolonged discussion and consideration of the various factors, internal and external. In fact, the resolution merely repeats, in somewhat different language, what the position of the Congress has been since the European war broke out, that is, that the independence of India should be recognized and affirmed and that it should be acted up to at the present. If this is done, it not only leads to the ending of the conflict between England and India on the question of our freedom, but it shows also that British imperialism is being rapidly liquidated, and under these circumstances, it becomes inevitable and right for real popular control to be established provisionally in the Centre and the provinces. This would be the preliminary and transitional stage towards the establishment of a new popular constitution framed by a constituent assembly. Such an assembly would take some time to meet and frame the constitution. Meanwhile provisional arrangements have to be made to carry on the government under popular control. This is all the more necessary at critical times like the present when empires are tottering and an old age is passing away. The Working Committee not only repeat their own demand but put it in concise language capable of being

1. Interview to the press, New Delhi, 8 July 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 9 July 1940.
2. The Working Committee resolution of 7 July 1940, called for a declaration of complete independence for India and the formation of a provisional national government at the Centre and offered to cooperate in the defence of the country on those terms.

given effect to immediately. It is a realist resolution and not merely an essay and a theory. It must be remembered, however, that behind the resolution lie the previous decisions of the Committee as well as of the Congress. It is these decisions which give a full picture of the Congress attitude. We have not repeated all this in view of the critical situation in world affairs which demands instant action this way or that. It is obvious that neither for the Congress nor for the British Government in India can the present unsatisfactory conditions continue for long. It must be settled one way or the other. We cannot easily tolerate the methods of compulsion that are being increasingly used by government officials in regard to the war effort or the thousands of arrests that have taken place of Congressmen and others. We do not forget them because we have not mentioned them in our resolution.

The resolution says that with the coming of independence we shall immediately shoulder the burden of India's defence. That is a natural corollary. We have made it perfectly clear in the past that we cannot help the war effort of British imperialism or become its recruiting sergeants. That position continues completely unchanged, but to maintain our own independence for our defence and the defence of freedom, we are prepared under our own direction to do our best.

There is much else the Working Committee could have said about the present conditions in India as well as about the future, but we have deliberately avoided doing so at this stage in order to keep the immediate issue clear. We realize, however, England's critical condition and have frankly stated our position in clear terms. If even now, these terms prove unacceptable to Britain, the other way is clear for us.

It is clear that during these critical times the strength of the country lies in the strength of the Congress and the strength of the Congress lies in the sanctions it has behind it. Therefore, whatever the future may bring us, these sanctions have to be developed and the satyagraha committees that have been formed must be kept up to the mark and strengthened, so that they may be capable of use as agents of the people's will, whenever the need arises. Nothing could be greater folly than for us to relapse into complacency. That way peril lies. We shall have to face in this hard world of conflict many difficult trials and we shall survive only if we are strong and organised and determined enough. Therefore, it is essential for all Congressmen to continue their efforts to strengthen the satyagraha committees, to put an end to all minor conflicts and to bring about harmony among the different communities and to maintain perfect discipline.

There has been an argument about nonviolence. It should be clearly understood that there is no member of the Working Committee who is not convinced of and pledged to nonviolence as indeed every Congressman

should be. In spite of the terrible violence that is going on in the world, we adhere to our old policy of nonviolence in our struggle for freedom in all its implications. We are anxious and eager to extend this principle to other fields also and, so far as we can, we shall do so. But it is difficult in this changing world to commit ourselves in the future to an extension of this principle to foreign invasion and the like. This is largely a theoretical question at present. In practice, there is no difference of opinion. The Working Committee at Wardha have dealt with the question. They asked Congressmen to organize self-defence groups in the villages and elsewhere. It should be remembered that these groups must also follow the methods of nonviolence.

38. No Compromise by the Congress[1]

World conditions are changing rapidly, and it is difficult to say what will happen tomorrow. There are some who ask why the Congress has not registered its protest against the recent arrests in the country. My answer is that mere protest is futile, when we are demanding control over the administration of the country. Congressmen must remember that the present is not the time to indulge in petty disputes. I agree with Maulana Azad that the Congress resolution on the war which was reaffirmed at the Ramgarh Congress still stands.

There is nothing inconsistent in the resolution adopted by the Working Committee yesterday and the Ramgarh resolution. The Congress still adheres to the demand for a constituent assembly to frame India's constitution. However, since it will take a long time to summon such an assembly, the Working Committee has, as an immediate step to meet emergency conditions, demanded the formation of a provisional national government at the centre as a transitory measure.

The solution contained in the Working Committee's resolution is one which should be readily acceptable to the British Government. Some people have asked me when the Congress will start satyagraha. I do not know when the satyagraha campaign will be launched, but my only

1. Speech at New Delhi, 9 July 1940. From the *National Herald*, 10 July 1940.

advice to the people at this juncture is to develop their strength, get rid of their weaknesses, and thus be prepared for the future.

10. Quatorze Juillet[1]

Quatorze Juillet, the Fourteenth of July, seventeen hundred and eighty-nine. The people of Paris storm the Bastille and capture the old prison and set free the prisoners. But the fall of the Bastille was a symbol and a portent of much else; it broke down many other props and barriers of the old world, and it liberated many forces which would fashion a new order. The Revolution came and the Terror, and then Thermidor and Napoleon. Back again for a while to the Bourbons, and then fresh revolutions and changes, till, in the midst of defeat and disaster, the Third Republic of France was born.

And now the Third Republic is no more, and it would appear that France's ruling class has sold her glorious heritage and magnificent tradition for not even the proverbial mess of pottage. Defeat in battle brings sorrow and humiliation; yet it may be borne if the spirit lives. But what shall we say when the spirit dies and the soul of a country surrenders?

On this fourteenth day of July my thoughts go back a hundred and fifty years and survey the exciting course of French history, since the day that France became the mother of freedom. I have loved that France even in her decay and imagined that, whatever might befall her, her immortal spirit would survive and triumph. On this fourteenth of July, for these hundred and fifty years, the people of France have celebrated the fall of the Bastille. It was their *Fete Nationale*, the Day of the Nation, which symbolised the free spirit of France. There came, a few years ago, the National Front and what a magnificent Fourteenth of July that was, when it was celebrated with an added significance and an overpowering popular enthusiasm.

What is happening in France today, I wonder. For the first time in these hundred and fifty years, there is no *Fete Nationale*, no Fourteenth of July to celebrate. The Bastille fell in 1789, but a hundred

1. *National Herald*, 16 July 1940.

and a thousand Bastilles have arisen today, and the lamps of freedom flicker and go out all over the world. And Paris the beautiful is a conquered city, grovelling at the feet of the conqueror.

A few days ago a post card came to me from a dear friend in Paris,[2] written just before Paris fell. Anguish and sorrow enveloped her at what was happening to her dear land and to the gracious city where she lived. Her bright young son had been torn from college and his fate was uncertain. Yet her faith in France did not fail, and knowing how France was dear to me also, she assured me that all would be well. In the face of adversity, her courage would grow and triumph, as she had so often done in the past when danger overwhelmed her. "*Je me represente,*" so my friend wrote to me, "*l'angoisse et la sympathie avec lesquelles vous devez suivre les evenements actuels. Je pense bien a vous. Le coeur se serre en pensant a tant de souffrances et de ruines. Mais soyez assure que la France voit grandir son courage en face de l'adversite*".[3]

But the France of Petain[4] and Laval did no such thing, and has now forsworn all that the old France stood for. But there is another France, there must be one, for the heritage of a thousand years does not vanish in a night. That other France will rise again and assert the invincible spirit of freedom which made her great. Again we shall hear the stirring strains of the Marseillaise, the song of the Revolution; again she will celebrate the fall of the old Bastille and the new Bastilles that have arisen. Again she will have her *Fete Nationale* on the Fourteenth of July.

And so today, on this great anniversary, let us pay homage to the France of the Revolution, the breaker of the Bastille and of all the bonds that hold the human body and spirit captive.

2. Louise Morin.
3. I am well aware of the agony and sympathy with which you must be following recent events. I frequently think of you. My heart aches at so much suffering and destruction. But please rest assured that the courage of France increases in face of adversity.
4. Marshal Petain (1865-1951); victor of Verdun in the First World War; collaborated with the Nazis and became head of state, 1940; condemned to death after the war but sentence commuted to life imprisonment.

40. A Crumbling World[1]

During the last few weeks India has suddenly been forced to think hard about international happenings and their reactions on her. Some of us have been dabbling in international affairs for many years, and occasionally a passing interest was aroused among large numbers of people in the country in the fate of Abyssinia, Palestine, Czechoslovakia, Spain, and China.

Fundamentally, however, we were, as a people, far too much absorbed in our own national problems. The coming of the war in Europe led inevitably to a deeper interest in events abroad. Even so, the struggle was a distant one, and our excitement was that of an onlooker. May 10th, a date famous in Indian history, brought the invasion of the Low Countries of western Europe, and the rapid developments that have followed each other since then have galvanized our minds and brought the possible consequences of the war very near to us. New problems suddenly confront us, entirely novel situations have to be faced.

The last two meetings of the Congress Working Committee met under these difficult conditions and tried to adjust themselves to them. The public has seen their resolutions and there has been some argument about them. It would be worthwhile, however, for us to consider dispassionately what has happened in Europe, with all its future implications, if we are to understand the curious and changing world that we live in. Wishful thinking is at any time an unhelpful occupation; today it is full of peril. All of us are much too apt to remain in the old ruts, to think the old thoughts, to utter the old slogans, even though everything else may have changed beyond recognition. Fundamental principles and objectives must have a certain stability and continuance, but in other ways reality demands that we adapt ourselves to it.

What has happened? The map of Europe has changed utterly and many nations have ceased to be. Poland went, Denmark and Norway succumbed, Holland collapsed, Belgium surrendered, France fell suddenly and completely. All these went into the German orbit. The

1. Lucknow, 16 July 1940. *National Herald*, 17 July 1940. Reprinted in *The Unity of India*, (London, 1941), pp. 318-321.

Europe with outlying possessions. This may be allied to Japan in the East. Two other great federations will remain—Soviet Russia and the United States of America, both essentially hostile to Germany. The war may have ended, but the seeds of future wars will remain between these mighty groups.

What happens if the Nazis do not win within the next few months? Probably a long and exhausting war in which both combatants suffer greatly and are completely exhausted. The economic structure of England and Europe collapses and the only possible future is one of large federations of nations, or of a world federation, based on a different economy and on strict world control of production, transport and distribution. The present-day capitalist system goes. The British Empire ends. Small states cannot exist as independent units. Possibly even the conception of money changes.

In any event, therefore, this war will bring about a fundamental political and economic change, a change that will be more in keeping with modern conditions which demand closer intercourse between nations and a breaking down of international barriers. The strength of Germany today lies not so much in her ruthless efficiency and military machine as in the fact that, perhaps unconsciously, she has become the agent of a historic process. She is trying to turn it in an evil direction; she may even succeed in this for a while. The weakness of France and England was essentially due to their desire to hold on to forms and structures which were doomed to disappear. They represented something that was dying, whether in their empires or in their economic system. They had repeated chances during the past twenty years of putting themselves in step with history, of being the leaders in building up a real international order based on social justice and national freedom. They preferred to hold on to their past gains and vested interests and empires and now it is too late and everything slips out of their hands.

France passes away for a while. But England still fails to learn the lesson. Still she talks in terms of empire and seeks to preserve her special interests. It is sad to see a great people so blind to everything except the narrow interests of a class, and risking everything but not taking the step which would put them right with the world and with the great historic processes that are marching on with giant strides.

Baltic countries and Bessarabia have been more or less absorbed by Soviet Russia.[2]

These are mighty changes and yet it is being increasingly realized that they are but the prelude to what is to come. We are not merely witnessing a great and overwhelming war with all its destructive horror. We live today in the midst of a revolutionary epoch of vast significance, more important and far-reaching perhaps than any given in recorded history. Whatever the outcome of this war may be, this revolution will complete its appointed course, and till this takes place there will be no peace or equilibrium in this planet of ours.

We must realize that the old world dies, whether we like it or not. Already those who were most representative of it have become phantom figures, ghosts of a yesterday that is no more.

If the Nazis win through, as they well might, there is little doubt of what they would try to make of Europe and the world. They will create a new type of European union under German leadership and control, a Nazi empire of Europe. The small states would go and so would democracy, as understood by us, and the capitalist system as it has prevailed. A form of state capitalism would flourish in Europe and big industry would be concentrated in the Germanic lands, the other countries, including France, being reduced largely to an agricultural status. This system would be based on a collective supernational economy and would be subject to authoritarian control. The Nazi empire would have its colonies, chiefly in Africa, but it would also try to control the economy of other non-European countries and harness the labour power of their peoples. The economic weight of such a mighty authoritarian union would be tremendous and the rest of the world would have to adapt itself to it.

Such is the Nazi thesis. What of England if this happens? If there is a complete German victory, England ceases to be a power that counts. In Europe she has no influence left; she loses her empire. It is almost immaterial whether she joins the Germanic-European union or not. The centre of gravity of the British race shifts elsewhere, most probably to Canada and they become closely allied to, or even absorbed in, the United States of America.

Much will depend upon Soviet Russia. There is little doubt that she dislikes intensely the rapid growth of Nazi power which may threaten her later. Nevertheless she will adapt herself to the change unless the war draws on for a lengthy period and brings exhaustion of the combatants. A swift German victory would thus lead to a Nazi empire in

2. The Soviet Union occupied Bessarabia on 28 June 1940 and incorporated the Baltic states on 14 July 1940.

41. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

16 July 1940

...I read the other day your explanation of the Working Committee resolution in which you stated that the resolution clearly meant full support in the war efforts.[2] Also that every member of the Working Committee was unanimous about this. Rajendra Babu has also said something to this effect.[3] My own recollection is somewhat different and I thought I had made it clear that I was not prepared to go so far. Indeed the words in the original draft were changed from war efforts to the country at my instance. I stated that it was conceivable that we might later have to take part in the rest of the war effort and therefore I could not rule this out completely. But I was not prepared to commit myself to any such proposition at this stage. I thought this would be contrary to our previous decisions as also wrong tactics. I want to make this clear, as you have stated that every member of the Working Committee was unanimous. This would not represent my attitude nor the deliberate change in the wording of the resolution.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

1. Home Department Political File No. 33/40, National Archives of India. Extracts.
2. On 11 July 1940, Azad had said that it was wrong to say that the Congress had only shown its readiness to defend India and not participate or help in the war. "When we passed the resolution every one of us was quite clear on this point that if India's demand is fulfilled it will be the duty of India to participate in the war. The resolution had no other meaning in the mind of even a single individual out of the fifteen members of the Congress Working Committee present".
3. On 9 July 1940, Rajendra Prasad had stated that the Congress had plainly told the British Government that India could not give voluntary help in the successful prosecution of the war until India had been declared an independent country.

42. What of Us ?[1]

Whether Germany wins or loses will obviously make a great difference to the future of Europe and the world. And yet, in either event, certain changes and developments of far-reaching significance are bound to take place. Small states will disappear and give place either to some world federation or to three, or possibly four, federations or empire states. If the latter emerge, there will be continuing hostility and conflict, both internal and external. Internal, because an empire state necessarily involves the enforced subjugation of other peoples and nations, which will continually attempt to free themselves. External, because there will be rivalry between the different empire states or federations. Each may try to develop some kind of autarchy or self-sufficient economy within its territories. But this can bring no equilibrium or stability, and either peacefully or through war, a single world federation must emerge. It is inevitable that this should be so, for the alternative is continuing mutual destruction on a vast scale and a relapse into barbarism. Such a world federation must be a real union of free nations. An imposed order means that the so-called federation is really an empire state with the seeds of disruption within it.

Whatever is the outcome of the war, it seems clear enough that the British Empire ends. There are inherent reasons why this should be so, but the course of the war has made this obvious. Even if a number of empire states emerge, the British Empire, as constituted today, will not be one of them. There might conceivably be an Anglo-American federation, to which some other countries adhere, or an empire state. In such a federation or empire, England's part will be a subordinate one. The type of spread-out empire which England possesses today cannot exist in future, except in the remote contingency of a world empire state being established. Such a far-flung empire necessitates a command of the seas and the world's trade routes as well as an effective command of the air. No country or group of states is likely to have this world predominance. If empires exist, therefore, they must essentially be compact empires, with possibly some distant colonial possessions, which do not make any essential difference.

1. 17 July 1940. *National Herald*, 18 July 1940. Reprinted in *The Unity of India*, (London, 1941), pp. 322-325.

For a year or so before the war began there was considerable discussion about the possibility of a union or federation between various nations. Clarence Streit's *Union Now* attracted much attention and there were many other proposals. Nearly all of them suffered from the vital defect of looking at the world as if it consisted of Europe and America only. China, India, and other Eastern countries were almost ignored. These proposals, though much discussed and welcomed, never had a chance of adoption in the pre-war world. No major country had the least intention of countenancing them. And so the time for this passed, when it could have made a difference, and how bitterly must some countries and governments regret this lost opportunity. As the French Republic lay dying, England's Government, compelled by the peril of the hour, made their remarkable proposal for a union with France. It was too late then, as so much has been too late in England's story. But it demonstrated, in a flash, how the old ideas of independent countries, and even of the British Empire, no longer applied.

And yet some people talk still of Dominion Status and the like, not realising that this idea is dead and cannot be revived. Some people again suggested a partitioning of India, on some strange and fantastic basis, forgetting that the world demands not further splitting-up, but a gathering together and a union of nations. It will tolerate no longer the small state.

What about our independence then? Is this not a breaking-up of a present grouping of nations, and how does it fit in the future of world federation? It is perfectly true that we want to end the British Empire because out of imperialism no true federation can emerge. And, in any event, India is not going to remain in this empire, whatever happens. But the independence that we seek has never been looked at as isolation or the mere addition of a new national state to a crowd of others. We have always realised and looked forward to the world gathering closer together, and functioning through a federation or union, which we would gladly join. But to ask us to accept Dominion Status, or to try to impose a particular union on us against our wishes, is something which, in the world context today, is singularly absurd, and is in any event not going to be tolerated by us, whatever the consequences.

The third inevitable change of the war is likely to be the ending of present-day capitalism and the introduction of far more planning and control in the economic system throughout the world. Together with this, capitalist democracy will also change, for it is a kind of luxury system for well-to-do nations, and it will not survive the hard times that will come. Under stress of war this democracy has already gone in many countries.

It will be unfortunate if democracy itself disappears and gives place to forms of dictatorship. There is that danger and we must try to guard against it. But the democracy that can survive will have to be different in some ways and more efficient than the type we have seen fading away in the West.

In this picture that unrolls itself, where do we come in, where does India stand? That has been made clear enough. We are entirely opposed to Nazism and we think that it would be a tragedy if Nazi Germany dominated the world. But we are sick and tired of being imposed upon by British imperialism, even as it passes away, and we would sooner perish than be the tools of this or that imperialism. It is astonishing that even now the independence of India sticks in the throat of the British Government; it is amazing that they still behave in the old lordly way and expect us to carry out their behests. Still they threaten us with pains and penalties. Still they preach to us their homilies. Still they are blind to what is happening. Do they imagine that they are strengthening themselves for this war by the policy they are adopting in India? Do they think that threats and compulsion are the keys to India's heart and India's help? They may get some money in this way, but they are running up an account against themselves in a currency that counts far more than gold or silver. There is anger today in India at what is happening and at the insufferable ways of numerous underlings.

To us waiting patiently for months and deliberately trying not to embarrass the English people in the hour of their trial and distress, this functioning of British imperialism has come as a revelation. Many of us sympathise with the British people but we cannot help seeing that one of the war fronts of Britain today is in India and against us. If that is so we shall face it whatever the consequences. One thing may be taken for certain—we are not going to put up with dictation from any authority.

43. To Abdul Ghaffar Khan[1]

Allahabad
July 18, 1940

My dear Khan Sahab,
Thank you for your letter[2] which I received this morning on my return from Lucknow. I am glad you are better. I still hope that you will come to Poona because the meetings in Poona are of the most vital importance for our future. They may break the Congress or change it out of recognition. Possibly they may be the last meetings that some of us will attend and we may not have the chance of meeting again for a long time. I should like Dr. Khan Sahib also to come.

I was surprised to read Maulana's interpretation of the Delhi resolution. I do not think that was the correct interpretation. In any event the Delhi resolution ought to die a natural death at Poona because there has been no response from the British Government. We cannot remain where we are. We must go ahead. In fact our Provincial Congress Committee has taken steps to do so.

There is going to be a meeting of the Volunteer Committee at Poona on the 28th. I hope that your representative will certainly attend it.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had resigned from the Congress Working Committee on 8 July 1940 as he disagreed with the Congress decision on the non-violence issue. In his letter of 13 July he had written : "I shall not be able to come to Poona if the All India Congress Committee passes the same resolution there also. I shall be at liberty to tender my resignation from that body as well."

44. To Vallabhbhai Patel[1]

Allahabad
July 18, 1940

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I have just returned from Lucknow where we held a meeting of our P.C.C. Council. There were prolonged discussions about the present situation and the interpretation of the resolution of the Working Committee. I am afraid that the recent statements made by Rajagopalachari[2] and Maulana have carried things much further than some of us thought. They have produced an amount of confusion in the Congress mind. I wrote to Maulana that I did not think his interpretation was wholly correct. And in any event he could hardly say that all the fifteen members of the Working Committee held to that interpretation. Prafulla Babu writes to me that he does not agree with Maulana's interpretation. I have had several letters from odd people saying that while they understood the Working Committee's resolution, the Congress President's interpretation of it has given an entirely different complexion.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan writes to me that he does not intend coming to Poona. I think he should come if it is at all possible. Perhaps you could suggest it to him. He further says that if the Working Committee's resolution is accepted by the A.I.C.C., then he will have to resign from the A.I.C.C. also. So far he has resigned from the Working Committee only. He mentioned in this connection Maulana's interpretation.

I am reaching Bombay on the 23rd morning. I should like to see you that day if you are in Bombay.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. On 10 July 1940, Rajagopalachari had stated: "It is for Britain to consider, whether it is worthwhile to get a free India when she has lost France although seemingly we ask for a big price. Those who read the Congress resolution in anger, will not see its essence. The spirit of friendship and voluntary alliance that is contained in it can be seen only if a disinterested mind is brought to bear on it." And on 11 July 1940, he had said: "The defence of India is now an integral part of the defence of Britain. This is the key to understanding the resolution of the Working Committee. If our offer to throw in the full weight of the Congress in the defence efforts is accepted by the British government we should be enabled properly to fulfil our undertaking."

I have refused to say anything to the press about the new Orissa Ministry.[3] I hope however that you will take strong and swift action against those Congressmen who are helping it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Nationalist Party of Orissa had considered the question of forming a coalition ministry with Pandit Godavaris Misra and some others of the Congress. However no ministry was formed. The Orissa Congress Parliamentary Party expelled the Congressmen who had been prepared to join the new coalition ministry in Orissa.

45. To Peter J. Alvares[1]

Allahabad
July 18, 1940

Dear Mr. Alvares,
I have your letter of the 14th July.[2] The question you have asked me is very very difficult and opinions differ. The Delhi resolution of the Working Committee means essentially that if the independence of India was recognised by the British Government, a vital change was not only made in India but in Britain's attitude to her empire. The imperialist idea was more or less given up. Under such circumstances we could give a certain moral support to England's cause and more especially undertake the defence of our own country. It would be open to us then acting in our own interests, if we so chose, to give further assistance to the war effort. The Congress President's interpretation as you rightly point out goes further than this and I am not sure that he is wholly correct. But it is not our practice to criticise each other in public, more especially as the matters are likely to be clarified within the next two weeks by the All India Congress Committee. I am writing this to you confidentially and I should not like you to state anywhere about differences in interpretation, etc., among the members of the Working Committee. Of course it is not fair to the public to leave them in a state of confusion, but as I have said above the matter will be clarified very soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Reverend Alvares, a Congressman of Bombay, had asked Jawaharlal if Maulana Azad's interpretation of the Delhi resolution "was not against the spirit of the Ramgarh resolution on war."

46. India, China and England[1]

I hope *The Statesman and Nation* will forgive me for reproducing here a poem by Sagittarius which appeared in their issue of May 11, 1940. This poem is entitled *Stand of the Old Brigade* and it was written before Mr. Neville Chamberlain resigned from the Premiership and was replaced by Mr. Winston Churchill.

Members in front of him,
Members each side of him,
Members *behind* him,
Volley'd and thunder'd,
Why had the Nazis won?
Why were we on the run?
What had been left undone?
What would be left of him
If he had blunder'd?

Stormed at from here and there,
Calmly he said "Beware
Lest by land, sea and air
All of our forces are
Shatter'd and sunder'd!
Ours not to set the pace,
Ours not to seize a base,
Ours to pursue our course,
Bound for another place
When battle thunder'd
Though the whole Nazi race
Conquer'd and plunder'd".

Back from the Norway fjord
Stepped the Old Guard aboard,
Safe, while the Commons' horde
Questioned and thunder'd.
No one should lose a seat,
Safe back to Downing Street

1. *National Herald*, 21 July 1940.

He led the Cabinet,
Safe till the next defeat,
While the world wonder'd,
For it had seemed to them
Someone had blunder'd.

"Close up the ranks", he said,
"Hands off the Old Brigade,
Not to be sunder'd
Neutrals, be not afraid!
England, be not dismay'd!
No one has blunder'd!"

Much has happened since this poem appeared. Holland and Belgium fell, France collapsed and even Mr. Chamberlain was forced by circumstances to change places with the far abler and more virile Mr. Churchill. England speaks now with a different and a sterner voice so far as her own defence is concerned. But in other matters, has there been any change? Mr. Neville Chamberlain still adorns the British War Cabinet, and his group in Parliament and outside. The Old Brigade, however discredited it might be, still influences decisions. Perhaps we are not competent to judge of the conduct of the war itself in Europe. But we are certainly in a position to understand and judge the wider issues involved in this war, the place of India in it, and British policy as it affects India and China.

Recent events in India and China have thrown a flood of light on the mainsprings of British policy. We see that in spite of superficial change due to the exigencies of the war, in essence this policy has not changed. During the past few years an astonished world had seen the British Government function in a way which no logic or reason, not even imperialist logic or reason, could explain. The policy of 'appeasement', of encouraging the aggressor while mildly criticising it, continued year after year. The British ruling class, truly represented by Mr. Chamberlain, had only one aversion and one fear—the fear and aversion of coming closer to Soviet Russia. They were afraid that this might bring unhealthy ideas to their own country. Though not liking Herr Hitler or Signor Mussolini, they admired their strong ways against communists, socialists and others of low degree. They preferred them infinitely to Stalin and hoped that their vested interests would be protected by these dictators. There was certainly danger to their empire but the danger to their vested interests was greater.

So England under Mr. Baldwin and Mr. Chamberlain followed a foreign policy of amazing ineptitude which had no moral background and could not even be justified by expediency. They betrayed her friends and encouraged her enemies to become strong. Mr. Churchill warned that Government in a striking speech that the day would come when England would stand friendless in a hostile world. That prophecy proved true.

One remembers now Sir John Simon's defence of Japanese aggression in Manchuria, the failure to check Italian aggression in Abyssinia, the Runciman Mission to Prague and the betrayal of Czechoslovakia, and the slow and cruel murder of Spanish democracy. 'Appeasement' flourished like the green bay tree. It did not stop the war; it only made England friendless and disliked everywhere.

The war came and, so far as Germany was concerned, appeasement had to end. But so far as the fundamental British policy was concerned there was no change. On India's behalf certain vital questions were put to the British Government which were meant to demonstrate whether this policy had changed or not, and whether England still functioned on the imperialist plane. We know the answer as well as the lack of answer. With all our desire to help real democracy and to combat the aggressor, we were forced to the inevitable conclusion that this was a purely imperialist war. So finally the Ramgarh Congress declared.

The growing danger to England, and the possible developments in India and the world, led the Congress Working Committee to give yet again the most earnest consideration to the problem. They passed the two last resolutions which have given rise to so much argument. These resolutions kept our fundamental position intact, and yet they went as far as the Congress could possibly go in offering a way out of the impasse, honourable and profitable alike to India and England. There were risks and dangers for India in this course, but the Working Committee decided to face them.

A practical offer was made in all sincerity; what has been the response? Silence reigns in Simla and Whitehall, but the activities of the British Government in India are even more eloquent than this silence. Thousands of our colleagues have been picked up and put in prison. All our countryside is full of strange stories of compulsion and coercion to get subscriptions for war funds and loans. This is the British Government's way to win the goodwill and cooperation of India.

And now comes news from China. The Burma Road has been closed and the British Government has come to terms with the Japanese Government. The old game of appeasement continues and, as in Spain when the Pyrenees route was closed, supplies are cut off and a gallant

people fighting for their freedom are stabbed in the back; China's answer has already come from the lips of her great leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and it is in the nature of a prophecy for England.[2] England will not win the goodwill of Japan, but she has surely ensured for herself the ill will of China's millions. And the United States of America, on whom England relies so much, how will they react to England's betrayal of China?

We can do little for China, nor can we influence British policy. But we can influence our own policy and the time will come when what we do will count in England and in China. At this time of cruel desertion of China by England, we want to assure our comrades of China that we shall hold by them and we shall not forget the new bonds that have been forged between our country and theirs.

But this is not just a matter of sympathy for China or of disapproval of a certain British policy. India must judge of any action that she takes from the point of view of her own freedom, for only a free India can look after her own interests or be of service to others. This Chinese development, as well as recent happenings in India, clarify the situation, and bring out the motives and objectives of this war. With those motives and objectives we have nothing in common.

We have seen that the British Government cannot accept or tolerate the idea of independence for India. We, on our part, cannot tolerate the idea of Dominion Status or any other status, except that of an independent state. That was the acid test and it has shown that between England's Government and us there is nothing in common. We go our separate ways. The British Empire must inevitably fade away, but India will remain and, in spite of all her present trouble and difficulty, will forge her way to independence and unity and a partnership in a world order.

There has been enough of appeasement of the aggressor. We want none of it, whether the aggressor is German or Italian or Japanese or British.

2. On 17 July 1940, Chiang Kai-shek had stated: "If by closing the Burma route she (Britain) hopes to shorten the war in the Far East, I am sure, on the contrary, she will lengthen the duration and widen the scope of hostilities."

47. Dominion Status is Dead[1]

The recent resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Congress represents my attitude towards India's future and the war. I am quite convinced that if the British Government had been courageous and wise enough to accept India's independence at an early stage of the war, this would have made a tremendous difference in their favour. Such a declaration is an essential preliminary to any other step that we might take in the nature of cooperation.

I might add that while we talk of the independence of India, we realise fully that the future order must be one of interdependence between various nations. But the idea of Dominion Status and the British Empire is dead and we cannot accept any declaration but that of independence.

1. July 1940. From the *National Herald*, 27 July 1940. This was the reply sent by Jawaharlal to Dr. G.S. Arundale's query : "Immediate declaration self-government India will turn tide of war Allies' favour. If you agree, may I have your approval?"

48. Fundamental Policy Unchanged[1]

The Congress still adheres to the policy of nonviolence but the Congress, which is a political organisation, has to look upon the question of the country's defence from a political and not an ethical angle.

Mahatma Gandhi has appealed to all Britons to adopt nonviolence and lay down arms.[2] If I were an Englishman I would not accept that

1. Speech on the Working Committee resolution, Poona, 27 July 1940. From the *National Herald*, 28 July 1940.
2. On 2 July 1940, Mahatma Gandhi had appealed *To Every Briton* "to lay down the arms you have as being useless for saving you or humanity. You will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want of the countries you call your possessions.... You will give all... but neither your souls, nor your minds....I want you to fight Nazism without arms or, if I am to retain the military terminology, with nonviolent arms."

advice knowing that my people are not ready to adopt complete non-violence and the alternative would be slavery, which was certainly worse than violence.

It is impossible for any political organisation like the Congress to lay down its future policy in advance.

I do not think there can be two opinions on the subject of the resolution[3] in a political organisation like the Congress. Nonviolence to which the Congress has been wedded all these days and which still remains its policy has raised our prestige considerably. The Working Committee's statement does not mean that we are going to raise an army immediately. Of what use can a mere army of men be under the present conditions of warfare if we are not properly equipped. Even if every man in India carries a gun we cannot withstand an invader who has modern equipments of warfare. Bombs, tanks, aeroplanes and other mechanical equipment and armaments have to be provided for defence.

When I talk of nonviolence it is only in the political sense and not in the ethical sense. Nonviolence as a political weapon has been tried by us with success for the advancement of our cause and so there is no question of giving it up. The only question is how far are we prepared to go with it. Can you think of an independent state in the present world conditions depending on nonviolence to meet any form of force? We do not know what the world will be like after the war. In some quarters statesmen are thinking in terms of a confederation of states instead of small states existing by themselves. We cannot foresee world conditions emerging out of the war.

It is utter futility under present conditions of warfare to regard a particular class or race as martial and some others as non-martial. The six-foot soldier does not count any longer. What count now are armaments and nothing else.

In the new conditions that will emerge out of the present chaos it will not be possible for us to say that we need not have an army and the Working Committee has only made our position on this question clear.

3. This endorsed the Working Committee resolution of 7 July 1940. See *ante*, item 37.

49. Prudence or Courage ?[1]

There comes a time in the life of every individual, as well as every country, when great decisions have to be made, risks have to be taken, perils have to be faced, so that greater perils may be avoided, and fulfilment of that individual's or nation's objective achieved. If that individual is strong enough to take that decision, he marches ahead with self-confidence and self-assurance, and a sense of fulfilment fills his being; otherwise he joins the throng of the helpless and the dispirited, the cantankerous and those who are always complaining against others. If that nation takes that great decision, it has already justified itself in its own eyes and the eyes of others and strength and greatness come to it as the day follows the night. But if it is afraid of taking that vital step, and doubts and hesitates, and lingers while the world marches on, it sinks into insignificance, without honour and respect, abroad or at home.

Such a time came to us twenty years ago and, under the inspiration of a great leader, we threw the balanced calculations of careful politicians to the winds and made direct appeal to the millions of our people. We took risks gladly, not caring for the consequences, and found joy and strength in our combined endeavour. Out of that tussle and conflict between a nation's soul and a foreign dominating power, modern India took shape. It was a very different India that emerged. The old cringing slavish India was no more and a self-reliant people, conscious of their strength, now faced the world.

We had many failings and weaknesses still and during periods of reaction these became only too evident. Inner weaknesses crept in, communalism spread and spoke and acted in terms of vulgarity and indecency which corrupted our public life. Yet not even this fall from grace could take away that strength and cohesion which we had evolved.

We face again that psychological moment when great decisions have to be made. And not only we but every nation in the world. England, with the greatest stake of all, had this choice before her. For several years her policy had been bereft of statesmanship and she had drifted to disaster. Even when this war began, it was just possible for her to give

1. *National Herald*, 28 July 1940.

a moral basis to her case by willingly giving up her imperialism and really standing for human freedom. We offered her, in all sincerity, the chance to do so. She rejected it.

It was a brave offer that we made, for it is no easy matter to put an end to the hostility of a hundred and seventy years between India and England. Yet we offered to do so, but the only conceivable basis was the independence of India. Months have passed since then and the sands of time have run out. Perhaps it is already too late now and destiny must take its course.

France fell because, in the ultimate analysis, it had a fascist government. England with an imperialist government can never put forward that strength which a great step towards establishing human freedom could have given her. But we realise fully that such considerations are beyond the ken of Simla or Whitehall. They think that they can hold India by force and compel her cooperation. They think very wrongly.

And yet England has shown in her past history a capacity to adapt herself to changing circumstances. Campbell-Bannerman[2] and his Government had the courage to confer freedom on their enemies of the Boer War. In the Irish Treaty of 1921 also the British Government showed vision and statesmanship, though they did not go so far as they might have done. But that vision and statesmanship have been singularly lacking these many years, and today in India have ceased to be so far as the British Government is concerned. The talk addressed to us is petty, selfish, irritating talk which has no relation with reality. That reality demands a liquidation of imperialism itself and the independence of India.

Everyone knows that the British Empire cannot survive. Everyone knows that India must and will be free. And yet they seek to preserve what is doomed to end; they try to hold on to something which already slips from their grasp. They imagine that they can postpone a decision, or allow matters to drift, thinking that India is quiescent, and though resentful, will not show this resentment in action. They allow, as they have so often done in the past, the right moment to pass when the courage to make a great decision was necessary. Those who miss these moments, do so at their peril.

Nearly nineteen years ago a British Conservative statesman, Sir Austen Chamberlain, delivered a remarkable speech in Liverpool. He spoke about the Irish Treaty, which was then being discussed, and referred to the conferment of freedom on South Africa after the war there. He

2. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman (1836-1908); British Prime Minister, 1905-08, after the Boer War achieved a settlement by which responsible government was granted to the Transvaal and the Orange Free State in 1907.

had opposed this in Parliament at the time but he confessed that he had been wrong in doing so:

> I voted against them. I thought it a rash and wicked thing to do. If I could have seen further into the future, if I could have voted on that division with the knowledge I have today, I should have known that the great act of faith was not, as I thought it, the destruction of our policy, but its completion and its fulfilment.
>
> That is the vote that I would undo if I could undo a vote once given. That great act, that daring act of faith, led directly to the reconciliation of the races in South Africa.

Sir Austen, a man who was noted for his caution and prudence, went on to say:

> Now and again in the affairs of men there comes a moment when courage is safer than prudence, some great act of faith, touching the hearts and stirring the emotions of men, achieves the miracle that no arts of statesmanship can compass. Such a moment may be passing before our eyes now as we meet here. I pray to God with all my heart and soul that to each of us to whom responsibility is brought there may be given vision to see, faith to act, and courage to persevere.

In that fervent appeal we can all join in full sincerity. But the world has changed greatly since the days of the South African war and the Irish Treaty, and what might have been an act of courage and faith then, may well fall completely flat today. Today requires something much bigger, vaster, more fundamental. It demands not the constant talk of this empire and that, but the ending of empire and reorientation of the world. It calls out for the full independence of India within the frame-work of a new world order.

50. The Price of Freedom[1]

I crave the indulgence of this Committee to make a personal statement. We live in strange and stirring times and the responsibility for great

1. Poona, 28 July 1940. *National Herald*, 29 July 1940. Jawaharlal made this statement before the A.I.C.C. and later addressed the session.

and vital decisions has been cast upon us. The world we have known crumbles all around us and the future is dark with uncertainty. New problems arise, new questions are put to us, and we have to find an answer to them. It may be that today's question dies with today, and the answer we frame for it has no application tomorrow. Yet certain fundamental problems remain for us, whatever else changes—the problem of achieving the political and economic independence of India. By that we judge everything else. And whatever minor changes or variations may come our way, our course has been set and we must run it.

Developments have taken place recently in India and in Europe which have far-reaching consequences, and each one of us has had to search in his heart to determine what his course should be. Gandhiji has not parted company from us, for that cannot happen. But he has, for the moment, left us to shift for ourselves, and that, at any time, would have significance.[2] At the present moment of crisis and change it has an even more vital consequence, and the whole structure and future of the Congress is affected thereby. We of the Congress, who have, in common with innumerable others, built up this great organisation and set it on its course, have a terrible responsibility to shoulder. We may not drift away from that set course; we must not change our objective or forget the idealism that has inspired us; we must, at the same time, have a firm grip on reality. We must keep our organisation strong and steady when so much is happening to unsteady it.

It is with this background that I have thought earnestly of the present situation and considered the Delhi resolution of the Working Committee which is before the A.I.C.C. for approval. As a member of the Working Committee, I must share responsibility for it. It is known to you that this resolution was not passed light-heartedly, and that it caused many of us in the Working Committee much heart-searching. This was not because of the resolution itself or its working, which was in keeping with Congress policy as declared from time to time. The independence of India was the foundation of this resolution, and the way suggested for the immediate formation of a provisional national government, as a necessary prelude to the full national government which the people of India would form after a constituent assembly, was the only immediately feasible method. The difficulties in our way lay not in the resolution itself but in the possible implications of it, which might lead us astray. There was that risk and danger, but the situation demanded a lead and a definite course of action, for the sands

2. On 21 June 1940, the Congress Working Committee absolved Mahatma Gandhi of all responsibility for the programme which might be adopted in the future and left him free to pursue his creed of nonviolence in his own way.

of time were running out for Britain and for India. We took the risk hoping that the strength and good sense of the Congress would prevent any going astray, and the declared policy of the Congress would keep us on the right path. Time became an essential factor in the ever-changing situation and it was obvious that the Congress could not stay its hand for long. There had to be a quick decision this way or that. We had waited patiently long enough. There could no longer be a passive acquiescence in matters which were injurious and derogatory to India.

Three weeks have gone by since then and it would appear that only one course of action is left open to us. Yet it may well be that we should put the seal of this Committee's approval on the Working Committee's decision, and then, soon enough, choose our path.

Whatever the future may bring us, it is my conviction that our full freedom will not come without struggle and travail and sorrow. In this world of war and conflict, we may not escape the price of freedom. To expect otherwise is to delude oneself. That future will ultimately depend on the strength of the Indian people and on the organised power of the Congress. To increase that organised strength, therefore, all our energies must be directed. We must think of the immediate future and grasp whatever opportunity that offers itself to advance our cause.

I have been finding it difficult to decide dogmatically on the issues before us. I was never guided by dogmas and slogans but by certain principles. There might be many things which I may love to do and which may result in glorifying me but ultimately I will not be advancing our cause. I have no use for those things. Our one objective is the independence of the country. I am not afraid of internal chaos or other disorders that might be in store for us. Nevertheless I cannot be a party to creating chaos for chaos' sake and I believe none of us will be party to it. The Congress should remain the powerful organisation it has been all these years. It will be no good to the country if the Congress goes to pieces.

I do not want to blaze a trail and leave it to the future to achieve the fruits of it. I want to achieve those fruits now and today, if I see a possibility for doing so. I want to think in terms of power in the immediate future. This has restrained me. The other members of the Working Committee and I have the responsibility for guiding the affairs of the Congress and I feel that the time has now come when we should think in terms of achieving things and not merely in terms of speeches or shouting from platforms.

It may be that the dancing star of independence may emerge out of chaos, but it may also be that nothing but black clouds may emerge. So it may be wise not to create chaos at certain times.

Some people have thought fit to criticise me for my earlier statement that I do not want to embarrass the British Government. They could not expect me to speak in the tones of the market-place. I have spoken with the dignity and responsibility of a statesman who has the privilege to represent a great organisation. We cannot think in terms of petty things like embarrassing Britain. Our aim is something much more noble.

The Communist cause is becoming a weak cause as they have a peculiar manner of irritating others without any reference whatsoever to the circumstances and conditions around them. They talk about workers and peasants. I too know something about workers and peasants, and even today I can hold my own at a meeting of workers and peasants as against the whole Communist Party in India. They get lost in their dogmas and slogans, without bothering to know if these are suitable and have any relation to our country.

The Communists always talk in terms of fight, fight against British imperialism, fight against Congress, fight against everybody round them. I am afraid this can only result in their making enemies of everyone.

I am proud to regard myself as a socialist, but that does not mean that we should do anything to make ourselves ineffective.

I want the Congress to become as powerful an organisation as it could be. I want it to remain the same well-knit, united organisation it has been. I want the wise leadership of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, I want the great captaincy of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. I want the brilliant talents of Rajaji. I want every one of you, comrades, who are the leaders of your provinces and districts.

So I say, we should marshal our forces and not allow any split. We cannot escape a struggle. And, therefore, the fundamental thing is to get ready for it mentally, psychologically and otherwise.

My sympathy for the British faced with a crisis is different from sympathy for the British Government and British imperialism. I do not want you to get confused between these two. I can continue to sympathise with the British people in their hour of trial, but that has nothing to do with British imperialism which I want to see humbled.

I do not regard the resolution placed before you as an indefinite resolution. There has necessarily to be a time limit. We cannot go on waiting indefinitely though it will not be right to lay down time limits in our resolutions. We will all have to have some time limit in our own minds. In the course of the next few weeks we will have to take a final decision, and that final decision can only be one decision. I cannot

possibly think of the resolution before us hanging over our heads for ever. We will have to act.

Mahatma Gandhi's interview with the Viceroy has not the faintest connection with the Delhi resolution. And as far as I know—and I am sure that I am correctly informed—there have been no negotiations or correspondence between the Viceroy or any other representative of the British Government and any member of the Working Committee since the Delhi meeting of the Committee.

The British Government's answer to us has only been *nothing doing.* Our answer to this should be to strengthen ourselves and not weaken ourselves in any manner. I admit that there are points included in the resolution which might prove dangerous. But we should not mix up things. The whole basis of our demand has been the acknowledgment of India's independence immediately. We want the constituent assembly, but the constituent assembly cannot be formed immediately and, therefore, we have to think in terms of a machinery that can take over the government immediately on the basis of our independence.

A full-blooded declaration by the British Government has its value when it is followed by the control of the government at the centre and in the provinces by popular representatives. Of course the Viceroy and the Governors and the I.C.S. would continue in the interim period but then against the background of the declaration of our independence. Their presence will not be on the same irritating basis as it had been in the provinces.

I agree that a central assembly as constituted now is certainly not a desirable machinery. But then I cannot think of anything better than that for the purpose of immediate formation of a national government if that becomes possible.

Much has been made of lending material help to Britain in the war. Material help falls under three categories—goods, money and men. As far as goods are concerned I do not think that even as a neutral country I will have any objection to our goods going out in as large quantities as possible to Britain as that will only be to our good. As far as money is concerned I have the strongest objection to money flowing out of the country and I hope that any government that might be formed will stop the flow of money from this country. As for men the decision in this matter must rest with the future government who can judge the question on the basis of existing circumstances.

I request Shri Rajagopalachari to clear one point, and that is, are we going to have this resolution hanging over us indefinitely, say, more than a reasonable period of two or three weeks, if by then we have no

satisfactory response from the British Government? I feel that a reply to this question will clear the atmosphere considerably.[3]

3. Rajagopalachari in his reply said : "I agree with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that this offer cannot be holding the field indefinitely. At the same time I do not like to lay any particular time limit. I can only assure you that the Working Committee will consider this aspect of the question and you need have no worries about it."

51. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Poona
29/7/40

All India Committee confirmed Working Committee's Wardha statement of June 1940 and the Delhi resolution after strong opposition. President stated that the continuance of the present situation was intolerable and that definite further action must be taken soon. Gandhiji's withdrawal has created a new and difficult situation. There are possibilities of inner conflicts. It is necessary to prevent this and prepare for early inevitable conflict on a united basis. Present demand is the unequivocal declaration of Indian independence, immediate establishment of provisional national government at the centre, full powers to responsible elected members of Central Assembly and the formation of a constituent assembly later. There is no expectation of satisfactory response hence the Working Committee is meeting again within a month to determine the future action. There is no question of Congress weakening its present position. In all probability we will be going ahead.

Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.



WITH U.B. LWIN, ALLAHABAD, MARCH 1940



WITH A BURMESE BUDDHIST MONK, 1940

52. To Mrs. Rallia Ram[1]

Allahabad
August 5, 1940

Dear Mrs. Rallia Ram,
I have your letter of the 20th July. There are many difficulties and hard problems before us, but I do not see why you should take such a tragic view of the situation. Every country in the world today is going through a very severe crisis and there are many countries where conditions are infinitely worse than in India. Very probably we shall have a bad time. If so we shall face it and overcome it.

You refer to certain pamphlets and leaflets. I do not quite know which ones you mean. Recently a small notice was issued by us in large numbers asking people not to give forcible donations to the war fund. I do not think this would serve any useful purpose in the Punjab at present and it may not even reach you if I send it. As a matter of fact I have got no copies with me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Mahatma Gandhi Papers from Outside Agencies, National Archives of India.

53. To Mumtaz Shah Nawaz[1]

August 6, 1940

My dear Tazi,[2]
As you have put me a question of a political kind,[3] I am replying immediately in a businesslike way.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Daughter of Begum Shah Nawaz; at this time a Congress supporter, she later joined the Muslim League.
3. On 3 August 1940, Mumtaz Shah Nawaz had written: "I seemed to find in your speech the realization of the inevitable coming struggle, an appeal to Congressmen to close their ranks to unite and to prepare. But in the speeches of the other 'leaders' I did not find anything of that sort. It seems to me that they are prepared to accept what they can get, nor do they seem to be visualizing a struggle... Why is there this apparent difference in your outlook and that of the others? Or ... is there a difference at all?"

The situation in India, as elsewhere in the world, is exceedingly complicated and naturally so, because we are passing through a tremendous period of transition. It seems to me quite inevitable that in India there will be conflict between the popular movement and the British Government and that this conflict cannot long be delayed. It is true that there are people in the Congress who would like to avoid this at all cost. It is also true that there are others who have no intention of avoiding it, and yet others who would welcome it. The position, as it grew up in Poona, was this. There was this conflict mentioned above and there was another inner conflict due to the partial withdrawal of Gandhiji from the Congress. This withdrawal shook up the Congress and brought up all the disruptive influences.

The Delhi resolution that was brought up at Poona was an effort of those who wanted to avoid conflict but that effort had undergone considerable change, so that in view of the attitude of the British Government, there was exceedingly little chance of accommodation. There were risks in that resolution and danger. And, therefore, I did not like it at all, more especially because I knew, that those who were sponsoring it might go to any length. On the other hand, if that resolution was defeated then and there, there was an immediate disruption of the Congress as we have known it. This would have led to complete ineffectiveness in the present. I considered that a very undesirable contingency and wanted to avoid it, knowing that in all likelihood the British Government would continue to play the fool and so we would present a united front in the conflict to come. My anticipation has been justified earlier than I thought.

You are right in saying that I was unnecessarily hard on the Communist members of the A.I.C.C. I was not hard on Communism at all. In fact I spoke in favour of it. But some of the Communist members spoke in a most offensive and aggressive way and I must confess that I was irritated by it. I pointed out that this method of approach was the most futile and it had led, not only here but in other countries also, to complete isolation of the official Communists. I might mention that Iftikhar's speech[4] was good.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Mian Iftikharuddin opposed the resolution and said that the Congress leadership was not fighting for independence but to compromise with British imperialism. The Congress by joining the national government would only help British imperialism.

54. Seva Dal to Continue[1]

The new order issued by the Government of India in regard to volunteering[2] will have far-reaching consequences. The Congress Working Committee will no doubt issue clear instructions in regard to it and so far as our province is concerned the executive of the Provincial Congress Committee will consider the matter.

The government order is comprehensive and yet it is not clear how and in what manner it will be applied. It is clear, however, that the Congress Seva Dal, as our volunteers are called, is not going to be wound up or put an end to its activities because the Government of India have issued an order. That is not our way.

We have at present many training camps for Seva Dal volunteers in the province. In these camps practical and some intellectual training is being given quietly, without any fuss. All these camps will continue functioning. Next Sunday, I am going to Cawnpore in connection with the Congress Seva Dal activities there. This programme will be carried out as arranged.

I should like to add that all Congress Seva Dal volunteers have to take a pledge of nonviolence. This has only recently been specially emphasised by the Congress Working Committee. There is no question also of these Seva Dal volunteers wearing any uniform which might be mistaken for a military uniform. They wear shorts and shirts.

1. Statement to the press, Allahabad, 7 August 1940. *National Herald*, 8 August 1940.
2. On 5 August 1940, the British Government placed a ban on military drill and the wearing of uniforms by members of non-official voluntary organizations.

55. India in Travail[1]

The hounds of war are yet distant from India, but the drums of war are heard here also and their sound grows louder. In India, as in Europe

1. *National Herald*, 9 August 1940.

and the Far East, vast forces are in action breaking up the old world we knew. Behind the physical break-up that is taking place in Europe, there lies mental conflict and travail of spirit. We in India have escaped thus far the physical impact of forces, but we cannot escape this conflict and travail, which is often more distressing than the clash of arms.

It was inevitable that this conflict should develop in the mind of India and should be mirrored to some extent in the Congress ranks. We have been long used to a certain uniformity in Congress work and our arguments have often been based on certain assumptions. But no dogma, whether of religion or of politics, has the same solidity today as it used to have; no assumption goes unchallenged. The world is fluid and seeks new levels before it solidifies afresh. Let us not, therefore, worry overmuch because things are not as they were or as we imagined they were going to be. It is a sign of our vitality and life that we are affected by the changing times and seek to adapt ourselves to them. But in this process of our adaptation we cannot let go the anchor of our faith, nor forget the objective that has shone as a star illumining the gloom of the past and the present.

Behind the resolutions that were discussed at the A.I.C.C. meeting in Poona lay this travail of spirit and mental conflict. We argued with passion and conviction, we even exchanged hot words, and yet it was extraordinary how all of us looked in the same direction, how much there was in common between those conflicting groups, and how each member of the A.I.C.C. gazed at that bright star which beckoned to us. The brotherhood of the Congress, the bond that has held us through storm and tempest, kept us together, as it will hold us in the trials that now seem so near.

There was a danger, however, of this bond snapping under the stress of the moment, and that was the significance of Poona. There was a fear in some people's minds that the British Government might be clever enough to take advantage of the situation. But they gave credit for intelligence where it was not due. More than any group in the world today, the British ruling class in India belong to the shadows that have lost substance and have no place tomorrow, and like all such groups that have had their day, they lose the capacity to act intelligently or even to protect themselves. Nothing is more astonishing than the ineptitude of the British ruling class in England during the last few years, with one notable exception. That exception is the Government of India. Peril and disaster do not teach them any lesson, the nearness of catastrophe has no meaning for minds that are closed and are incapable of understanding. The Old Brigade still continues as of

old, the old gang holds on, imagining that the Colonel Blimps of the empire will triumph. *Quem deus vult perdere prius dementat.*[2]

Poona has come and gone and already the situation is changing and that long argument has little application. If any there were in Poona who imagined that the tiger of imperialism had changed its skin, they must revise their opinion. If any there were who thought that in this hour of grave peril, British imperialism would hand over power to the Indian people, they must realise how mistaken they were. To surrender that power is to put an end to imperialism and the control of India for the sake of British vested interests. That the Old Brigade will not do, though logic and reason and even enlightened self-interest may point that way. *Theirs not to reason why, theirs not to make reply, theirs but to do and die.*

And so we have a fresh ordinance or order dealing with volunteers. We shall probably have ordinances galore. But we shall go our way unperturbed and unaffected, though ordinances come and ordinances go, till the empire itself goes from this land of ours.

Our course is set and we shall run it. There is no stopping, no resting-place, for us till we have created the free India of our dreams.

2. Those whom the gods wish to destroy they first make mad.

56. The Parting of the Ways[1]

To say that anything has happened in India which leads to a parting of the ways as between Britain and India is incorrect. For their ways have been separate, as they were bound to be, so long as England was the dominating imperialist power and India was subject to her will. Such a relation could only be based on coercion, and coercion cannot lead to a marching together hand in hand. It can only lead to the dominant party chaining and pulling the other and dragging it against its will, or to a breaking of this chain.

So our ways have lain in different directions and a continuous tug of war has resulted; sometimes the conflict has been psychological and

1. Allahabad, 10 August 1940. Parts published in *Asia*, November 1940. Reprinted in *The Unity of India*, (London, 1941), pp. 373-389.

wordy, sometimes it has been rebellious. In 1857 a bloody rebellion took place and it was suppressed in a ghastly manner. The conflict continued, bitter and persistent, though it was not so obvious on the surface. It took shape in the organisation of the national movement, which spoke softly for a while and then its voice grew harder as it came to represent the real feelings of the people. Another rebellion against the dominating authority took shape, a peaceful one, discarding all methods of violence, but more powerful and widespread than any previous one. The hundreds of millions of India, weary of their long subjection and poverty and exploitation, shed their fear and, looking the dominating imperialism in the face, demanded freedom.

There were many ups and downs, and much suffering and sorrow came to these millions, but there was no looking back for them. The conflict continued in various ways and, meanwhile, the world rushed towards the abyss of self-destruction. India's problem began to be viewed in a larger perspective and in relation to the difficulties that encompassed the world. Though our vision became broader and deeper, and though it tried to peep into the future, yet the problem remained essentially one of Indian nationalism versus British imperialism. India's freedom and independence were the prerequisites for us in order to play our part in the larger world. And in that larger world, also, it seemed to us a sham and a mockery to talk of freedom and democracy, and yet hold on to imperialism.

Fascism and Nazism were anathema to us and the horrors of Central Europe produced a powerful reaction on India. Yet we remembered—how can we ever forget?—the horrors we had witnessed in India. Yet we saw and felt, to the innermost core of our being, the day-to-day humiliation and exploitation of our own people. We were not wise or clever enough to understand that, though fascism and Nazism were definitely bad, imperialism was not so bad after all!

War came in Europe, and we discovered that India had also been declared a belligerent country, without so much as a formal reference or intimation to any representatives of the people of India. The Congress might be considered an unofficial organisation, but there was the Central Assembly, there were the provincial governments enjoying, it was said, provincial autonomy. None of these was told or asked for its opinion.

The air resounded with loud cries invoking freedom and asserting the sanctity of democracy. They sounded good. But we had heard these cries so often before and experienced for ourselves the aftermath. We could not be easily swept away; we were cautious, doubly so because of the way in which the war had been imposed upon us, despite our

repeated warnings. Was this freedom and democracy meant for us also, or only for the favoured mortals who lived in Europe and its extensions? Did it mean that imperialism would go from here and elsewhere?

We inquired from the British Government and asked to be enlightened, so that we might know what course we should pursue. Our inquiries were considered irrelevant and impertinent. Yet the answers that they gave indicated sufficiently clearly that there was no intention and, so far as they were concerned, no possibility of the ending of the imperialist structure in India, no question of power being transferred to the people's representatives. The National Congress had not asked anything for itself. It wanted no jobs in high places, which it could have had even without asking for them. It wanted a declaration of independence for India and a constituent assembly, elected by the people, to frame the constitution of a free India, with full safeguards for the protection of all minority rights.

In the mind and heart of India there was a conflict. There was an intense dislike of fascism and Nazism and no desire to see them win. If India could but be convinced that this war was being fought for a new world order, for real freedom, then indeed India would throw all her weight and strength into it. But imperialism and we were old acquaintances, very old, with many generations of contact. We knew each other, suspected each other, and disliked each other thoroughly. There was this background of one hundred and eighty years of hostility, of exploitation, of bitterness, of promises unfulfilled, of disruptive and reactionary movements encouraged, and attempts to break up the national unity of India. It was no easy matter for us to get over these tremendous hurdles, or remove the complexes that had grown up. Yet we said we would do it, but we could not even attempt it unless a great psychological shock was given to the people, a pleasant shock, which would suddenly change the air of India and get rid of fears and complexes. That pleasant shock could only come by an unequivocal declaration of independence and immediate steps to give effect to the popular will in the carrying on of the administration. Unless this was done, no man in India, no group, could make the people move in the direction of willing association with the war.

Wars today require mass support and even authoritarian countries have to whip up their people by ceaseless propaganda. No war can be fought effectively by a professional army in an atmosphere of public ill will or indifference. So even from the narrower point of view of organising India's defence or India's participation in the war effort, a popular representative government was essential. Imperialism can coerce; it cannot win public approval and goodwill.

The Viceroy and the British Government said "No" to us, and our course seemed to be clear. The Congress governments in the provinces resigned, and parliamentary government in these provinces ceased, because it was not prepared to submit to the British Government's fiat against the wishes of the people it represented. It was the old conflict between king and parliament taking a new shape; the Viceroy and the governors represented the King's Veto, our elected assemblies the will of the people. In western Europe this conflict had raged hundreds of years ago and resulted in establishing the authority of Parliament. A king lost his head in the process in England; another king also lost his head in France. In America a proud and freedom-loving people resisted the authority of a distant king and his ministers and, after a long struggle, established their own freedom.

But in India, in the twentieth century, on the eve of the new order that was promised, in the face of loud declarations in favour of freedom and democracy, parliamentary government, in so far as it existed in the provinces, was suspended. The Viceroy's authority was supreme; he could make laws and unmake them, tax people and coerce them without the slightest reference to any representative body.

The Congress ministries had resigned, it is true, though they had the great majority of the members of the assemblies behind them. They resigned because they could not accept the Viceroy's mandates or the British Government's policy. But the assemblies were still there. The Viceroy or the governors could have dissolved them and had a fresh election. But they knew well that such an election would result in an overwhelming majority in favour of the Congress governments that had resigned. No other ministry was possible, as it could not command a majority. So the only course was for the provincial assemblies to be suspended, no fresh elections, and the Viceroy and governors to exercise dictatorial powers. It was a clear case of conflict between the people and Parliament on the one side and the King's representatives on the other. One party had to be suppressed or to give in. Parliament was suppressed. It was as if Mr. Neville Chamberlain, unable to carry Parliament with him, had advised the King to suspend it and to rule by decree; or President Roosevelt, in a like predicament, had ignored the House of Representatives and the Senate and constituted himself the dictator. We hear a great deal about authoritarianism and dictators and England's chiefs condemn both in resonant and forcible language. Yet in India today there is full-blooded dictatorship and authoritarianism.

Our course was clear. Yet we restrained and held ourselves, even though many amongst us were indignant with us, even though many colleagues of ours found their way to prisons for the offence of

explaining our policy to the people. We were hesitant because we hoped against hope that England's Government, including some progressive and Labour elements, might, in this hour of supreme trial, shake itself out of its deadening imperialism, and act according to its professions. We had no desire to encourage the Nazi rulers in any way; the thought of their domination over Europe and elsewhere was a painful one. We who had suffered as a subject people knew well what this would mean for others. We, of all people, could not tolerate the racial views and racial oppression of the Nazis. The horror that enveloped Holland and Belgium, the supreme tragedy of France, deeply moved us. The imminent peril of England made us feel that we should not add to her difficulties and embarrassments. Though England's ruling classes may have treated us badly and her imperialism may have crushed us, we had no ill will for her people, who were bravely facing peril and extreme danger. We tried hard to find a way out, honourable and advantageous to both India and England. We made new proposals, even going beyond our own mandate given at the last sessions of the Congress at Ramgarh. We pledged ourselves for the organisation of Indian defence and help in the war effort. But we could only do so as free people, with the goodwill and cooperation of India's millions. That freedom must be declared and a provisional national government formed, which would represent not one party only but all the important elements. The fundamental basis for this proposal was the recognition that the imperialist structure had to go.

The Viceroy and the British Government have said a final "No" to us and to India. On the eve of the French collapse, Britain's rulers were unorthodox enough to propose a union of England and France. That was an astonishing proposal. It came too late. But it showed that the British Government had got out of the ruts and could take a big step if the situation demanded it. But where their own interests are so vitally concerned as in India, they still live in the ruts, and not all the shock of war and danger has taken them out. Even an obvious advantage in this war cannot make them give up the special position that imperialism has conferred upon them. They talk complacently still of their empire and of their desire to maintain it, forgetting, perhaps, that the word, which sounds so good to them, is a symbol to us of our subjection, degradation and poverty.

I repeat that it is incorrect to say that there is any new parting of the ways, for our ways never lay together. But this declaration of the British Government means the final breaking of such slender bonds as held our minds together, it means the ending of all hope that we shall ever march together. I am sorry; for in spite of my hostility to British

imperialism and all imperialisms, I have loved much that was England, and I should have liked to keep the silken bonds of the spirit between India and England. Those bonds can only exist in freedom. I wanted India's freedom for India's sake, of course; but I also wanted it for England's sake. That hope is shattered and fate seems to have fashioned a different future for us. The way of cooperation is not for us; the hundred-year-old hostility will remain and grow in future conflicts, and the breach, when it comes, as come it must, will also not be in friendship, but in hostility.

I am told that the British Government has been led to believe that we shall tamely submit to their decrees because so far we have been quiescent. Our very restraint appears to have made them think that we were incapable of any action. In this world of force, of bombing aeroplanes, tanks, and armed men, how weak we are! Why trouble about us? But perhaps, even in this world of armed conflict, there is such a thing as the spirit of man, and the spirit of a nation, which is neither ignoble nor weak, and which may not be ignored, save at peril.

To those of us who are intimately connected with Indian politics, the British Government's reply needs no analysis or clarification. To do them justice, it is clear enough and there is no ambiguity. Yet others, perhaps, might miss its significance and be misled by the use of resounding words into thinking that something worthwhile was offered, that the people of India were getting some power in her government.

It is proposed to appoint some non-official Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council.[2] This Council is no real executive or cabinet; it is merely advisory. Real power rests with the Viceroy, who does not always take members of his Council into confidence. They are heads of departments, advising the Viceroy about their special subjects. All policy emanates from the Viceroy. In fact, his is the responsibility, and he is answerable to the Secretary of State for India in the British Parliament. If the constitution remains unaltered both in law and convention, it makes little difference who or how many people are added to the Council. They do not make an atom of difference to the Viceroy's position, power or authority, except in so far as they might try to influence him by their powers of persuasion.

2. On 8 August 1940 the Viceroy declared that after the war a body representative of the principal elements in India would be set up in order to devise the framework of a new constitution. Meanwhile the decision to enlarge the Central Executive Council and to establish a War Advisory Council would be immediately implemented.

Apart from this, the addition of a few non-officials to the Executive Council does not make an essential difference to it; the majority continues to be of the nominated official and service members, who may have their virtues (which are not very obvious) but who represent the hundred per cent imperialist bureaucratic type. They are completely dependent on the Viceroy for their position and are obsequious to him. They are wholly cut off from the life, thought and activities of the people, and live in an official world of their own. Such efficiency as they have consists in running the old type of police state. They are remote from the modern world and its problems and do not understand them. They belong to an order which has passed elsewhere and which must pass in India.

Then, again, the so-called "representative Indians" who may be appointed to the Viceroy's Executive Council will be chosen, presumably, from groups which are opposed to each other, some completely reactionary. All of them will not even represent the progressive elements in India, and in the Council, they will either neutralise each other or strengthen officialdom. They will not be elected by the people in any way and will not be responsible to them. They will be chosen by the Viceroy in their individual capacity.

It is obvious that the addition of these few odd Indians to the Viceroy's Executive Council means less than nothing from any national point of view, or from the viewpoint of any power being transferred to the people.

The second proposal is the creation of a War Advisory Council composed of an odd assortment of people, including some representatives of the semi-feudal Indian states. This will meet from time to time, apparently to listen to good advice and to act as recruiting sergeants and the like. They will have no executive power of any kind or, indeed, any other power. It will be just a show body of no relevance or importance.

These are the two proposals for the present and, as the Viceroy has made perfectly clear, the British Government do not contemplate the transfer of any power or definite responsibility. Further, it has been stated by the Secretary of State for India that when he refers to "the principal elements in India's national life," he includes the European vested interests in India. Probably the conception of India's 'national' life that Mr. Amery and the Viceroy cherish is one which consists chiefly of British vested interests, Indian feudal princes, big landlords, communalists, and other reactionaries. According to them, these 'national' interests form the warp and woof of our national life and deserve protection and representation. The three or four hundred odd millions of people who live and labour and often starve are an excrescence.

So much for the present and so long as the war lasts. The golden future of our dreams, that new order of freedom of which we hear so much, is envisaged as follows: after the conclusion of the war, "a body representative of the principal elements in India's national life" will be set up to devise the framework of the new constitution. We have seen what, in the opinion of Mr. Amery and the Viceroy, these elements in India's national life are. We shall have (or so it is proposed, but destiny may dispose otherwise) a noble company of bejewelled Maharajahs, belted knights, European industrial and commercial magnates, big landlords and taluqdars, Indian industrialists, representatives of the imperial services, and a few commoner mortals, all sitting together, possibly under the presidentship of the Viceroy himself, drawing up India's constitution. Thus will India exercise her right to self-determination. It will be a pretty pattern that this assembly will produce, with a flower for every vested interest and feudal relic and with the background of British imperialism. Above all, British interests, which are so important a part of India's national life, will have been preserved and given their rightful due. This will be called Dominion Status so that every one may be pleased.

But let it not be forgotten that even this assembly cannot have it all its own way. The British Government cannot divest itself of its high responsibility to protect British vested interests whatever happens. So whatever this assembly decides must be "subject to the due fulfilment of the obligations which Great Britain's long connection with India has imposed upon her and for which His Majesty's Government cannot divest themselves of responsibility."

Meanwhile, it is suggested that the Government will welcome every sincere and practical step taken by representative Indians to reach a basis of friendly agreement on the form that the post-war representative body should take and the principles and outlines of the constitution. These representative Indians must, of course, come from the principal elements of India's national life as outlined above.

If some of us in the outer darkness do not approve of this pattern or fancy this picture, it is, no doubt, our misfortune. If we wonder sometimes how any British Government can presume to make this offer to the Indian people in this age of change and revolution, when empires are disappearing, and the old structure collapses all over the world, it must indicate how simple and naive we are. We ought to have known that imperialisms do not abdicate; they hold on even when it is manifest folly to endeavour to do so. But in our simplicity we cannot help feeling a mild surprise at the fact that leaders of the British Labour Party, those champions of freedom and socialism, should be jointly responsible

for this "offer" to India. But it is no offer. It is a decision announced and intended to be imposed upon us whether we like it or not.

The Congress had ventured to suggest another way—that the constitution should be framed by a constituent assembly elected by adult franchise by the people. This had the misfortune of being a democratic way and of giving an equal importance to each individual. It is true that "the principal elements of India's national life," as conceived by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State, might have found some difficulty in getting elected. Democratic elections are not always just to these important elements, like those representing British or Indian vested interests.

The Viceroy has further stated that: "It goes without saying that they (the British Government) could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government."

This statement is worthy of close consideration. It is obvious that any system of government that might be proposed for India will find many odd groups and interests opposed to it. No system can possibly be devised which would be unanimously accepted by all those groups and interests and by the four hundred millions of India. All agrarian legislation has to deal with the inherent conflicts between the landlord and the tenant; all labour legislation is looked upon with disfavour by the captains of industry. Even among industrialists in India, there is continuing conflict between British vested interests and the rising Indian industry, which has been deliberately prevented from expanding so that the former might not suffer. So the conflicts of interests run through the whole of national life as it is constituted today, because there are different classes with conflicting interests. Some of us would like to have a classless society and I have no doubt that it will ultimately come. Meanwhile the only known method of resolving these conflicts, other than that of force and coercion, is the democratic method. If any group can hold up a political or economic change, even though this is desired by the great majority, it must lead to a disruption of the state and possibly to civil conflict.

The British Government's statement means that there can be no far-reaching political or economic changes, for some group is bound to object to them. There are Indian reactionary groups that will play that role. Even if no Indian group objects, British vested interests will do so. This means that the *status quo* will largely remain to the great

advantage of British imperialism. This is the way to perpetuate the present order, to make India safe for British vested interests.

The idea that the British Government should be asked to coerce any group is absurd. No one has ever hinted at this, except the reactionaries and communalists, who want the coercion of the progressive elements. The British Government is asked to put an end to all its present coercion; in fact, to retire from the Indian scene as a government. Only then will conditions be produced in India which will induce various elements in India to seek a basis of agreement among themselves, for the alternative is civil war. So long as the British Government remains, it plays off one against the other, and produces an unhealthy desire in the minds of some to seek its favour as against their own compatriots.

The British Government says it will not coerce an important group and impose a system of government which it does not like. The alternative surely is that it will coerce other groups who want that particular system of government. What exactly has the function of the British Government in India been, and what is it today? It is to coerce the Indian people as a whole, every group, in order to maintain its own hold and special position. It is to suppress Indian industry in favour of British industry in India. It is to maintain an army of occupation whose chief function is to coerce the Indian people. It is to uphold Indian princes by coercing their subjects into submission. It is strange to be told that the British Government does not want to use coercion. What else does it do in India?

Again, how is one to tell that an important group does not want a particular system of government? Ordinarily that group votes and other groups vote and then it is possible to know what the feeling or intentions of various groups are. They may come to a mutual arrangement, trying to find some common measure of agreement, or, if unhappily they do not, there is a difference which can only be reconciled by democratic methods, such as impartial arbitration.

The British proposal is ideally suited to prevent any progress or major change. British interests in any case will bar the way. As a matter of fact the government have gone further and stated that in any event they are not going to divest themselves of responsibility for the protection of these interests. Whatever happens, these interests remain; and so, whatever happens, the British financial and industrial structure dominates India. It so happens that this is exactly what we want to get rid of. There can be no progress or lessening of India's appalling poverty till we succeed in this. All else is secondary.

We have an intimate glimpse from the Viceroy's statement of the blessings of Dominion Status which is held out to us as a lure. Many of us, however, are not attracted by this picture.

It may be said that the Viceroy's statement about not coercing any large element which disapproves of a system of government applies chiefly to the religious minorities. Certainly let us agree that there must be no such coercion, and the British Government must on no account employ coercion. Nor should others. But where does coercion come in? Who suggests it?

The Congress proposal was not that the Congress or any party or religious group should be given power. It asked for power for the Indian people as a whole, and wanted the Indian people to decide what they desired in a democratic manner. It went further in its desire to protect all minority interests. It agreed to separate electorates for such minorities as desired it, and laid down that matters relating to minority rights must not be settled by a majority vote. They must be settled by agreement or, if unhappily this is not possible in regard to any particular matter, through an impartial tribunal. It is difficult to conceive any more comprehensive or effective method for minority protection short of throwing overboard all pretence at democracy and establishing a dictatorship of the minority.

So far as the Muslims in India are concerned, they are only technically a minority. They are vast in numbers and powerful in other ways, and it is patent that they cannot be coerced against their will, just as the Hindus cannot be coerced against their will. If the two cannot agree as organised groups, it will be unfortunate for India, and no one can say what the consequence will be. But let us always remember that in political and economic matters people do not function as religious groups. The lines of cleavage are different.

The question of minority protection arises for others, who are neither Hindu nor Muslim. It seems amazing to me that any Indian, whether he is a Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian or belonging to any other faith, should seek protection against his own compatriots from a foreign authority. As a matter of fact, they do not, except a few, who do it not because of religion, but because of vested interests.

Let us be clear about it. This communal question is essentially one of protection of vested interests, and religion has always been a useful stalking horse for this purpose. Those who have feudal privileges and vested interests fear change and become the camp followers of British imperialism. The British Government, on the other hand, delights in using the communal argument to deny freedom, democracy or any major change, and to hold on to power and privilege in India. That

is the *raison d'etre* and the justification of communalism in India. Someone has recently rightly called the Indian princes Britain's fifth column in India. Communalism and its champions might well be included in this column of present-day disrepute. It is not surprising, therefore, that communalists and princes get on well together and cooperate with each other. They have a common purpose to serve—to obstruct India's freedom so that vested interests might flourish.

It is not, of course, enough to dispose of communalism by this simple analysis, although this is the basic explanation. There are so many other factors, and it is perfectly true that mass elements, who may be affected by communalism, have neither vested interests to preserve nor have they any love for British imperialism. To understand how they have been influenced by communalism, and have often acted against their own interests, is to understand how Hitler came to influence mass elements among the German people. The analogy is not complete, but it helps. People are swept away by slogans which appeal to them, and then they are used for entirely different purposes. There has been a strange similarity in the recent development of the communalist technique in India to Nazi methods.

Communalism began in India by a demand for a specified share in services and in representation in the legislatures. It has now developed into an openly anti-national, anti-democratic movement, demanding the partition of India. For a long while it had no programme, constructive or otherwise. It lived on invective, violence and general offensiveness. It is amazing how it vulgarised our public life. It discovered that what it had valued most in the past—separate electorates—brought little good. In fact, they weakened the minority groups. Then by the very force of the logic of hatred and separatism that it had pursued, it had to go to the extreme of demanding a partition of India. The medieval theory of religious groups constituting a political community, which collapsed before an advancing nationalism in Europe, was revived. An idea similar to that of the Crusades, of Christendom *versus* Islam, suddenly appeared (it is said with British inspiration) in India. It was an astonishing throw-back. Whoever else benefited or suffered from it, it was clear that British imperialism was the gainer.

It is curious that even in early and medieval India, this theory never functioned in the Western way. Other religions were welcomed and accommodated. The early Christians came in the first century and found a home. Jews were accommodated, Muslims were welcome to spread their religion and settle down (till invasion brought political conflicts), Parsis came and were absorbed. Later, Muslim rulers

thought in terms of building up a single nation of the Muslim newcomers and the Hindus and others. The great Akbar laid the foundations for this. The new cultural elements were absorbed and a common culture gradually developed, especially in northern India.

And now we are told to go back to the pre-Akbar days, to reverse the process of history, to think in terms of medievalism. When nationalism is giving place to internationalism, an even narrower creed than nationalism is advanced, and this finds favour and protection with our British rulers. When the world is groping blindly towards a real federation of nations, it is suggested that India should be split up into various parts.

Muslim countries—Turkey, Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Persia—have long discarded this medieval theory. They are intensely nationalist and are proud of their ancient culture. Some of them deliberately go to their pre-Islamic days to find cultural inspiration. The Chinese Muslims are proud of their Chinese culture and fight for China's freedom. That is the course of history. Indeed, it is a course that has already been run, and the mighty revolution that is taking place in the world today will lay down another course—the way to world federation based on national freedom and a juster economic system. Privilege and vested interest will have to go.

That is the goal of India—a united, free, democratic country, closely associated in a world federation with other free nations. We want independence, but not the old type of narrow, exclusive independence. We believe that the days of separate warring national states should be ended.

We want independence and not dominion or any other status. Every thinking person knows that the whole conception of Dominion Status belongs to past history; it has no future. It cannot survive this war whatever the results of this war. But whether it survives or not, we want none of it. We do not want to be bound down to a group of nations which has dominated and exploited us; we will not be in an empire in some parts of which we are treated as helots and where racialism runs riot. We want to cut adrift from the financial domination of the City of London. We want to be completely free with no reservations or exceptions, except such as we ourselves approve, in common with others, in order to create a federation of nations, or a new world order. If this new world order or federation does not come in the near future we should like to be closely associated in a federation with our neighbours—China, Burma, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Persia. We are prepared to take risks and face dangers. We do not want the so-called protection of the British army or navy. We will shift for ourselves.

If the past had not been there to bear witness, the present would have made us come to this final decision. For even in this present of war and peril, there is no change in the manner of treatment accorded to our people by British imperialism. Let those who seek the favour and protection of this imperialism go its way. We go ours.

57. To Edward C. Carter[1]

Allahabad
August 10, 1940

Dear Carter,

I have just received your two letters—May 28th[2] and June 3rd. I am looking forward to the books[3] you have sent and as soon as I have read them, I shall send them on to S. K. Datta.

The appointment of Stafford Cripps as Ambassador to Moscow certainly showed that the British Government was beginning to develop some understanding of the realities of the situation. But I fear this will not take them far in the present circumstances. Indeed they do not seem to be prepared to go far. In India their attitude has been and is an impossible one. The labour element in the British Parliament has made no real difference so far as India is concerned. It appears that we are in for all manner of conflicts here. Nobody in authority seems to be big enough to keep pace with events. And I suppose that the great forces that have been released all over the world will go their own way till ultimately some kind of an equilibrium is established again.

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. He had written : "In these very black hours it is encouraging to learn that under Churchill there is a sufficient change in policy to make it feasible for the Cabinet to send Cripps on a public mission. Let us hope that the Cabinet is serious in sending him."
3. Raymond Leslie Buell's *Isolated America* and *War, Peace and Finland.*

58. Time for Action[1]

I have several times thought of coming to Cawnpore as I have heard good reports about the work of the Congress Seva Dal. I had first planned to come here on August 4, but owing to certain urgent engagements the visit had to be postponed. In the week that followed new developments have taken place. The government has prohibited the marching of volunteers in formation. The wearing of uniforms is also banned. Naturally great interest has been aroused in the present rally not only in Cawnpore but also outside.

It is for the Working Committee of the Congress to define its policy in the matter finally. But in the meantime there is the immediate question of what is to be done to various volunteers' camps and rallies planned in the province. Congressmen have got worried as to what is to be done about them. I have, therefore, issued a small statement a few days ago.[2] While we have no desire to deliberately defy the ban we cannot at the same time suspend all our normal activities.

Some parts of the order banning volunteer organisations are not unreasonable but at the same time it is ridiculous in certain respects. The order says there should not be private unofficial armies in a country and that there should be one national army only. But the order goes further to say that drills, marching and other things will not be allowed. It is not only I who am astonished at this sweeping order. Even officials are perplexed. According to it, it is not permissible for even two men to walk on the roads with regulated steps. The government must have considered the matter before issuing this order. The fact, however, is that this government is only accustomed to rule by force.

No king or government can rule against the wishes of the people. I recall the history of Cromwell's revolt in England when following the tussle between Parliament and the King the latter was dethroned and beheaded. A similar thing happened in France during the French Revolution.

The British Government in India is going against the wishes of the people. The governors and the Viceroy want to run counter to the will

1. Address at Kanpur Volunteers' Rally, 11 August 1940. From the *National Herald*, 12 August 1940.
2. See *ante*, item 54.

of the assembly. Now the assemblies have ceased to function. The assembly chambers have been closed. But no person, however exalted, be he a king or a governor, can rule against the people's will. It may be that the people for the time being submit to an order, be it out of weakness or for other considerations, but such orders cannot be respected for long. Frequently we read of new regulations or orders from Whitehall or Simla for the first time in newspapers. How can such orders which are issued without the consent of the people be obeyed? I have personally been exercising much restraint but even my patience has come to an end.

Great events are taking place in the world and my view is that neither British nor any other imperialism can last any more. It is a revolutionary period and imperialisms are bound to end. Personally I have always been an opponent of British imperialism. Today British imperialism is in great danger. I have love for the average Englishman. Many Englishmen are my friends and I sympathise with Britain in her present plight. But it is really surprising that even when Britain is in great trouble and danger the utterances from Simla are full of *hauteur* and false pride.

It is a well-known saying that at the time of destruction people lose their heads. Why did the French people lose the war? They were good and brave soldiers. But somehow in their overconfidence they failed to keep pace with the times. They thought that they were well protected behind the Maginot Line. But when the Maginot Line was crossed the French lost their head and could not stem the German advance.

I am really surprised that the British have not learnt the lesson from the downfall of France and are as self-complacent as ever. In Simla there are several highly paid army officials. But they appear to be terribly smug, unaffected by what is happening in Europe, in East Asia and in Indo-China. The British officials in Simla are behaving as of old. Their pronouncements and orders do not give any indication as to whether they appreciate the gravity of the situation.

Cawnpore witnessed one of the biggest processions in recent times and the most spectacular volunteers' rally followed a huge mass meeting. There is an atmosphere of expectancy, determined enthusiasm and cool courage reminiscent of the civil disobedience days. It appears as if the whole of Cawnpore has turned out to offer its support to the Congress as against the reported move of the government to ban even a rally of the nonviolent Seva Dal volunteers.

At several places, funds are being collected forcibly from the people. Many of our friends are at present in jails for raising their voice of

protest against it. In England no force is being used, yet every Englishman thinks it his duty to contribute whatever he can. What is necessary is for the British Government to convince the Indian people that it is their war. But what has Britain done about it? Her attitude has only made it clear that it is an imperialist war.

Practically no responsible Congress leader has expressed his opinion on the Viceroy's recent announcement. No circular was sent that Congressmen should not express their views on it. They have all however thought it proper that whatever is said on the subject should be said by the President or by the Working Committee. This silence on their part has a great significance for it denotes that it is time for action and not words.

The Viceroy's statement that representative Indians would settle the future constitution after the war at first appears attractive to some people. But who will be representative Indians? In answer to a question in Parliament it has been stated that representative Indians included European interests and European vested interests will be safeguarded. Ultimately therefore this proposed conference amounts to an all parties conference, so that Britain will be the final arbiter. The old plea of minorities has also been taken. The announcement stated that all that will be done will only be with the full consent of all the various interests. So even if all Indians agreed European interests would torpedo any proposal.

The question is whether the majority decision can be overruled by any minority. For instance if there is a proposal for the benefit of the peasants can a handful of vested interests overrule it? These are in fact only excuses to deprive the people of their rights.

The Congress has captured the imagination of the people for the last several years. It has no army. But lakhs are ready to follow its lead when it gives the call. The strength of the Congress does not lie in its organisation of volunteers. The Congress is strong and has commanded the willing allegiance of the people in the past because it stands for certain ideals and because it devotes itself to the cause of the country's freedom. In such things lies the power of the Congress and so long as Congress keeps to its ideals it will command the allegiance of the people even if there are no volunteer organisations.

There is an unbridgeable gulf between the Congress demand and the Viceroy's pronouncement and I do not see how we can accept it.

59. On the Ban on Volunteer Organizations[1]

I cannot express an opinion at present on the government order prohibiting military exercise or drill with or without arms by non-official volunteer organizations on behalf of the Congress because different voices should not be raised on important questions. The Working Committee or the General Council of the provincial Congress committee will give a decision on this question. However, I feel it neeessary to let you know what you should do in this matter and I have, therefore, issued a statement advising you to carry on the work undertaken in connection with the volunteer movement.

The order is a peculiar one. Some of its points appear to be reasonable, for instance, the prevention of the formation of private armies on communal lines. The formation of such armies is detrimental to the interests of the country. But it is not understandable why it seeks to prohibit the drill and disciplined movements of volunteers.

The Congress governments have resigned over the question of cooperating in the war. Consequently the government has now passed into the hands of the governors which means in effect a challenge to the popular governments. The suspension of the constitution is not an ordinary affair. There is no power in the world which can resist and defy the voice of the people.

Britain was never in greater danger for the last thousand years than it is today. Most of the countries in Europe have been wiped out and France has been defeated. But the British Government do not seem to realize this and their attitude towards India remains unchanged.

The Congress derives its power from the people and does not depend on a volunteer army. The volunteer movement is intended to discipline the people and train them for service. In the National Planning Committee I have considered this problem and suggested compulsory volunteering in schools and colleges. I would also like to recommend that every Indian, whether man or woman, should work for the country for one year. Just as in European countries where there is conscription for the army, so also in India I would like the people to do some compulsory work for the good of the country.

1. Interview to the press, Kanpur, 12 August 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 13 August 1940.

As for the Pakistan scheme I cannot consider the Indian problem apart from world problems. Smaller nations will have to be included in a world federation of which India will also be a member as a free state. If such a federation cannot be formed, India will form its own federation in which neighbouring countries like China and Afghanistan can be included. I appeal to you to strengthen the volunteer organizations on nonviolent lines with a view to serving the country.

60. Free India and the World[1]

The students of the country have to shoulder a great responsibility because the future of the country depends upon them. You should be prepared to undertake the burden in an age of conflict when the fittest alone will survive. The youth of the country should pause to think over the vital problems which lie before them. I feel that there is an awakening among the younger generation and they now take an interest in world problems. Students who shout revolutionary slogans are not always very helpful. Students in European countries are fighting for their country at this critical juncture, and I ask you to bear this in mind as it is your duty to work for the good of the country.

The growing militarism prevailing in Europe is greatly detrimental to the cause of civilization in the long run. The spirit of militarism might make a country powerful for war but it is bound to result in the deterioration of intellectual progress, which in turn will prove fatal to the cause of the country.

India will play an important role in the affairs of the world by becoming a united nation. One man cannot control the destiny of the world, however powerful that man might be. Only those persons who follow international events and understand them correctly can control the destiny of a nation.

I have now begun to think of something more than the freedom of India which, in my opinion, is bound to come. I am now devoted to thinking what part free India will play in the affairs of the world. Free India cannot live apart from other nations. She will have a great

1. Address at a students' meeting at Kanpur, 12 August 1940. From *The Hindustan Times*, 13 August 1940.

share in shaping world history. The question is: how many students or young men of the country are preparing themselves for this task?

Society is a complex organism. If society can be properly organized, everyone will have an opportunity for intellectual or other advancement. In the absence of such a social organization there is a great struggle going on in the world. The world might learn new lessons from the war and a new order might be created which would benefit all. Great empires are engaged in the present war and it might be possible for empires to exist even after the war, but I do not think that the British Empire will exist in its present form. In the world of the future, no country will be able to subjugate the greater part of the world.

There can be no peace unless equal justice is done to all. These are the great problems before us. If we do not keep an eye on the changes taking place in the world, progress is impossible. The present educational system is so defective that the relation between master and pupil appears to be that between employer and employed.

61. A World Federation[1]

I am thinking of India's freedom, but at the same time I am thinking of a world federation of nations. I cannot support the idea of a federation of the British Empire. I am fighting to bring about the end of British imperialism, but I want closer relations with the people of Britain. In fact, the sufferings of the British people are to a great extent similar to those of the Indian people. We are also suffering under British capitalism.

India's relations with China and other neighbouring countries are not very close, and I feel that these should improve. I suggest that if a world federation is not practicable just now, at least India and her neighbouring countries can form a federation of free and equal units.

1. Speech at Banaras, 16 August 1940. From *The Hindustan Times*, 17 August 1940.

Leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Maulana Azad have expressed their clear opinions on the Viceroy's statement.[2] The situation is grave. We cannot lose time in fruitless discussions with representatives of the British Government. The ways of the British Government have been such that we will have to face them very soon. There has been so much repression and so many arrests of people interested in the freedom of India. The latest order of the Government of India is about the volunteers' organizations. The Congress Working Committee which is meeting on Sunday will consider the situation and everyone should be prepared to carry out its programme.

This is not the time for organizing meetings and processions and shouting slogans such as *inqilab zindabad*. This is the time for work, hard work—24 hours' work, for the country. The world is passing through a struggle and revolution and the people of India cannot keep themselves out of them. I am sure that a country whose people are brave and efficiently organized will survive.

I was very sorry when I read the news of the fall of Paris, as I knew that France is a great country with a noble civilization. I will be really very sorry if Britain is defeated, as I value its great civilization.

2. Azad refused Linlithgow's invitation to discuss the 'August Offer'. Mahatma Gandhi said: "It widens the gulf between India as represented by the Congress and England." Patel said there was nothing new in the offer "...which makes it worthy of special consideration...history will record that another great blunder was committed by those who...should have known better."

62. To Mohammed Yunus[1]

Wardha
August 20, 1940

My dear Yunus,

Thank you for your letter. We enjoyed the *sharda* and *garma* you sent.

The political situation has taken a very grave turn. It is very unfortunate that at this time when all our united energies have to be harnessed to the task, a new confusion should have arisen in the Frontier

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

Province. I have seen the resolution of the Frontier P.C.C.[2] It is good as far as it goes.

I should like you to tell Badshah Khan that, though it is impossible for us to forecast events, it is highly likely that these events may overtake us. Therefore we must keep perfectly ready and prepare and forget all our inner disputes. At any time we may suddenly have to face conflict and we should keep perfectly ready for it.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Mohammed Yunus had written on 11 August 1940 to say that there was a strong move at the F.P.P.C.C. meeting to pass a resolution for a break with the Congress over the Badshah Khan affair. But nothing came of it. See *ante*, item 43.

63. The Arrests in the United Provinces[1]

I must congratulate my comrades of the United Provinces on the arrest of the President of our Provincial Congress Committee.[2] Probably in no province in India have so many hundreds of arrests been made for carrying on Congress activities as in the United Provinces. In spite of this persistent and continuing attack on the U.P. Congress, we have carried on our activities with dignity as disciplined soldiers of the Congress, and we shall continue to do so with redoubled vigour. The arrest of our President is a challenge to us and a warning. The time for our trial approaches, and the zero hour for us, as for others, is near. The cause we have loved and have been privileged to serve, beckons to us again and demands our wholehearted allegiance and service. We have no prizes in store for us. We can only look forward to hardship and suffering and a long parting from those we love.

1. Statement to the press, 21 August 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 22 August 1940.
2. Sri Krishna Datt Paliwal, President of the U.P.P.C.C., was arrested at Farrukhabad on 20 August 1940.

Hard and heavy times lie ahead of us, but we shall transmute that suffering into joy as we march along again on the road we know so well, and there will be peace in our hearts and minds after the travail of the spirit that we have gone through.

Sir Maurice Hallett, the Governor of the U.P., said recently that 'those who are not with us are against us'. If he spoke for the British Government and British imperialism, then let me assure him that we are not with him, and we are entirely opposed to this government and imperialism, and this opposition will not lessen or fade whatever may befall us. We owe allegiance to India alone, and we serve the cause of her freedom.

As soon as I can, I shall join my comrades of the U.P. My place is with them and my heart longs to be by their side. I hope that every Congress committee and Congressman will give all his strength and time to Congress work now and carry the message of the Congress to every nook and corner of the province. Men and women of the United Provinces, dear comrades in many a noble adventure, be ready on your feet now and straighten your backs and let there be no faltering.

64. Nonviolence and the State[1]

There has been much argument on the question of nonviolence and the application of this principle to the governance of a state. A difference of opinion appears to have arisen over this question between Mahatma Gandhi and some members of the Working Committee. This difference may be due largely to misunderstanding. In order to remove any misunderstandings and to facilitate a clarification of the issues involved, the various points that have to be considered are noted below.

This note deals only with the application of this principle to a state and, in particular, to the use of armed forces for the purposes of repelling external invasion or quelling internal disturbances.

As the question has arisen for our consideration, it has two parts: the general principles which should govern our policy as a state and as Congress, and the situation created by the Delhi resolution, subsequently confirmed at Poona. We shall consider these separately.

1. Confidential note written at Wardha, 25 August 1940. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

A. 1. Both because of our adherence to the principle of nonviolence and from practical considerations arising from our understanding of world events, we believe that complete disarmament of all national states should be aimed at, and is in fact an urgent necessity if the world is not to be reduced to barbarism. (It is manifestly impossible for disarmament or even a reduction of armaments to take place while the war is going on. The question can only be considered on a world basis when peace is re-established. But even while the war is being carried on, the objectives of full disarmament should be kept in view, so that public opinion may be cultivated.)

2. Complete disarmament means in essence the ending of wars between national states. This will only take place when the causes of such wars have been eliminated or reduced very greatly. If the causes remain, there will be continuous conflict, political and economic, and this will lead to wars. Therefore, if real disarmament is to come, it is essential to tackle this problem and to remove these causes of conflict and war. These causes are many, but briefly they may be summed up as the suppression of one nation by another, of large masses of people by privileged groups, of the uneven distribution of the world's resources which are essential to modern life in any state, of inequalities between nation and nation and group and group, of haves and have-nots as between nations as well as between groups or classes. There may also be religious or racial causes or historical animosities, but these are likely to die out if the more fundamental causes are removed. Over-population may also be a cause.

3. The most important causes of recent wars have been the desire of industrialised nations to get raw material cheap and markets for manufactured goods. The easiest way to get both of these is to take possession of a country or to get an economic stranglehold over it. This has led to the recent phase of imperialism. This again has led to the latest phase of financial imperialism (like that of the United States of America) where actual possession of territory is not necessary but an economic empire is established. Heavy investments are made in the colonial and subject country and thus vested interests are created to the disadvantage of that subject country. These vested interests require the protection of armed forces. Two kinds of conflicts or wars take place due to rivalries between imperialist powers which lead to major wars, and the suppression of a colonial people, which is usually called a colonial campaign or just police measures against rebellious people.

4. This question is too vast for any detailed consideration here but the main facts stand out. Disarmament ultimately depends on far-reaching changes in the political and economic structure of the world, leading to

a removal of the basic causes of war. So long as this is not done, the conflicts continue and lead to wars. Even the existence of entirely independent national states leads to conflict between them, and some kind of world union or federation will have to be evolved.

5. The question of complete disarmament thus becomes tied up with fundamental political and economic changes in the world. It cannot be tackled, much less solved, by itself.

6. It is said that actual disarmament must be preceded by moral disarmament. There is some truth in this but, as a matter of fact, there is widespread horror of war among the people of all countries, and disarmament would be immensely popular. Only some privileged or interested groups as well as governments may feel differently. As a result of the present war the revulsion for war is likely to be tremendous. But one must not forget that even this feeling lessens and fades away and hatred and the desire to revenge remain, if there is no proper settlement and the seeds of war remain.

7. There is another important aspect of disarmament. What exactly is disarmament? Not to keep an army, or navy, or military aeroplanes may be the obvious answer, yet this is totally insufficient. In modern warfare armies have become secondary factors. The air arm counts for most. Even if military aeroplanes are abolished, civil and commercial planes can very easily be converted for use as bombers. And every chemical factory can produce bombs at a moment's notice. Thus even if a country disarms totally in the ordinary sense of the word, it may be potentially armed and capable of offensive and destructive warfare. It is obviously out of the question to put an end to all chemical factories, which produce essential products for human needs, or to stop commercial and civil flying altogether. Even if this was done outwardly, a country which possessed scientific and technical skill could arm rapidly. It does not cost much, relatively speaking, to produce aeroplanes or bombs.

8. Thus the question of disarmament is full of difficulty and we come back to the prior necessity of removing the causes of war. This means the evolution of a new world order based on a different political and economic system which avoids conflict. This must lead to a world federation and the distribution of the world's resources fairly among different countries and peoples.

9. Another aspect is that, as the world is constituted today, no country can be isolated from the others, nor can it for long follow a policy which is totally at variance with that of others, howsoever much it might try to do so. A country may go one step ahead and give a lead to others but the gap cannot be great.

10. Even if there is total disarmament, it is too much to expect that all anti-social elements in various countries will disappear. Such elements will try to take advantage of the disarmament of a state to seize power by force. It will be necessary, for a longish transitional period, to keep an international police force (apart from national police) to deal with such aggressors.

11. In India a method of meeting armed aggression by nonviolent direct action has been evolved. This may in theory be applicable to a state defending itself, but it obviously requires a high stage of development among considerable numbers of people. If that stage is not reached, then it may not only fail, but lead to disastrous results—hypocrisy, meanness, cowardice and a servile mentality. To say that it must be applied even if the people are not ready for it, means the degradation of the people.

12. On the other hand, India cannot at present imaginably become a military power of first class importance. It can at best become a third rate power and that too at a cost which is almost unbearable for a poor country. It is therefore essential for India that world disarmament should take place.

13. The policy that India should pursue, therefore, is:

i) To stand resolutely for complete world disarmament.
ii) To state that she is even prepared to take a lead in this, if this is at all possible, even though other countries hesitate.
iii) At the same time to realise that an absolute commitment is not possible, as any action taken must depend on external as well as internal factors.
iv) To take every step towards this end, that is possible, during the transitional period, realising that full achievement may not come immediately and some steps may be necessary.
v) To train people, psychologically and otherwise, in nonviolent direct action.
vi) Even if an army has to be tolerated during the transitional period, to give it progressively more of the character of a militia or national police force.
vii) To develop the physique of the people and train them in drill and methods of organised action. This is necessary also from the point of view of giving an outlet for the suppressed militarism of the people.
viii) To build up a civil and commercial air service.
ix) To endeavour by all means in her power to help in bringing about a new political and economic order in the world and thus remove causes of war. In particular, to follow such an

economic policy within the country, and a foreign policy to fit in with this abroad.***

*** Incomplete in the original.

65. Empires Must Go[1]

In this complex and bewildering world, the recent declarations of the British Government in India, and the Congress Working Committee's reply to them, have at least brought a measure of clarity. For over eleven months now there has been statement and counter-statement, and though the issue was clear enough, yet confusion resulted. Some of us may not like what has happened, but we know where we are and what we must do. Difficulties and dangers lie ahead of us, but the travail of the spirit has ended. We have peace now in our hearts though outside there may be conflict and turmoil.

The Viceroy's statement and Mr. Amery's speech[2] have made two points crystal clear. The British Government have no intention whatever of giving up any real power to the Indian people. This is obvious enough in the present, for the appointment of any number of executive councillors does not give power to the people. The Viceroy's Executive Council is not a cabinet and is just a collection of heads of departments who advise the Viceroy and whose advice may be rejected. The Viceroy is still the repository of power, responsible to none in India. The manner of the proposed extension of the Viceroy's Executive Council is also such that the popular will may not have much chance of influencing the policy. We are supposed to be camp followers, carrying the heaviest burdens, and faithfully follow the lead that is given to us.

1. Address at a press conference, Bombay, 27 August 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 28 August 1940.
2. On 14 August 1940, Amery had said: "India cannot be unitary in the sense that we are in this island, but she can still be a unity." The Congress demand for a constituent assembly "really raises the whole unsolved constitutional issue and prejudices it in the sense favoured by the Congress and rejected by the minorities." As for the Viceroy's offer, "...In spite of the discouraging attitude shown in Congress quarters, I hope that they will all be willing to take part"; if not, "Lord Linlithgow will, of course, still go ahead prepared to work with those who will work with him...."

The glimpse of the future that is shown to us, that dim and distant future when this uncertain war has ended, does not promise us any kind of freedom. The conditions laid down are such that it is hardly possible for us to fulfil them. It may be that 90 per cent of the Indian people want a particular change or type of government. But no, there is some group which objects. It may be that even 99 per cent are in favour of something, but the princes veto it, or the European vested interests, who are such important elements in India's national life. The result is that the *status quo* must be maintained and British imperialism must flourish and hold the scales; the white man must wearily continue to shoulder his burden. The whole thing is fantastic and absurd and has not even the merit of decent phraseology about it.

The second and even more significant point is the obvious and deliberate attempt to disrupt and break up India. We have long known that British policy was to divide India, but this outrageous attempt to (using the language of the Working Committee's resolution) create, maintain and aggravate every disruptive tendency passes understanding.

There is a lot of talk of the British Government not wanting coercion in India. Who wants coercion of any group? Who has suggested it? Certainly not the Congress. The Congress has never even asked anything for itself. It was easy enough for Congressmen to get soft jobs in the Centre and in the provinces. Evidently the high priests of British imperialism judge the Congress by their own standards and are surprised that we refuse these jobs. We have asked for power to be transferred to the Indian people. Let them choose whom they will; let them decide, with full protection for foreign vested interests. And there lies the rub for the minority issue is made much of, simply because British imperialism will not give up its special privileges and interests.

According to the British argument it is improper to coerce a handful of privileged people, even though they may be foreigners, but it is entirely proper to coerce 99 per cent of the people. What exactly is the British Government in India except a mighty instrument of coercion, intimidation and exploitation? What is it doing today in India except this?

India has suffered many an indignity at the hands of the British power. During the past year we have put up with much, and, in spite of provocation, restrained ourselves. But this new British approach is an insult to every self-respecting Indian. The Congress of course cannot tolerate it unless it is to forget its objective, its tradition, its pledges, its past history, and commit suicide. But this is not just a Congress matter and has a deeper significance. Indian nationalism, the hope of a

free India which we have cherished, India's honour, and the liberties and vital interests of our people are tied up with this. We must, therefore, and will, resist this, whatever the consequences.

The Delhi resolution of the Working Committee, confirmed by the A.I.C.C. at Poona, is dead and gone, past all resurrection. Many of us who did not fancy it may well feel relief at this escape from its dangerous implications. We are back at the Ramgarh resolution, with this difference that it has to be given effect to immediately. The time for waiting is past.

We have seen the temper of the British Government. That demands only one kind of answer from us and I have no doubt that the A.I.C.C. will give it. Under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, the Congress and the country will march ahead again along the hard path of suffering and sacrifice which leads to freedom.[3]

There have been some differences between Gandhiji and the Working Committee recently, but these have been greatly exaggerated. The scrapping of the Delhi resolution, after the British response, removes a major obstacle. The Working Committee holds to nonviolence firmly, not only to its application to our struggle for freedom, but even afterwards, in so far as this can be practicable. Our national policy must inevitably be of complete world disarmament. Indeed, it is exceedingly likely that this terrible war will result in disarmament, or else we all revert to barbarism. We must not only stand for world disarmament but be prepared to give a lead in this matter. Naturally a nation's policy is largely governed by external as well as internal factors which cannot be ignored. Nevertheless the Congress must stand for disarmament and try its utmost to push it forward in India as well as in the larger world. There is no hope for the world otherwise.

The war goes on and grows fiercer and more destructive day by day. We talk of peace, and some people ask us to forget our problems or the future, and give all our thought and energy to this work of destruction. But what do we fight for, apart from killing and destroying? That is the question the Congress asked in September last, and this is the question that must be answered if the war has any meaning. The war may go on and on, never-endingly; no formal peace may come and the real end may only be utter exhaustion and destruction and anarchy, and that will be no end. Is it for this that millions fight? Or is it some ideal

3. After rejecting the 'August Offer', the Congress went back to the position taken up at Ramgarh and requested Mahatma Gandhi to resume active leadership of the Congress.

worth striving for, worth dying for? Nazism is bad and brutal, oppressive and pitiless. But so long as it is not realized that the system that British imperialism represents is also bad and must also go, there will be no end. Empires must go. Only a new political and social order will end the horror of the present day.

We have seen how the Viceroy and the Secretary of State and the British Government envisage this new order of the future. With this we can have no compact. We shall oppose it unrelentingly and with all our strength for so long as it continues the new world cannot be born.

66. Cable to the President, India League, U.S.A.[1]

Bombay
29 August 1940

Statement cabled through Associated Press and United Press. Congress rejects Viceroy's offer which perpetuates autocracy.

Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

67. A Challenge to Indian Nationalism[1]

As I sat here gazing at the sea and the stately homes of Bombay and wondering what I might say to you, my mind went back to the thatched huts of the poor people of my province, where my comrades are in the midst of a struggle and are being arrested.

The spark that has been lit in my province is sure to spread throughout India and annihilate many of us and will certainly put an end to

1. Address at Bombay, 1 September 1940. From *The Hindustan Times* and *Free Press Journal*, 2 September 1940.

the British rule in this country. Those of you who have been shouting *inqilab zindabad* at the top of your voices take heed, the time is drawing nearer when your zeal for that freedom will be put to test. I have been receiving telegrams daily informing me of the arrests of my friends and colleagues. I feel that my place is in my province, but I have come to Bombay for a specific purpose, namely, the work before the National Planning Committee and hence I have a responsibility to shoulder here. I hope to finish and go away in three or four days.

I will be back in eight or nine days as I have to go to Wardha for the Working Committee meeting and come to Bombay for the A.I.C.C. meeting for a few days. Perhaps I may not be free to come. I do not care, but my only anxiety is—what is the next step for the people of India? How are we to go ahead? The recent Viceregal declaration has clarified issues.

I am glad that the stalemate has ended. We see our way clearly before us, and this has given us peace of mind. The only question before us now is how to advance and achieve independence for the teeming millions of India.

I shall not weary you by repeating what will form part of the history of free India, for the opportunity has arrived for you and me to make history by relying on our own strength. None of us can remain aloof from this struggle. We will have to take part in it and lead it to a successful termination. It is a revolutionary period and none of us can remain unaffected by it. Personally I do not want to remain untouched. The present war has been going on for the last 12 months and several nations have fallen a victim to it and nobody can predict when the hostilities will cease. The people of Britain are in great difficulties.

When I say we are opposed to British imperialism, it does not mean that we are against the British people. The people of Britain, who are going through untold suffering, are quite different from the British Government. Distant as we are from the theatre of war, we can have only a dim idea of the orgy of devastation that is going on there. My heart is pained to hear what the British or for that matter the German people are facing. But can I forget my duty towards my country? We cannot be taken in by the threat that if we do not cooperate with Britain's war effort and if Britain loses the war we may be enslaved by Germany. Merely raising the bogey of Hitler cannot make us participate in the war effort.

We have taken an oath to secure our freedom which does not mean slavery to Hitler instead of Britain. And we will fight whoever it is who tries to subjugate us. It is true that we cannot fight Hitler or anyone else by armed strength. Thanks to the British Government, we have

no armed forces to combat any aggression. And even though we are unarmed the British Government does not feel quite at ease. They are afraid of four men walking abreast and hence they have banned all military drill.

Although we are unarmed and have not the military strength to face any foreign power, we have the strength of courage to oppose any enemy for the sake of our own freedom. If the necessity arises we would rather die for the freedom of our country following the path of nonviolence.

We are not afraid of Hitler. If ever Hitler succeeds in coming here, I am quite confident that the brave people of India would prefer to die than to capitulate to him, so that all the enemy will find will be one long graveyard.

By the Poona decision we had declared that we were prepared to shoulder the responsibility of defending India on certain conditions. This was a situation fraught with grave danger as we might have been caught in some trap. Though we were confident that we would be able to overcome it, we might have been entangled in a tricky situation.

The British Government through the Viceroy have not only rejected the hand of friendship offered by the Congress, but have raised other issues. My heart was set at ease on reading their reply. I was glad that we were saved from any possibility of falling into a quagmire.

So far, it has been the policy of the British Government to divide and rule. As our national movement gathered strength, the greater were their efforts towards creating conflict among the people and thereby consolidating their position. If they had any forethought they would have at least put into practice what they professed, namely, that they were fighting for democracy and freedom. They would rather be destroyed than grant freedom to India. It looks as if they wanted to create disturbances and weaknesses in India when they realised that they would have to give up India eventually. Their vision is blurred. They strengthened their enemy—Hitler—by refusing to befriend Russia at a time when the Soviet Union was anxious to make friends with them.

They let down their friends and have brought about the downfall of Czechoslovakia and of Spain. Even now their vision is blurred, for they have decided not to part with any power in India.

We tried our best to come to a settlement with them, not because we wanted to help British imperialism as some people seem to think. Our demand was such that had it been conceded we would be fighting not for British imperialism, but for a Britain that had shed all semblance of imperialism. We are ever prepared to come to a settlement with the people of Britain; but never, never, with the British or any other imperialism.

We did not wish to start our struggle in view of the world situation and we tried to avoid it. But our efforts have not met with success. But once our struggle starts nothing can check it, or obstruct it. And it won't remain a political struggle only but will touch the economic and other issues also, so that we won't be talking in terms of this community or that, but on behalf of the crores of people of India whether Hindus, Muslims, Parsis or Christians; I am glad that we will soon get the opportunity to do so.

I do not wish to belittle the Hindu-Muslim problem; in fact it would be futile to do so. But whether this problem is big or small you will find that it is in reality a problem of the upper classes—of those who aspire to share the spoils of office—and the masses are not in the picture.

The Congress had assumed office so as to advance the cause of the people and it gave it up when it found it could not make any progress. I feel, and you will all agree with me, that we should not assume office again until India is free.

I wish god-speed to those who are aspiring to occupy the chairs in the Viceroy's Executive Council. But is that what we have been fighting for, all these 20 years? It is a shame that the Viceroy should have made such an offer at this critical time when countries are falling one after the other. He must be blind-folded to tell us to accept office at such a time.

The way they have rejected our offer of friendship, leaves room for only one reply. And we have to prepare ourselves to give that reply. So far we have restrained ourselves but from now on we shall shout at the top of our voices and declare openly what is in our minds. If the British Government want to force a trial of strength on us we are prepared to accept the challenge. If they are fighting for imperialism we would rather die than participate in such a war.

68. The Next Step[1]

The time has come for the measuring of strength. The struggle may be fierce and prolonged, but the time for negotiations has gone. If given full responsibility we will accept it, but not one iota less than that will do. We might have been led a little astray during the last few years and I

1. Speech at Allahabad, 8 September 1940. From the *National Herald*, 9 September 1940.

was even afraid that we might fall into a trap. But now the one and only path before us is clear and we must tread it.

What immediate form that step will take I do not know but it will be in keeping with our basic creed and principles, and I hope Mahatma Gandhi will lead us. There is no difference between Gandhiji and ourselves now on the immediate practical issues involved.

Whether the struggle is to be civil disobedience on a mass scale or individually is not the pressing issue compared to the fact that the step taken by millions of men should be measured and well considered. The burden of the struggle will fall on every individual.

Two things seem clear. The British Government seems to be out to destroy the rise of nationalism fostered by Indians for the last 55 years. And, secondly, the British are exaggerating our internal differences which are being put up as obstructions. Emphasis is being laid upon disruptive tendencies and various conflicting interests.

The ostensible object given out for the ban on military drill by private organisations was the banning of private armies, but the practical effect of the ban is to prohibit the normal activities of the Congress volunteers. However we do not wish to precipitate a struggle on this issue. The struggle will be on bigger and greater issues.

We do not want Nazi domination in the world because Nazism is wicked and dangerous and Nazis look upon the Asians with hatred and contempt. But we attach no importance to mere appellations.

At the end of the war, which may last long, vast and far-flung empires will not be possible. There will be revolutionary changes and India will not be isolated from them. That is why the question is not one of accepting the enlargement of this or the formation of that council.

69. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Allahabad
8 September 1940

Your cable. British Government's attitude was fully realised. We had no expectations of Labour members who are following the imperialist

1. Extracts from Government of Maharashtra File No. 532-Q-VII, p. 159, 1940.

line as before.[2] Gandhiji is of the same opinion. He is attending the All India meeting.[3] The theoretical differences between him and the Working Committee regarding the future have been adjusted. Expect his leadership of the movement. There is no question of negotiating with the Viceroy. It is difficult to send instructions as to whether it is better for you to stay there or go to America. Our position is clear as has been repeatedly stated. The Delhi resolution has lapsed. We revert and adhere to the Ramgarh decision whatever the consequences. Future communications are very difficult.

Jawaharlal

2. The Labour Party had supported the 'August Offer' and had said that the Viceroy's statement went a good way in the direction of the establishment of a stable government in India, acceptable to the Indian people. If the door was partly open, it was for India to push it still further and show her capacities for leadership. The government had accepted the principle that the framing of a future scheme should be the responsibility of Indians themselves and this marked a tremendously important advance.
3. Mahatma Gandhi attended the A.I.C.C. session at Bombay on 15-16 September 1940.

70. The Imminence of Satyagraha[1]

We do not desire to carry on satyagraha in connection with the Seva Dal's activities because this Dal has not been trained with any specific purpose of carrying on satyagraha. But the circumstances are such, the issues involved are so fundamental and the march of events may prove so pressing, that we may be in the thick of a struggle very shortly—maybe within a few weeks or even a few days.

The Congress stands for the whole of India and not for any one community in particular. When we asked for a national government we did not say that it should be a Congress government. We said that it should be chosen by the people. We do not want any rights for ourselves. Our demands are for the people. Our strength is not the

1. Valedictory address to Kaumi Seva Dal volunteers, Allahabad, 10 September 1940. From *The Hindustan Times*, 11 September 1940.

strength of office, but of the people. We hold the scales even between the various communities. We tread the middle path—the just path—so that every community can repose its trust in us.

The Congress demand is for complete independence, its form to be decided by the people. The Congress does not want the country to be governed by a few people—even Indians—on the top, but by the people. The country will be given the lead by the A.I.C.C. within a few days.

71. The Twofold Task[1]

The situation in the whole world has become so complicated that it has become very difficult to understand events in their proper perspective but then we have to make efforts to understand them all the same. We must also think back as to what has happened during the last one year since the war started and what steps have been taken by the Congress from time to time. This war is becoming so disastrous day by day that we cannot predict as to what will happen in the near future. This war will bring about a revolution in the world. The map of Europe is changing fast and besides that there are more important problems to be faced. Britain alone is spending crores of rupees every day on this war and other countries are also spending a lot. From where are these countries going to repay the loans that they are incurring to meet the expenditure of war? If this war continues it will change the present position of the world. London and Berlin have been bombed and if the war goes on at this rate involving as it does the great loss of life and wealth, it will result in total ruin which will take years to set right. Although we are far away from the theatres of war yet we cannot save ourselves from its effects and hence we will have to prepare ourselves to face all eventualities.

As soon as the war started the Congress asked the British Government to declare their war aims and the reply given was so vague that it became clear that they were not fighting for freedom as declared by them. After that the Congress ministries resigned and the Congress passed

1. Speech at Bombay, 14 September 1940. From *Bharat Jyoti*, 15 September 1940.

resolutions in favour of satyagraha. The war then took a new turn and there came the fall of Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, France, etc., and if the war continues in this manner it cannot be said as to how long Britain will retain her freedom. British imperialism is bound to come to an end whether Britain wins the war or not. The Delhi resolution was passed in the hope that it could be given effect to easily and immediately. But it was rejected, and we were told that no settlement could be arrived at till we came to an agreement with the minorities and the princes. Even in these troubled times British policy towards India remains unchanged. After all what was the Congress demand? It did not ask for independence or power for the Congress; but all that we demand is a constituent assembly chosen by the people irrespective of caste and creed. The British Government's reply seemed calculated to ridicule us as it is impossible that all the interests in India, especially the princes and the English traders, will ever stand united on a common point. By this attitude the government has tried to put down the Congress through the communal organisations and those other organisations who are opposed to India's freedom. When Britain seeks to divide our country into hundreds of small bits we cannot remain idle. Thousands of Congress workers have been arrested in various provinces. It is our duty to fight back when the nation's unity and integrity are in danger. We have tried our level best to come to an agreement with Britain, but we did not even manage to satisfy the Liberals. Britain is not prepared to part with power even when faced with a life and death struggle. If we do not face the offensive of the government now, then all the progress that has been made by us during the last fifty years will be retarded.

What are we to do in order to achieve our goal of independence? India can launch satyagraha. Some people are of the opinion that we should not start satyagraha now when Britain is in difficulties. Satyagraha has never been launched in order to embarrass the adversary found in a tight corner. But the point is that Congress is the victim of aggression and is likely to be annihilated if it does not stand up and fight. We have not the least sympathy with the Nazis. Supposing we were free and even if we sympathised with Britain we need not necessarily join the war. America sympathises with Britain and is giving her all aid but hasn't actually joined the war. But India has been involved in the war without even being consulted. The question before us is how to protect India and how to achieve our freedom. When demands are being made on India and men and money are being taken by force, it has become our duty to resist this. We have tried our best and have given every kind of chance to the British Government to come to some

settlement on the question of India's freedom. We were prepared to tolerate many things, which in the ordinary course we would not have tolerated, merely because Britain was in trouble.

Our struggle is not against the English nation or the German nation but our fight is against British imperialism as well as all other imperialisms and because the British Government wants to maintain her imperialistic policy, we have to make a stand against the British Government and achieve our country's freedom. Various kinds of attacks are being made on the activities of the Indians. Recently a new order was enforced to suppress the activities of the Congress volunteers who were pledged to nonviolence. It was said that this banning order was meant for the Khaksars, but that is not true as a settlement had been arrived at between the Khaksars and the government when this order was issued and there was no necessity to issue such an order.[2] The British Government has tried its best to strengthen all those forces which are against the Congress. The task before us is twofold. We have not only to achieve our independence but we must also concentrate on counteracting the anti-nationalistic tendencies and strengthen the forces of Indian nationalism.

The reasonable demands of the Congress have been rejected by the government. We have no other alternative but to start satyagraha and in what form it should be started is still to be decided. Mahatma Gandhi is our great leader and he will lead the satyagraha because this weapon was introduced by him. In what form he will start satyagraha will come to light shortly. He will of course in accordance with his usual practice give sufficient notice to the opponent. When satyagraha is started it will affect the whole world. The British Government would do its utmost to crush the movement as they are already involved in war and are risking their lives. We should also be prepared to risk our lives if we want to carry on the fight for freedom; it cannot be done by timidity and cowardliness. We must be prepared to pay the price of freedom which cannot be paid in gold or silver but by laying down our lives. The question is now before the All India Congress Committee and when a great organisation like the Congress takes a step it will have its effect on millions of people and hence it has to consider the issue not only from one point of view but from a hundred points of view. The Congress is a democratic organisation and hence it requires

2. There was a proposal to use the Khaksars as a branch of the civic guards. No agreement was reached between the government and the Khaksars as they insisted on wearing their own uniforms and adherence to their own code of conduct.

the support of the people. The people too must realise their responsibility and be prepared to do their duty.

Congress is the only organisation which has got the power to offer sacrifices and hence it is our duty to strengthen it and to direct it on the right path. When I left Bombay recently I was not sure that I would be able to come to Bombay again because I thought that I might be arrested. Many arrests are being made in India and will be made in the future but this will not stop the work of the Congress.

The citizens of Bombay have become slack towards the work of the Congress. Now this sort of slackness will not do because now the real test of ours is ahead and hence we should prepare ourselves to come out successful in the test. It is our duty to get ourselves in readiness to act upon any decision that may be arrived at by the Congress in a disciplinary manner strictly abiding by its principles. If it is decided that only selected persons should take part then only they should do so. Keep yourselves in readiness to act upon the decision of the A.I.C.C., whatever it might be.

72. No Indefinite Bondage[1]

Some critics of the resolution[2] want to launch the movement on a mass scale involving strikes, no-rent campaign, etc; it is no use merely talking of these things; in deciding on important issues like this, we have to take into consideration the prevailing conditions. Personally, I am not opposed to mass movement but if they are to be undertaken only for the sake of slogans, I do not approve of them. I am convinced that Britain cannot keep India in bondage for an indefinite period. Forces are working which will lead to the liberation of India soon.

1. Speech on the A.I.C.C. resolution, Bombay, 16 September 1940. From *The Hindustan Times*, 17 September 1940.
2. The resolution said: "The A.I.C.C. cannot submit to a policy which is a denial of India's natural right to freedom... The A.I.C.C. sympathize with the British people...can have no ill will against them, and the spirit of satyagraha forbids the Congress from doing anything with a view to embarrass them. But this self-imposed restraint cannot be taken to the extent of self-extinction. The Congress must insist on the fullest freedom to pursue its policy based on non-violence."

Imperialism is on the wane though I am not sure if it will die out completely. What we are concerned with is, who is the best man to lead the country and what is the most practical solution to the problem facing India. Critics of the resolution have failed to take note of this vital factor and have even gone to the extent of using language which is not worthy of them. They have failed to understand the resolution in its proper spirit.

India has every right to launch a struggle to assert her elementary rights which are being throttled. The Congress which had been built up through the sufferings and sacrifices of millions of Indians is threatened with self-extinction. The Congress cannot brook this prospect. While we do not want to embarrass the British Government at the present juncture, we cannot also sit quiet allowing our superstructure to be demolished. It is a question of the very existence of the national movement and urge for freedom. If a struggle has been forced on the Congress, no one is to blame but the British Government.

Most of the amendments were not to the point but were in the nature of expression of personal views. I wonder how a responsible member of the House can suggest mass revolt except as a joke.

> Question: Will you give an assurance that the Working Committee will not repeat the history of Poona, if the Viceroy sought India's armed assistance?

Jawaharlal Nehru: The Poona offer is dead and gone.

73. Gandhi Jayanti[1]

Gandhi Jayanti is here again and the stormy seas surround us and the skies are full of thunder. And yet again the captain of our ship at the helm beckons us and we get ready to embark and face the tempest and the angry waves. So, buckle on your armour of khadi, get ready for the voyage, for the distant shore beckons. With stout hearts and strong arms and this livery of freedom, we shall cross the stormy seas and reach the haven of our desire. Put on khadi, therefore, this livery of

1. *The Hindustan Times*, 17 September 1940.

freedom, and tell the world that you are also a champion of India's independence. Put on khadi and stretch out your hands in fellowship to your brother, the kisan. Put on khadi and thus give a birthday gift to our captain and leader, a pledge and a token that you are also a fellow brother to Swaraj.

74. The Coils of War[1]

The coils of war increasingly strangle the world and men devote their strength and energy to the work of destroying each other and the civilisation they have built up laboriously through the ages. It becomes more and more evident that if this infinite tragedy is to be stopped and avoided in future, the root causes of war and national conflict must be removed, and that the many problems that afflict the world are really interrelated and can only be finally solved together. What happens in Europe is of great consequence to America, to India, to China. What happens in India and China is of equal consequence to America and Europe. War is indivisible now; once started, it spreads and affects the rest of the world. So is peace indivisible, and so also is freedom. If the world is to have peace and freedom, it cannot have it in parts. We in India desire full independence for this great country, so that we may grow and develop and play our part in cooperation with other countries, in the progress of humanity. But we realise that our freedom is intertwined with world freedom. Because of this we are intensely interested in the freedom of China and our whole-hearted sympathy has gone out to her people in their heroic struggle against aggression.

India, more perhaps than any other country, stands for peace. Even in our national struggle we have adopted peaceful methods and shown our readiness to pay the price of freedom in our own suffering. We want a democratic free state in India cooperating with all other peoples and nations in the establishment and maintenance of peace, progress and freedom.

In the destruction and desolation that grips the world, the great free Republic of the United States of America has a special responsibility to

1. Bombay, 19 September 1940. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

bear, for countless eyes from all over the world look up to it for leadership in the paths of peace and freedom. That peace and freedom will only come when fascism as well as imperialism have ended and no nation or group dominates over another.

To the people of America we send our greetings and our assurance that we shall stand by them in everything that leads to this peace and freedom.

75. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Bombay
19/9/40

. . .Behind Gandhiji's friendly words lies a firm and unyielding attitude.[2] Rajni Patel was arrested on arrival here.[3]

Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. On 16 September 1940, Mahatma Gandhi had declared: "I wish to make it clear that we do not wish ill to Britain. We do not want her defeated. At a time when Britain is engaged in a life and death struggle we do not want to embarrass the government." Independence was no longer the immediate issue. "Our demand is for freedom of speech" and if this were rejected a campaign of nonviolent civil disobedience would be inevitable.
3. On 17 September 1940.

76. On the Verge[1]

For many months past friends and acquaintances come and whisper: Do you know that lists of Congressmen have been prepared for immediate arrest as soon as the signal is given. Every district and every town has such lists, possibly even our village *mandals*. There is list A and

1. *National Herald*, 28 September 1940. Reprinted in *The Unity of India*, (London, 1941), pp. 391-394.

list B, or whatever it is called, and, it may be, other lists also. All manner of questionnaires are issued confidentially to the district authorities and passed on by them to the smaller officials. Who are the principal Congress workers; what is their status and income; what are their failings; can they be bought over or influenced? The Seva Dal especially demands attention and must be fully enquired into. Where does the money come from for Congress work, and how is it spent?

So this whispering has continued and there has been some excitement among our friends and the general public. But curiously enough Congress workers, who ought to have been affected the most by these rumours and happenings, have remained singularly cold to them. We have long been used to all this and, anyway, why worry?

Now that satyagraha seems at hand, the whispering grows fiercer and all manner of good advice is given to us by our well-wishers. Our letters are opened, our telephone conversations tapped, our bank accounts secretly examined by the emissaries of the government. True. But why worry or grow excited? We are grateful for the solicitude of our friends and value and appreciate their goodwill. But we do not mind overmuch all these preparations made by the government to crush Congress and the national movement. We do not ignore them for we can measure, more accurately than others, what they will amount to in human agony and suffering among our people. Yet we do not grow excited and we pursue the even tenor of our ways, ever ready for the time when the button is pressed and the whole weight of a mighty state machine is turned against us.

Why blame the government? An alien imperialist government must, so long as it exists, function in this way. It must have recourse to coercion, exploitation, methods of terror, corruption, secret services and the like. The Gestapo and the Ogpu must have their counterparts there to shadow and threaten, to punish boys of fourteen with the lash for shouting slogans, and to curb and crush the free spirit of man. If we put up with such a government, why complain of its inevitable ways? If we go to bed with a tiger, why wonder if it digs its claws into us and tries to make a meal of us?

But howsoever calmly we may view the present and the immediate future, there is a tinge of excitement in living on the verge of big happenings, especially when our personal lives are involved. Even those of us of an older generation, who have schooled and trained ourselves and grown somewhat accustomed to sudden changes in our environment, cannot wholly escape this feeling of abnormality. So we try to tie up the loose ends in our lives and work, to pack up our tooth brushes, and generally to prepare ourselves mentally for whatever may come.

On the verge. Not only of satyagraha and big happenings in India but of world upheavals and changes. Mighty things are afoot, and the satyagraha we may begin will merge itself in these great happenings, will influence them and be influenced by them. The people of India will keep step with this changing story of humanity and resolutely pursue the goal they have set before them.

That goal is national independence, social freedom, and world co-operation for peace and progress. It is this that governs all our activities, that fills our minds, and makes our blood tingle and course through our veins, whatever the immediate step we take might be.

For a while we thought that the people of England, with the experience of the past few years of disastrous misgovernment by their leaders, and faced by perils and disaster, might turn away from their old paths and take to new ones. But that was not to be and they still bow down to their old gods and pin their faith in maintaining their empire. The appeasers may have failed with Germany but they will continue to appease Franco and the militarists of Japan. Mr. Winston Churchill may have put vigour in the defence against German attack, but Mr. Chamberlain, Lord Halifax, Lord Simon and Sir Samuel Hoare are still there to tell us what the British Government stands for. The Labour Party toes the line.

It was open to the British people to change all this and not only to do the right thing but the profitable thing. Not just to rely on superior violence to crush the Nazi military machine—a risky and doubtful business—but to summon the conscience and active goodwill of the world to their side. To set aside empire and declare themselves in favour of freedom for every nation and people, to proclaim the new order for which people hunger everywhere, to act immediately in accordance with these professions. What an astonishing response that might have evoked all over the world, not only in the subject colonial countries but among the peoples of Europe, now under Hitler's sway. Victory in war depends ultimately on morale, on the demoralisation and cracking up of the enemy. This was within Britain's grasp. But Britain's rulers preferred to hold on to their empire and to stick to imperialism even though this might help Hitler.

They have chosen their path and in doing so have not hesitated to insult and injure the people of India. They have lined up with all the reactionaries in India and have tried to sow the seeds of disruption and civil conflict in this country. They have given us an intimate glimpse into their minds and what we have seen there was not a pleasant sight and we shall not forget it for a long time to come.

We do not know what the future will bring to us, to our country, and to the world. It does not much matter what happens to us as individuals. We shall pass out anyhow sooner or later. But it does matter very much what happens to India, for if India lives and is free, we all live, and if India goes down, then who lives amongst us?

But India will live and live in freedom, for she has not survived through the ages to go down today before insolent might. And there will be no peace in India and no peace between India and Britain till the proud imperialism of England is ended and India is free and independent.

In a recent debate in the British House of Commons (I think it was on the eve of the fall of Mr. Chamberlain's Government during the debate on Norway) Mr. Amery ended his speech by quoting some words of that great Englishman, Cromwell. Mr. Amery was addressing Mr. Chamberlain's Government. I address a larger audience—the British Government certainly, the British financiers who shape policy in India, the British ruling class, viceroys, governors and all who hang on to them. So, in the words of Cromwell, I say :

> You have sat too long here for any good you have been doing. Depart, I say, and let us have done with you. In the name of God, go.

77. Settlement with Britain Unlikely[1]

I do not think there is any common meeting ground between Mahatma Gandhi's stand and the Viceroy's viewpoint and, therefore, I am not optimistic of any settlement as a result of the Gandhi-Viceroy talks.[2]

1. Speech at Lucknow, 29 September 1940. From the *National Herald*, 30 September 1940.
2. Mahatma Gandhi met the Viceroy on 27 & 30 September 1940 and demanded the right to preach against participation in the war effort. Free speech was the test of Britain's professed devotion to democracy. The Viceroy asked if Mahatma Gandhi would be satisfied with the liberty allowed to conscientious objectors in England. Mahatma Gandhi replied that this was not enough as the collective conscience of England was belligerent whereas India was a subject country.

The A.I.C.C. at Bombay requested Mahatma Gandhi to reassume leadership of the Congress, which he has agreed to do. Before taking the next step Mahatma Gandhi had decided to see the Viceroy. The talks are as yet continuing in Simla. Mahatma Gandhi is to see the Viceroy again on Monday. But I am not hopeful of an amicable settlement.

Mahatma Gandhi has stated that if a movement is forced on him he might start individual civil disobedience. But let no one be misled by this term in thinking that there will only be a handful of individual civil resisters. There may be thousands. What Mahatma Gandhi means by the term is that the movement must be disciplined and controlled. The mass sympathy will be there all the same.

The Congress volunteers till a short while ago, were going on with their normal activities despite the ban and many have courted imprisonment. They did not stop the drill and the camps because they are afraid of going to jail, but because discipline demanded it.[3] They have stopped their camps out of strength.

I appeal to you to celebrate Gandhi Jayanti with the greatest enthusiasm as this is a significant year when Mahatma Gandhi has reassumed leadership of the Congress. Who knows we may shortly have to launch civil disobedience. I appeal to the people to wear khadi which is the symbol of our struggle for freedom. It is our national uniform and it is every Indian's duty to wear khadi.

We are passing through revolutionary times. Events which took centuries to happen are now occurring in a few months. There is revolution in the air and none can say what is going to happen next. Political events are not the only factors of this great revolutionary era. The fortunes of a war in Europe or Asia alone cannot decide the future. The war in Europe is only a part of the great world revolution now in progress. There are other no less important factors like industrial progress, scientific inventions and social and economic factors which are bringing about changes. The entire economic structure is in the melting pot.

None of the warring nations can carry on without borrowing large amounts. Britain in this war is spending about 16 to 18 crores per day. Even the richest nation cannot afford such heavy expenditure. In the war of 1914-18 Britain could not do without borrowing huge sums from

3. On 18 September 1940, the Congress Working Committee had called upon all Congress organizations to stop all civil disobedience, individual or other, pending definite instructions from Mahatma Gandhi. He regarded this suspension as indispensable for his forthcoming interview with the Viceroy and as a test of discipline.

the U.S.A. But what happened to those loans? Britain ultimately could not pay either the interest or the capital. So even if a nation wins its whole economic structure might break up following the economic strain of a war.

So long as the problem of unemployment and poverty remains unsolved revolution cannot be prevented. The progress of revolution and unrest will continue so long as normality is not restored through the eradication of unemployment and poverty. I stress that it is not only the countries involved in the war which are on the brink of great changes but even distant countries. I am, therefore, greatly surprised when in this era of change and revolution people in India are quarrelling over little things like rights and privileges of various communities. To talk of Pakistan at this hour when small nations are finding it difficult to exist is ridiculous.

British imperialism is bound to end in the near future, though it might not be through our strength but due to the weaknesses of the British Empire itself. Every nation looks to its benefit first, though it should not seek its good by injuring another. At the same time no nation can deviate from its essential duty of regaining and fighting for its freedom. The fight for freedom is India's clear duty and it cannot deviate from that path even though it might mean embarrassment to Britain. If Britain does not want to be embarrassed it is her clear duty to free India. But Britain does not want India to be free irrespective of whether she was embarrassed in her war efforts. She has taken up the plea of minority and vested interests with a view to denying India the right to be free. That is an attitude which no self-respecting nation can tolerate and India will be fully justified if she launched a struggle as a reply to this insulting attitude of Britain.

78. The Role of Kisans[1]

I am explaining to you in the simplest possible language the political situation. You are being exploited and the Congress has pledged to end your poverty and ignorance. The Congress is of the peasants and stands

1. Address at Bharwari, Gorakhpur, 3 October 1940. From the *National Herald*, 7 October 1940.

for them. It has nothing to do with communalism. It is the organisation of the masses. It is the duty of the kisans to become its members and strengthen it more and more.

The British Government has no intention of parting with power. It is creating disruption in our ranks in different ways. It will do its best to keep its tight hold on India, but the Congress will make such designs impossible, as it stands for the salvation of the masses. I do not want anybody to rule India and oppress its masses. I do not want a few individuals to rule India. India will have panchayat raj, where the real representatives of the people would plan its policies and programmes. I want to see India a rich country where the people may have proper opportunities to develop their personalities. Proper education for the children, proper food and proper shelters—it is for this that the Congress stands. When Swaraj comes, do not think that you would be able to sit idle. Your responsibilities will be greater then.

The Congress has shown great patience in dealing with the government. They have patiently waited for one year, but the British Government has not changed its attitude. Mahatmaji gave the government one more chance, but even then the government did not mend its ways. It is monstrous that a nation should be dragged into war despite its wishes. It is for the people of India to decide whether they would participate in the war or not. It is clear that they have nothing to do with the war, when they were not even consulted.

Repression will come in its full swing but that need not dishearten you. We are out for great sacrifices. Join the Congress. Unite together for the onward march. Become volunteers. We have once again to start a movement for the achievement of our goal.

79. Swaraj and Social Justice[1]

I regret that I have not been able to come to the Ashram earlier. It is not because I am not interested in the work. It is very dear to me. But because I think that the wider political work, which I am carrying on, includes a revolutionary change in the social and political structure

1. Address at Harijan Ashram, Allahabad, 3 October 1940. From the *National Herald*, 4 October 1940.

of the country and thus it will ameliorate the conditions of the Harijans. No substantial good can be done to the Harijans without changing the social and political structure of the country.

Swaraj is not merely political but it should create conditions of social and economic justice and lead to welfare of the masses. It does not mean change of officials but change in the fundamentals of the life of a nation. Mahatma Gandhi's greatest contribution is the inclusion of social justice along with political freedom. His desire for social justice has found expression in Harijan work and charkha. These will create conditions of real Swaraj. You should remember this great contribution of Mahatma Gandhi and try to complete the work begun by him. He has infused new life and given a new light to the people of the country.

The cause of degradation of India is untouchability and unless it is removed there is no chance of India rising to her full stature as a great nation among the nations of the world. It is foolish to talk of one being higher and another low when we are all enslaved by a common foreign ruler. It does not become a Brahmin to consider himself superior to a Harijan when he himself is living in continual slavery. If Harijans are given opportunities of education and economic facilities, there is no reason why they should not be able to compete favourably with the rest of society.

To me the greatest religion is humanity. I shall devote myself to its service. I dream of a time when there will be social justice and economic equality.

80. Air Bombing of Cities[1]

I commend this appeal[2] from our friends and comrades in China to the Indian people, especially those who live in cities, and I hope that they will join in the protest and condemnation of this most inhuman and

1. Statement to the press, Allahabad, 4 October 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 6 October 1940.
2. The Executive Secretary of the Chinese section of the International Peace Campaign had appealed for sympathy and for protests against wanton aerial bombardment of civilians in Europe and China and invited a world-wide demonstration on October 15 against such bombardment.

brutal practice. Aerial bombardment of civilians is bad, whether it takes place in London, Berlin, or Chungking.

We have again emphasized the nonviolent basis of our movement and yet we are apt to take rather casually this quintessence of violence, brutality and inhumanity which the aerial bombardment of cities is making us familiar with. A daily dose of horror dulls even sensitive minds. It is right, therefore, that our comrades in China should draw our attention to this savage practice, which is reducing many a famous and historic city to ruin, and exterminating in this process innocent men, women and children.

81. The Congress and the Kisans[1]

Kisan brethren! A kisan just told me that the kisans of Maharajgunj tehsil are confused and frightened. I did not like to hear this. Those who get frightened and confused so easily can do nothing. I have come to Gorakhpur today and am touring about in this district. A great problem has arisen. It is not known what will have to be done in ten days' time. It will be very beneficial if we understand it and understand it together. I have come here in connection with a very important work—a very big work indeed about which I have been hearing for the last two years.[2] There is a great dispute over it. Shibban Lal Saxena, the leader of this tehsil, used to see me very often and relate the facts. I do not tour now. Three or four years ago I travelled far and wide in this vast country. There were big problems before us. These days the biggest problem before us is about our country. There is the question of labourers and artisans, but the most important is that of the kisans as to the ownership and the possession of the land. Poverty of this country cannot be removed unless this question is solved. Hindus go on pilgrimage. I also used to do so, but my pilgrimage was for Swaraj. But Swaraj was not to be attained. The Swaraj which we want, in which all our Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, Christian and Parsi brethren can participate, has not been attained. The zamindar attempts to

1. Speech at Maharajgunj, Gorakhpur, 6 October 1940. Home Department File No. 3/18/40-Political(I) V.K.W., National Archives of India.
2. See *post*, section 5, item 7.

realise rent from every kisan, whether he be a Hindu or a Mohammedan. Therefore, whether one be a shopkeeper, a kisan or a labourer, the question of religion does not arise. Whatever we do shall be done honestly and the laws and the regulations that we shall frame will be for the whole of India. Therefore it would be beneficial to Hindus and Mohammedans alike to get Swaraj. Our country should have a government of the people. We do not want foreign rule. We are now ruled by the British. You know that even if the collector or any other officer is an Indian the ultimate authority is the British Government. The Governor remains at Lucknow and the Viceroy lives at Simla. The Viceroy draws Rs. 20,000 as his pay and lives in a palatial building. Where does this pay of Rs. 20,000 come from? All that goes from your pockets. The salaries of Rs. 10,000 and Rs. 20,000 are paid from the rent collected from you. These people live upon your own earnings and then rule over you. You should understand who holds the reins. The British rule in our country is a capitalistic one. They want to start such business as may enable them to get all the money of the country. The English capitalists have taken possession of our land. When a land comes under the possession of a capitalist, it is very difficult to get it out from him. This is how all our wealth goes to foreign countries. We must, therefore, remember that we have got to do away with it. Even if high English officials are replaced by Indians, it would be of no avail. It is very difficult to obtain Swaraj unless the capitalistic system is eradicated from India.

We must change the very system. We have got to change it. The government of our country should be on different lines, with the consent and advice of the public and by their panchayat. Who is the *panch* these days? You cannot do anything against them. Leave them alone. You cannot even remove your petty officials like *teshildars* and *thanedars*. You cannot do anything against them. But, if the officers are elected by you, they will not do anything wrong for fear of being removed from office. We want the reins of government in the hands of the public. We may all appoint our own *panchas* in our districts and provinces. If they do not manage properly, they can be replaced by others. We have to establish such a government and put an end to the British capitalistic form of government. When you are in trouble, you run to the collector, to the superintendent and to the Congressmen. You entreat them and are thus put to a lot of trouble. It may be that they may listen to a few, but what will happen to the thousands of your fellowmen? We want that the whole system should be changed, so that your troubles may come to an end. You people can come to me. I am neither a judge of the High Court that I may give any decision, nor have I got the

power to remove your grievances. I can only let you know the way. I have got no medicine which may cure your disease. If there be any injustice we will face it. We should not be afraid of anyone whether he be the highest official, a zamindar or a policeman.

It is twenty years now since Mahatma Gandhi taught us this very lesson. The condition of our country has become so bad due to fear. The capitalistic rule has ruined us. It has destroyed our factories, it led to further unemployment and people began to cultivate land which was divided into small parts. In this manner our business decreased and the whole money started going into the pockets of British capitalists. It is a well-known maxim that one who is poor becomes weak and frightened. He begins to tremble if a *thanedar* rebukes him and gets confused if threatened by a peon. Kisans are much harassed. Mahatma Gandhi came and taught us this lesson—if we strengthen our hearts, our fear will be removed and we shall be united. When everyone works unitedly they gain strength. With a view to make the public strong, I tried all over the country to form *sangathan*. We have brought together Hindus, Muslims and Christians. When we united, our voices carried weight among the high officials. We faced the Englishmen again and again. The power of the British is great, but we have faced it well. But this fight of ours is a nonviolent fight. We were imprisoned. We filled their jails. Then they had to yield. We have weakened the British Government, but have not succeeded completely in turning them out of the country. You should understand that when we face the British Government, the zamindars and the police do not count. Oppression has been going on in your tehsil for the past two or three years. How will you face it? It would be difficult if you are frightened. The British Government wants to crush Swaraj and to create friction amongst us and to break our *sangathan*. They want to create friction between Hindus and Muslims, so that we may be weakened. Had Germany been at war with India, we would have sent our young men to fight in the war. But they did not listen to us and declared that all the Indians should join Britain against Germany in this war, give donations and allow our men to be slaughtered. It was great injustice. We could not tolerate it.

These days the British Government is in great trouble. It is true. There are rumours that irrespective of whether the British lose or win against Germany they will not recognise Swaraj for India. They will only consider it later on, if all the people put in a joint claim after the termination of the war. Do you remember what we asked them—that we wanted Swaraj for our country. There may be complete Swaraj in India. We did not even tell them to go away. Even if we had said

this, we would not have been unjustified, because our *sangathan* is strong. But we did not say this. We said that all those who are 18 years and upwards may be empowered to elect their *panchas* and that all the *panchas* should sit together and whatever they may decide would be acceptable to us. We also said that it was not acceptable to us that big Rajas and Maharajas only may frame laws, because these laws cannot benefit the poor. We want to remove big zamindars who are elected by them. If we leave Swaraj to them, they cannot do any good for the poor. What will we do with a Swaraj in which we have to have as our judges men whom we want to remove?

We have been dragged into this war. Our money and men are being taken away. In other districts a rupee was extorted from each kisan. What else can a kisan do except pay up when *tehsildars* and *chaprasis* set upon them and threaten them with the attachment of their property if they refused to pay. A large number of our men and workers have been arrested in this connection. Those who work for the kisans are arrested at once. When we saw all this going on and our leaders being arrested, we decided that we were not going to sit idle. If the public gets confused, these *tehsildars*, *chaprasis* and *thanedars* would jump upon them and spoil our twenty years' labour.

We fight only in one way—by the nonviolent method taught by Mahatma Gandhi. When we resolved to start satyagraha we elected Mahatma Gandhi as our commander. Mahatmaji was already our leader, but this time we again elected him as our leader. A meeting was convened and it was passed by a great majority. We want to establish a panchayati raj in this country, but in a fight it is essential to be guided by one man. Therefore, we have elected Mahatma Gandhi as our commander, and asked him how to start the fight. Mahatma Gandhi expressed his desire to see the Viceroy again. He told him (the Viceroy) that if he went on differing with him (Mahatma Gandhi) we would offer opposition. He said this to the Viceroy plainly and the latter told him that he would not listen to him. So we must be ready.

It is not known when and what orders Mahatma Gandhi will give. I will now be going to Ballia and Ghazipur. Thereafter I am going to Wardha where Mahatma Gandhi resides. There will be a sitting of our Committee. Mahatmaji will tell us what we should do. However long Swaraj may take it will be for your benefit. You should now be prepared and remain careful. I have, therefore, come from Allahabad to deliver this message to you. This fight is not going to end in a few days. It will be a long fight. We have resolved to remove the poverty of the kisans somehow or other. It is most likely that we may all lose our lives in this fight, but the people will be benefited by it.

This fictitious *sir* land of the zamindars of Maharajganj is the property of the fifty thousand kisans whose possessions have not been recorded. It is most regrettable. You must have noticed that the big zamindars, taluqdars and *mahajans* placed great obstacles in the way of the Congress in framing the law (Tenancy Act). Even then that law was enacted and passed. But one thing was left out in Gorakhpur district—the cases of those who had been cultivating land for years had not been heard. It is possible that this thing might have been left out for some reason. This can be considered later on. Now the Congress is not in power. Shibban Lal Saxena tried to get your names entered on the records, even then a large number of men were left out. I know that the names of a good number of the kisans have not been entered on the *sir* land. Thousands of people are about to be ejected. The provisions of law framed by us are being contravened. The zamindars today are taking advantage of it.

Formerly I was a *vakil*. I do not practise now and have got no love for those who go to the *vakils*. Therefore, I cannot give any advice. Let me remind you that the question of ejectment in Maharajganj tehsil does not concern only two or four men, but two or four or ten thousands of persons. Therefore we have decided to oppose it. In doing so you will have to face a lot of trouble. But what can be more troublesome than to be dispossessed of our land. I have heard that the same thing is to happen in the Padrauna Tehsil. It is the duty of your district and *mandal* Congress Committees to propagate satyagraha in this connection. You should say it not once, not twice, but again and again, that you are not going to agree to it and that if they want to send you to jails, let them do so. But whenever a big problem arises we should step forward collectively.

I will tell you one thing. I am not going to make any promises, be[illegible] I am neither a *hakim* nor a court that I can pass any judgment, [illegible] am I a zamindar that I can give you land. One day when the kisans and the public gain strength and the Congress government comes into power, all those ejectment papers will be torn and thrown away. I cannot say when that day will come. But I do promise to you that if anybody is ejected, his land will be given back to him.

Life is full of worries, but do not be confused on account of your troubles. Much change is taking place in the present-day world. You raise and shout slogans. Do you know what is *kranti?* Do you know *inqilab* means to turn over or change. If we change the British Government, it will be called *inqilab*. If we make an end of the zamindari, it will be *inqilab* of zamindars. If we change our social customs, it will

also be an *inqilab*. We shall cause a change in the country. If our public gains strength, it is good, we will manage the country in such a manner that everybody gets work, and those who have got no land may get employment in the factories. They may earn their livelihood somehow or the other. One should get his earnings himself. These days the earnings of the kisans are taken away by the big zamindars, *mahajans* and the government. The remainder of his earnings is spent by the kisan on litigations.

It is my belief that we can drive poverty away from this country, if we change our methods after due consideration. If there is proper distribution of employment in this country, we can remove poverty. There may not be a single beggar in the country. People may work and earn their livelihood and others may not take away their earnings. We want to train each and every child in such a way as to be able to do some work for the country. We do not want to make them *babus*. We want that they should go and work in the fields. The children of our country should be educated. It is this change that we intend to make. We have to uproot the old things and plant the new ones. Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders cannot do this alone. We can all do it together.

The way of Swaraj is very difficult. At least three or four crores of men will have to follow this path. Our Hindu brethren go on pilgrimages and Muslims go on *haj*, but the road to Swaraj is very difficult. If you hear the news of my arrest and that of other big leaders, you need not get confused, but you must understand that the work is going on at a faster speed. When arrests start, news, letters and telegrams are stopped. If you do not get any news it does not matter. I will send information through men. You should now bear in mind that the satyagraha work has started and it must proceed forward. You should explain in your villages that it should be started by a small number at first by the orders of Mahatma Gandhi, and then in large numbers. Tell those who file ejectment suits that you will not leave the possession of land whether they bring judgments of the courts or anything else and that they may do anything they like. We cannot tolerate such injustice.

82. The March of Mighty Events[1]

The war is changing the map of the world and will continue to do so. This war has many problems behind it which have to be understood. The world has never seen such a war. All previous wars were either political or religious or social and the revolutions that followed in their wake affected one or two nations. But the present war is something quite different.

The world has never been so closely linked as it is today. An important incident in one part of the world is bound to influence the entire world. It is indispensable for us to understand the history of the world as it exists today. We cannot blind ourselves to what is taking place in China or Japan or any other country of the world. The problems that the war is going to solve are problems of the world. These problems cannot be of one particular country. It is impossible to solve the problems of America or Japan individually and to leave apart the problem of India, because the world is so closely linked together that solving of one country's problems involves the solving of the problems of other countries. So the steps that we in India have to take must be firm and steady. The present revolution, which confronts the world, is not only political, but is also social and economic.

During the past few years Europe and America have accumulated immense wealth by draining the wealth of Asia. But at the same time unemployment has gone on increasing in those continents, so much so that today the registered figure of the unemployed in America stands at 12,00,000 and in England at 22,00,000. Unemployment always retards the progress of a country. This problem is one of immense importance. The present economic structure of the world has completely failed to solve this problem. It has no solution for it.

A great upheaval swept over Russia and it has changed the present economic structure of the world to a certain extent. That system has solved the problem of unemployment and the Russian Government has assured the people that it has sufficient work for its countrymen. There are many things in Russia with which I might not agree but I think that Russia has at least devised some means to solve the baffling problem of unemployment.

1. Address at Lal Diggi, Gorakhpur, 6 October 1940. From the *National Herald*, 9 October 1940.

It is true that Hitler has usurped the freedom of Germans but he too has driven unemployment out of his country. If we were to choose between freedom and starvation, we would certainly forego freedom than undergo starvation. That is why the whole German nation is behind Hitler today. Other countries, except Russia and Germany, have failed to solve the problem of unemployment. The progress of Great Britain has come to a halt before this wall of unemployment as the system of administration has no solution for it. This problem has to be solved and I think that some phases of it are disappearing in the present war.

We are living in a very eventful period of history and we have to face many odds. There are some among us who are terrified at the march of these events, but there are also those who welcome it. The events will march on whether we face them with a weak and timid heart or we face them boldly and it is only natural that the strong will overpower the weak. But if we face them strongly we have the power to bend the trend of the revolution in our favour.

Big achievements demand equally big sacrifices. If we want to win freedom, we must make sacrifices worthy of that freedom. We must bear in mind that the march of the mighty events of the world will have to be faced and we cannot escape them. But at the same time we must see that we pay the price and do not fail to turn the hour to our advantage.

The war has made it quite clear that there is no place for small nations in the present-day world. We cannot go single-handed. We can no doubt exist in a federation of smaller nations. There is hardly any room for bigger nations. It is becoming impossible for any country to command an empire spread over the entire world. For to do so that country must command all naval bases and must rule over important sea routes; otherwise it might be challenged by other countries. The invention of aeroplanes cannot be ignored nor can we ignore the changes it has wrought in the world.

However mighty a nation might be, it cannot command all air bases and sea routes of the world and so it is impossible for an empire to exist. But such empires as are linked together or federated can exist. Hitler succeeded in forming the European countries into a federation. Such a federation can exist, but empires like those of Great Britain cannot exist. That is why just before the surrender of France, Great Britain had proposed to link the two countries together.

The other important thing which has become quite clear is the changing economic structure of the world. Great Britain is spending a huge sum of between 15 to 20 crores of rupees a day on the war. Nations involved in the war are floating huge loans and borrowing enormous

sums of money from other countries. How long can they do this? They can hold on for some time by introducing paper money and inflating the currency but the way the war is proceeding a stage will soon come where things would become impossible.

This aspect of the war is bound to influence the economic problems of the world. Maybe it might entirely displace gold and silver out of the currency system of the world. What changes will take place cannot be forecast. But it is quite clear that the present system is bound to go out. The revolution which will follow the war will work many changes.

Perhaps to the common mind the word *inqilab* might connote the idea of freedom from British bondage, and no doubt this is included in it, but no *inqilab* can be a real *inqilab* if it cannot wipe out poverty once for all. What are we to do then? India has been dragged into the war unwillingly and in spite of protests. We could have refused to be dragged into it and we had every right to do so, but we restrained ourselves.

We are passing through a revolution and every step that we take forward must be steady. This question of India's participation in the war has been subjected to prolonged discussions and we have tolerated this insult for over a year, but we cannot tolerate it any longer. Mahatma Gandhi, who is a great man and whose views are also great, does not think it proper to embarrass the British Government at such a time. But our silence is interpreted as our weakness.

Attempts are made to aggravate communal matters and it is asserted that India is not fit for democracy, nay, every attempt is made to demolish the edifice of our nationalism. The British think that if their country is being ruined, they must ruin India too. We cannot sit silent when an attempt is being made to divide India. Thousands have been arrested and forced subscription is being levied for purposes of war. Things have become intolerable.

We did not want to resort to satyagraha. All these things came up for consideration before the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. and Mahatma Gandhi was empowered to lead the country. His talks with the Viceroy failed. The time for action has come. When the satyagraha will begin, I cannot say, but it is only a question of days.

The fight for our freedom will also become a part of the world upheaval. It is being asked how the step taken by the Congress can be confined to a chosen few. When the movement starts, none of us know what form it will take. None knew that the Dandi march of Mahatma Gandhi would inaugurate a country-wide agitation. This time too, it will not be confined to a few. All of us will have to join it in some form or

other. At such a juncture a question arises as to what will be the plight of the country if some other country invades India. This question has taken the form of a threat. Happen what may, we are not going to beg the Englishmen to come to our defence. It will be a matter of shame for us. They hold us in bondage and even at this hour of peril, when their very existence is threatened, they are unwilling to restore freedom to us. We will face all odds even if we perish in the attempt.

It is not easy for any country to step into India unless that country brings the whole world under its sway. Japan might try to invade India but bear it in mind, that the battles that are being fought will not be decided in India. They will be decided in the Pacific or in Europe and America. However, the fear that another country might enslave us cannot daunt us and keep us away from a fight to tear away the shackles of bondage.

I have undertaken my present tour of the eastern districts of the U.P. to bring this message of the Congress to every door. But there is a definite reason why I have selected Gorakhpur first of all. I have come to Gorakhpur so many times, because here I can see the most terrible picture of the poverty of the Indian masses. Nowhere in India are tenants so downtrodden. Anyone who looks at the abject poverty prevailing in this district can say that it betrays the worthlessness of those who are responsible for it and that they must be turned out of the country.

How can those, who raise communal issues, link this question of poverty with their communalism. Communal organisations of the country want to divide India into parts, they want to ruin its unity and even wipe out its name. The sacrifices that we have made for decades were made for unity and freedom and for effacing poverty. And the freedom of the country means the removal of the poverty of the tenants and the labourers of Gorakhpur. The question of India's freedom is related to the conditions of tenants and *mazdoors* and is in no way connected with a few seats on the Viceroy's Council.

The agrarian situation in Maharajganj[2] has been very annoying to me. Thousands of tenants are being ejected out of their holdings. I am sorry I cannot help them. I cannot plead their cases in courts. I would certainly advise you to resist the aggression of the police and the zamindars, but at present I do not want to raise any other question. But the problem of Maharajganj cannot be left aside.

A time will come when the *patwari* papers will be burnt and the fields of the tenants would be returned to them. For three years the Congress Government in U.P. laboured to pass the present Tenancy Act for decreasing rental and for ensuring possession on holdings of those in

2. See *post*, section 5, item 7.

whose possession they were. There are some defects in the Tenancy Act which have escaped the notice of its framers. Had the Congress Government remained in office, those omissions would have been set right. But today authorities and zamindars are taking advantage of those defects in the law and are heartlessly ejecting tenants out of their holdings. This problem of Maharajganj will one day become an all-India issue and we will see what we can do.

Then again, the district was faced with the sugarcane crisis of the year 1936-37 due to the follies of the millowners who raised the price of sugar for harvesting huge profits during the war. This too is a baffling problem. Then there is the victimisation of the labourers who took part in the last strike, although the millowners have promised the collector not to resort to victimisation. These are the problems which demand immediate solution in Gorakhpur and if the Government is anxious they can be easily solved in a way that no party need be put to unjust loss. These questions will be placed before the U.P.P.C.C. and before Mahatma Gandhi and the A.I.C.C. when necessary.

I exhort you to muster courage and get ready for the ensuing struggle. The days at your disposal are few and during this period you must strengthen the hands of the Congress by becoming primary members and volunteers and bridging your differences. I do not know when I am to be pushed behind the bars but as long as I am free I will strive to utilise every minute of my time. I appeal to you to use khadi which is the national uniform. With this changing world the country is determined to change its whole appearance and this is no boast and no verbosity, but will be made real.

83. On Mahatma Gandhi's Statement[1]

Congressmen in the United Provinces will have read carefully the statement issued by Mahatma Gandhi.[2] Some of them may think that the

1. Statement to the press, Allahabad, 16 October 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 17 October 1940.
2. On 13 October 1940, the Working Committee approved Mahatma Gandhi's plan of 'individual satyagraha'. On 15 October 1940, Mahatma Gandhi announced that "direct action will be commenced by Shri Vinoba Bhave and for the time being confined to him only."

steps indicated in that statement are not big enough for the occasion. But I would have you remember that it has been the Congress way to start big movements in a small and sure way. Events themselves are pushing all of us forward and at any time they may come to us in overwhelming measure. Each one of us therefore must do his allotted task in a spirit of perfect discipline and keep ready for all emergencies whenever they might arise. Instructions issued by Gandhiji should be carefully observed and implicitly followed. The Congress and we have to face our greatest trial in the future that is unfolding before us. Let us all be ready for it in a spirit of confidence and without fretting and impatience.

84. On the Detention of Jaya Prakash Narayan[1]

I have learnt from Shrimati Prabhavati, wife of Jaya Prakash Narayan, that she was summoned recently to Hazaribagh Central Jail. Jaya Prakash Narayan is due to be discharged on completion of his sentence in two or three days time. For the last three months he had given up his interviews with his wife and others because of the restrictions placed on them and on his conversations during these interviews by the C.I.D. officers present. On this occasion when Shrimati Prabhavati went to Hazaribagh Jail she did not meet Shri Jaya Prakash Narayan himself but interviewed some of his colleagues. She was informed that they had been given to understand that Jaya Prakash would not be released even on the expiry of his sentence and that he is likely to be detained under the Defence of India Act afterwards. How far this is true I do not know. But it seems to me monstrous that after sentencing a man and making him serve the term of the sentence he should be detained further indefinitely without trial. We may be used to this kind of thing in India but it is a very significant indication of how the British Government in India functions.

1. Statement to the press, Allahabad, 16 October 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 17 October 1940.

85. Cable to V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

17 October 1940

Your cable. We are fully aware of all the implications. Congress is definite that no settlement is possible except on the basis of unadulterated independence but the present emphasis is on the war issue. The developments are likely to be in the right direction. Effective action must carry the whole of Congress and hence anything leading to disruption is undesirable.

Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

86. Five Years Later[1]

Five and a half years ago, sitting in my prison barrack in the Almora District Gaol, I wrote the last line of my *Autobiography*. Eight months later I added a postscript from Badenweiler in Germany. That *Autobiography*, published in England, had a kindly reception from all manner of people in various countries, and I was glad that what I had written had brought India nearer to many friends abroad, and had made them appreciate, to some extent, the inner significance of our struggle for freedom. Unfortunately this book did not reach the American public and various happenings conspired to delay an American edition. I am happy that at last it is going to appear in a new garb in America.

My publisher has asked me to add to it in order to bring it up to date. His demand is reasonable and I could not deny it. And yet I have found it no easy matter to comply with it. We live in strange times, when life's normal course has been completely upset, and it is difficult for me even to communicate with my publisher. With my approval, my *Autobiography* has now been abridged considerably, for

1. Allahabad, 17 October 1940. Published as Epilogue in the American edition of the *Autobiography* entitled *Toward Freedom*, The John Day Company, (New York, 1941).

much that it contained is perhaps of little interest today, especially to American readers. And yet I do not know what this abridgement is, what has been taken out, what remains. We have been unable to overcome the difficulties of communication which war brings in its train. America seems to be very far away from India now, and sometimes it takes many months for letters to cross the oceans. And then there is the censor.

But a more serious difficulty confronted me. I wrote my autobiography entirely in prison, cut off from outside activity. I suffered from various humours in prison, as every prisoner does; but gradually I developed a mood of introspection and some peace of mind. How am I to capture that mood now, how am I to fit in with that narrative? As I glance through my book again, I feel almost as if some other person had written a story of long ago. The five years that have gone by have changed the world and left their impress upon me. Physically I am older, of course, but it is the mind that has received shock and sensation again and again and has hardened, or perhaps matured. My wife's death in Switzerland ended a chapter of my existence and took away much from my life that had been part of my being. It was difficult for me to realise that she was no more and I could not adjust myself easily. I threw myself into my work, seeking some satisfaction in it, and rushed about from end to end of India. Even more than in my earlier days, my life became an alternation of huge crowds and intensive activity and loneliness. My mother's death later broke a final link with the past. My daughter was away studying at Oxford, and later under treatment in a sanatorium abroad. I would return to my home from my wanderings almost unwillingly and sit in that deserted house all by myself, trying even to avoid interviews there. I wanted peace after the crowds.

But there was no peace in my work or my mind, and the responsibility that I had to shoulder often oppressed me very greatly. I could not align myself with various parties and groups; I did not even fit in with my closest colleagues. I could not function as I wanted to, and at the same time I prevented others from functioning as they wanted to. A sense of suppression and frustration grew and I became a solitary figure in public life, though vast crowds came to hear me and enthusiasm surrounded me.

I was affected more than others by the development of events in Europe and the Far East. Munich was a shock hard to bear and the tragedy of Spain became a personal sorrow to me. As these years of horror succeeded one another, the sense of impending catastrophe overwhelmed me, and my faith in a bright future for the world became dim.

And now the catastrophe has come. The volcanoes in Europe spit fire and destruction, and here in India I sit on the edge of another volcano, not knowing when it may burst. It is difficult to tear myself away from the problem of the moment, to develop the mood of retrospection and survey these five years that have gone by, and write calmly about them. And, even if I could do so, I would have to write another big book, for there is so much to say. I shall endeavour, therefore, as best I may, to refer briefly only to certain events and developments in which I have played a part or which have affected me.

I was with my wife when she died in Lausanne on February 28, 1936. A little while before news had reached me that I had been elected President of the Indian National Congress for the second time. I returned to India by air soon after and on my way, in Rome, I had a curious experience. Some days before my departure a message was conveyed to me that Signor Mussolini would like to meet me when I passed through Rome. In spite of my strong disapproval of the fascist regime, I would ordinarily have liked to meet Signor Mussolini and to find out for myself what a person who was playing such an important part in the world's affairs was like. But I was in no mood for interviews then. What came in my way even more was the continuance of the Abyssinian campaign and my apprehension that such an interview would inevitably be used for purposes of fascist propaganda. No denial from me would go far. I remember how Mr. Gandhi, when he passed through Rome in 1931, had a bogus interview in the *Giornale d' Italia* fastened on to him. I remembered also several other instances of Indians visiting Italy being used, against their wishes, for fascist propaganda. I was assured that nothing of the kind would happen to me and that our interview would be entirely private. Still, I decided to avoid it, and I conveyed my regrets to Signor Mussolini.

I could not avoid going through Rome, however, as the Dutch K.L.M. aeroplane I was travelling on spent a night there. Soon after my arrival in Rome, a high official called upon me and gave me an invitation to meet Signor Mussolini that evening. It had all been fixed up, he told me. I was surprised and pointed out that I had already asked to be excused. We argued for an hour, till the time fixed for the interview itself, and then I had my way. There was no interview.

I returned to India and plunged into my work. Within a few days of my return I had to preside over the annual session of the National Congress. For some years, which I had spent mainly in prison, I had been out of touch with developments. I found many changes,

new alignments, a hardening on party lines within the Congress. There was an atmosphere of suspicion and bitterness and conflict. I treated this lightly, having confidence in my own capacity to deal with the situation. For a short while I seemed to carry the Congress in the direction I wanted it to go. But I realised soon that the conflict was deep-rooted and it was not so easy to charm away the suspicion of each other and the bitterness that had grown in our ranks. I thought seriously of resigning from the Presidency but, realising that this would only make matters worse, I refrained.

Again and again, during the next few months, I considered this question of resignation. I found it difficult to work smoothly with my own colleagues in the Congress executive, and it became clear to me that they viewed my activities with apprehension. It was not so much that they objected to any specific act but they disliked the general trend and direction. They had justification for this as my outlook was different. I was completely loyal to Congress decisions but I emphasized certain aspects of them while my colleagues emphasized other aspects. I decided finally to resign and I informed Gandhiji of my decision. In the course of my letter[2] to him I wrote that: "since my return from Europe I have found that the meetings of the Working Committee exhaust me greatly; they have a devitalising effect on me and I have almost the feeling of being older in years after every fresh experience. I should not be surprised if this feeling was also shared by my colleagues of the Committee. It is an unhealthy experience and it comes in the way of effective work."

Soon afterwards a far-away occurrence, unconnected with India, affected me greatly and made me change my decision. This was the news of General Franco's revolt in Spain. I saw this rising, with its background of German and Italian assistance, developing into a European or even a world conflict. India was bound to be drawn into this and I could not afford to weaken our organisation and create an internal crisis by resigning just when it was essential for us to pull together. I was not wholly wrong in my analysis of the situation, though I was premature and my mind rushed to conclusions which took some years to materialize.

The reaction of the Spanish War on me indicates how, in my mind, the problem of India was tied up with other world problems. More and more I came to think that these separate problems, political or economic, in China, Abyssinia, Spain, Central Europe, India, or elsewhere, were facets of one and the same world problem. There could be no final

2. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 7, pp. 309-313.

solution of any of them till this basic problem was solved. And in all probability there would be upheaval and disaster before the final solution was reached. As peace was said to be indivisible in the present-day world, so also freedom was indivisible, and the world could not continue for long, part free, part unfree. The challenge of fascism and Nazism was in essence the challenge of imperialism. They were twin brothers, with this variation that imperialism functioned abroad in colonies and dependencies while fascism and Nazism functioned in the same way in the home country also. If freedom was to be established in the world not only fascism and Nazism had to go but imperialism had to be completely liquidated.

This reaction to foreign events was not confined to me. Many others in India began, to some extent, to feel that way, and even the public was interested. This public interest was kept up by thousands of meetings and demonstrations that the Congress organised all over the country in sympathy with the people of China, Abyssinia, Palestine and Spain. Some attempts were also made by us to send aid, in the shape of medical supplies and food, to China and Spain. This wider interest in international affairs helped to raise our own national struggle to a higher level, and to lessen somewhat the narrowness which is always a feature of nationalism.

But, inevitably, foreign affairs did not touch the life of the average person, who was absorbed in his own troubles. The peasant was full of his growing difficulties, his appalling poverty, and of the many burdens that crushed him. The agrarian problem was, after all, the major problem of India and the Congress had gradually evolved an agrarian programme, which though going far, yet accepted the present structure. The industrial worker was little better off and there were frequent strikes. Politically-minded people discussed the new constitution that had been imposed upon India by the British Parliament. This constitution, though giving some power in the provinces, kept the reality of power in the hands of the British Government and their representatives. For the Central Government a federation was proposed which tied up feudal and autocratic states with semi-democratic provinces, and was intended to perpetuate the British imperialist structure. It was a fantastic affair, which could never work, and which had every safeguard that the wit of man could devise to protect British vested interests. This constitution was indignantly rejected by the Congress, and in fact there was hardly anyone in India who had a good word for it.

At first the provincial part of it was applied. In spite of our rejection of the constitution, we decided to contest elections, as this brought us into intimate touch not only with millions of voters, but also others.

This general election was a memorable affair for me. I was not a candidate myself but I toured all over India on behalf of Congress candidates, and I imagine that I created some kind of a record in the way of election campaigns. In the course of about four months I travelled about fifty thousand miles, using every kind of conveyance for this purpose, and often going into remote rural areas where there were no proper means of transport. I travelled by aeroplane, railway, automobile, motor truck, horse carriages of various kinds, bullock cart, bicycle, elephant, camel, horse, steamer, paddle-boat, canoe, and on foot.

I carried about with me microphones and loud speakers and addressed a dozen meetings a day, apart from impromptu gatherings by the roadside. Some mammoth gatherings approached a hundred thousand; the average audience was usually twenty thousand. The daily total of persons attending was frequently a hundred thousand, and sometimes it was much greater. On a rough estimate it can be said that ten million persons actually attended the meetings I addressed, and probably several million more were brought into some kind of touch with me during my journeying by road.

I rushed about from place to place from the northern frontiers of India to the southern seas, taking little rest, kept up by the excitement of the moment and the enormous enthusiasm that met me. It was an extraordinary feat of physical endurance which surprised me. This election campaign, in which large numbers of people took part on our behalf, stirred up the whole countryside, and a new life was visible everywhere. For us it was something much more than an election campaign. We were interested not only in the thirty million voters but also in the hundreds of millions of others who had no votes.

There was another aspect of this extensive touring which gripped me. For me it was a voyage of discovery of India and her people. I saw a thousand facets of this country of mine in all their rich diversity, and yet always with the unifying impress of India upon them. I gazed at the millions of friendly eyes that looked up at me and tried to understand what lay behind them. The more I saw of India, the more I felt how little I knew of her infinite charm and variety, how much more there was for me to find out. She seemed to smile at me often, and sometimes to mock at me and elude me.

Sometimes, though rarely, I took a day off and visited some famous sight near by—the Ajanta Caves or Mohenjo Daro in the Indus Valley. For a brief while I lived in the past, and the Bodhisatvas and the beautiful women of the Ajanta frescoes filled my mind. Some days later I would start with surprise as I looked at some woman, working in

the fields or drawing water from a village well, for she would remind me of the women of Ajanta.

The Congress triumphed in the general election and there was a great argument as to whether we should accept ministries in the provinces. Ultimately it was decided that we should do so but on the understanding that there would be no interference from the Viceroy or the governors.

In the summer of 1937 I visited Burma and Malaya. It was no holiday, as crowds and engagements pursued me everywhere, but the change was pleasant and I loved to see and meet the flowery and youthful people of Burma, so unlike in many ways from the people of India with the stamp of long ages past upon them.

New problems faced us in India. In most of the provinces Congress governments were in power, and many of the ministers had spent years in prison previously. My sister, Vijayalakshmi Pandit, became one of the ministers in the United Provinces—the first woman minister in India. The immediate effect of the coming of the Congress ministries was a feeling of relief in the countryside, as if a great burden had been lifted. A new life coursed through the whole country and the peasant and the worker expected big things to happen immediately. Political prisoners were released and a large measure of civil liberty, such as had not been known previously, was established. The Congress ministers worked hard and made others work hard also. But they had to work with the old apparatus of government, which was wholly alien to them and often hostile. Even the services were not under their control. Twice there was a conflict with the governors, and the ministers offered their resignations.[3] Thereupon the governors accepted the viewpoint of the ministers and the crisis ended. But the power and influence of the old services—the civil service, the police, and others—backed by the governor and buttressed by the constitution itself, were great and could make themselves felt in a hundred ways. Progress was slow and dissatisfaction arose.

This dissatisfaction found expression in the Congress itself and the more advanced elements grew restive. I was myself unhappy at the trend of events as I noticed that our fine fighting organisation was being converted gradually into just an electioneering organisation. A struggle for independence seemed to be inevitable and this phase of provincial autonomy was just a passing one. In April 1938 I wrote to Gandhiji

3. In 1938, the Congress ministers of the United Provinces and Bihar had offered to resign on the question of the release of political prisoners.

expressing my dissatisfaction at the work of the Congress ministries.[4] "They are trying to adapt themselves far too much to the old order and trying to justify it. But all this, bad as it is, might be tolerated. What is far worse is that we are losing the high position that we have built up, with so much labour, in the hearts of the people. We are sinking to the level of ordinary politicians."

I was perhaps unnecessarily hard on the Congress ministers; the fault lay much more in the situation itself and in the circumstances. The record of these ministries was in fact a formidable one in numerous fields of national activity. But they had to function within certain limits, and our problems required going outside these limits. Among the many good things that they did was the agrarian legislation they passed, giving considerable relief to the peasantry, and the introduction of what is called basic education. This basic education is intended to be made free and compulsory for every child in the country for seven years, from the age of seven to fourteen. It is based on the modern method of teaching through a craft, and it has been so evolved as to reduce the capital and recurring costs very greatly, without in any way impairing the efficiency of education. For a poor country like India, with scores of millions of children to educate, the question of cost is important. This system has already revolutionised education in India and is full of promise.

Higher education was also tackled vigorously, and so also public health, but the efforts of the Congress governments had not borne much fruit when they finally resigned. Adult literacy, however, was pushed with enthusiasm and yielded good results. Rural reconstruction also had a great deal of attention paid to it.

The record of the Congress governments was impressive, but all this good work could not solve the fundamental problems of India. That required deeper and more basic changes and an ending of the imperialistic structure which preserved all manner of vested interests.

So conflict grew within the Congress between the more moderate and the more advanced sections. The first organised expression of this took place in a meeting of the All India Congress Committee in October 1937. This distressed Gandhiji greatly, and he expressed himself strongly in private. Subsequently he wrote an article in which he disapproved of some action I had taken as Congress President.

I felt that I could no longer carry on as a responsible member of the executive but I decided not to do anything to precipitate a crisis. My term of office as Congress President was drawing to an end, and I

4. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 8, pp. 387-389.

could drop out quietly then. I had been President for two successive years and three times in all. There was some talk of my being elected for another term but I was quite clear in my own mind that I should not stand. About this time I played a little trick which amused me greatly. I wrote an article[5] which was published anonymously in *The Modern Review* of Calcutta, in which I opposed my own re-election. No one, not even the editor, knew who had written it, and I watched with great interest its reaction on my colleagues and others. All manner of wild guesses were made about the writer, but very few people knew the truth till John Gunther mentioned it in his book *Inside Asia*.

Subhas Bose was elected President of the next Congress session which was held at Haripura, and soon afterwards I decided to go to Europe. I wanted to see my daughter, but the real reason was to freshen up my tired and puzzled mind.

But Europe was hardly the place for peaceful contemplation or for light to illumine the dark corners of the mind. There was gloom there and the apparent stillness that comes before the storm. It was the Europe of 1938 with Mr. Neville Chamberlain's appeasement in full swing and marching over the bodies of nations, betrayed and crushed, to the final scene that was staged at Munich. I entered into this Europe of conflict by flying straight to Barcelona. There I remained for five days and watched the bombs fall nightly from the air. There I saw much else that impressed me powerfully; and there, in the midst of want and destruction and ever-impending disaster, I felt more at peace with myself than anywhere else in Europe. There was light there, the light of courage and determination and of doing something worth while.

I went to England and spent a month there and met people of all degrees and all shades of opinion. I sensed a change in the average man, a change in the right direction. But there was no change at the top where Chamberlainism sat triumphantly. And then I went to Czechoslovakia and watched at close quarters the difficult and intricate game of how to betray your friend and the cause you are supposed to stand for on the highest moral grounds. I followed this game during the Munich crisis from London, Paris and Geneva and came to many strange conclusions. What surprised me most was the utter collapse, in the moment of crisis, of all the so-called advanced people and groups. Geneva gave me the impression of an archaeological remains of a past age, with the dead bodies of the hundreds of international organisations that had their headquarters there, lying about. London exhibited

5. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 8, pp. 520-523.

tremendous relief that war had been averted and cared for little else. Others had paid the price and it did not matter; but it was going to matter very much before a year was out. The star of Mr. Chamberlain was in the ascendant, though protesting voices were heard. Paris distressed me greatly, especially the middle-class section of it, which did not even protest overmuch. This was the Paris of the Revolution, the symbol of liberty the world over.

I returned from Europe sad at heart with many illusions shattered. On my way back I stopped in Egypt where Mustafa Nahas Pasha and the other leaders of the Wafd Party gave me a warm welcome. I was glad to meet them again and to discuss our common problems in the light of the fast-developing world situation. Some months later a deputation from the Wafd Party visited us in India and attended our annual Congress session.

In India the old problems and conflicts continued and I had to face the old difficulty of how to fit in with my colleagues. It distressed me to see that on the eve of a world upheaval many Congressmen were wrapped up in these petty party rivalries. Yet there was some sense of proportion and understanding among Congressmen in the upper circles of the organisation. Outside the Congress, the deterioration was much more marked. Communal rivalry and tension had increased and the Muslim League, under Mr. M.A. Jinnah's leadership, was aggressively anti-nationalist and narrow-minded and continued to pursue an astonishing course. There was no constructive suggestion, no attempt even to meet half way, no answer to questions as to what exactly they wanted. It was a negative programme of hatred and violence, reminiscent of Nazi methods. What was particularly distressing was the growing vulgarity of communal organisations which was affecting our public life. There were, of course, many Muslim organisations and large numbers of Muslims who disapproved of the activities of the Muslim League and favoured the Congress.

Following this course, the Muslim League inevitably went more and more astray till it stood openly against democracy in India and even for the partition of the country. They were encouraged in these fantastic demands by British officials, who wanted to exploit the Muslim League, as all other disruptive forces, in order to weaken the Congress influence. It was astonishing that just when it became obvious that small nations had no further place in the world, except as parts of a federation of nations, there should be this demand for a splitting up of India. Probably the demand was not seriously meant, but it was the logical consequence of the two-nation theory that Mr. Jinnah had advanced. The new development of communalism had little to do with

religious differences. These admittedly could be adjusted. It was a political conflict between those who wanted a free, united and democratic India and certain reactionary and feudal elements who, under the guise of religion, wanted to preserve their special interests. Religion, as practised and exploited in this way by its votaries of different creeds, seemed to me a curse and a barrier to all progress, social and individual. Religion, which was supposed to encourage spirituality and brotherly feeling, became the fountainhead of hatred, narrowness, meanness and the lowest materialism.

Matters came to a head in the Congress at the Presidential election early in 1939. Unfortunately Maulana Abul Kalam Azad refused to stand and Subhas Chandra Bose was elected after a contest. This gave rise to all manner of complications and deadlocks which persisted for many months. At the Tripuri Congress there were unseemly scenes. I was at that time very low in spirit and it was difficult for me to carry on without a breakdown. Political events, national and international happenings, affected me, of course, but the immediate causes were unconnected with public affairs. I was disgusted with myself and in a press article I wrote: "I fear I give little satisfaction to them (my colleagues), and yet that is not surprising for I give even less satisfaction to myself. It is not out of this stuff that leadership comes and the sooner my colleagues realised this the better for them and me. The mind functions efficiently enough, the intellect is trained to carry on through habit, but the springs that give life and vitality to that functioning seem to dry up."[6]

Subhas Bose resigned from the Presidency and started the Forward Bloc, which was intended to be almost a rival organisation to the Congress. It petered out after a while, as it was bound to do, but it added to the disruptive tendencies and the general deterioration. Under cover of fine phrases, adventurist and opportunist elements found platforms, and I could not help thinking of the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany. Their way had been to mobilise mass support for one programme and then to utilise this for an entirely different purpose.

Deliberately I kept out of the new Congress executive. I felt I could not fit in and I did not like much that had been done. Gandhiji's fast in connection with Rajkot and the subsequent developments upset me. I wrote[7] then that the "sense of helplessness increases after the Rajkot

6. Article entitled *The A.I.C.C. and After*. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 9, pp. 575-580.
7. *Ibid.*

events. I cannot function where I do not understand, and I do not understand at all the logic of what has taken place." "More and more", I added, "the choice before many of us becomes difficult, and this is no question of Right or Left or even of political decisions. The choice is of unthinking acceptance of decisions which sometimes contradict one another and have no logical sequence, or opposition, or inaction. Not one of these courses is easily commendable. To accept unthinkingly what one cannot appreciate or willingly agree to produces mental flabbiness and paralysis. No great movement can be carried on on this basis; certainly not a democratic movement. Opposition is difficult when it weakens us and helps the adversary. Inaction produces frustration and all manner of complexes when from every side comes the call for action."

Soon after my return from Europe at the end of 1938, two other activities claimed my attention. I presided over the All India States People's Conference at Ludhiana and thus became even more intimately connected with the progressive movements in the semi-feudal Indian states. In large numbers of these states there had been a growing ferment, occasionally leading to clashes between the people's organisations and the authorities, which were often helped by British troops. It is difficult to write in restrained language about those states or about the part that the British Government has played in maintaining these relics of the Middle Ages. A recent writer has rightly called them Britain's Fifth Column in India. There are some enlightened rulers who want to side with their people and introduce substantial reforms, but the Paramount Power comes in the way. A democratic state will not function as a fifth column.

It is clear that these five hundred and fifty odd states cannot function separately as political or economic units. They cannot remain as feudal enclaves in a democratic India. A few large ones may become democratic units in a federation, the others must be completely absorbed. No minor reforms can solve this problem. The states system will have to go and it will go when British imperialism goes.

My other activity was the chairmanship of a National Planning Committee which was formed under Congress auspices with the cooperation of the provincial governments. As we proceeded with this work, it grew and grew, till it embraced almost every phase of national activity. We appointed twenty-nine sub-committees for various groups of subjects—agricultural, industrial, social, economic, financial—and tried to coordinate their activities so as to produce a scheme of planned economy for India. Our scheme will necessarily be in outline which will have to be filled in later. The Planning Committee is still functioning and is

not likely to finish its labours for some months more. For me this has been fascinating work and I have learnt much from it. It is clear that any scheme that we may produce can only be given effect to in a free India. It is also clear that any effective planning must involve a socialisation of the economic structure.

In the summer of 1939 I paid a brief visit to Ceylon as friction had grown there between the Indian residents and the government. I was happy to be back again in that beautiful island, and my visit, I think, laid the foundations for closer relations between India and Ceylon. I had the most cordial of welcomes from everybody, including the Ceylonese members of the government. I have no doubt that, in any future order, Ceylon and India must hang together. My own picture of the future is a federation which includes China and India, Burma and Ceylon, Afghanistan and possibly other countries. If a world federation comes, that will be welcome.

The situation in Europe in August 1939 was threatening and I did not want to leave India at a moment of crisis. But the desire to visit China, even for a short while, was strong. So I flew to China and within two days of my leaving India I was in Chungking. Very soon I had to rush back to India as war had descended at last upon Europe. I spent less than two weeks in free China, but these two weeks were memorable ones both personally for me and for the future relations of India and China.

As I flew to China, my mind went back to the long line of illustrious pilgrims and travellers who had journeyed between India and China for thousands of years. Across vast deserts and mighty mountains, they had marched for many months and sometimes for years, encountering dangers and perils, but full of enthusiasm and the spirit of adventure, for they were the bearers of the treasures of thought and culture from one country to another. In those far-off days they had forged the imperishable links which bound India and China together. I imagined myself as one of that long line, yet another link joining together these two Ancients in history and civilization, who had found rebirth and youthful vitality again, and were facing the future with hope and confidence.

Almost my first experience in Chungking was of an air raid, and these were repeated nightly while I was there. I was interested in the behaviour of the Chinese crowds and I watched with admiration how calm and untroubled they were when death threatened them from the skies. I saw the life in the city being carried on almost normally in spite of the terrible strain of the war. I visited factories, summer schools, military academies, youth camps, and universities, torn from their ancient

roots, finding a new life and vitality under bamboo shelters. I was fascinated by the growth of the village cooperative movement and cottage industries. I met scholars, statesmen and generals, the leaders of the new China, and, above all, I had the privilege of meeting on several occasions the supreme leader of China, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, who embodies in himself the unity of China and her determination to be free. It was my privilege also to meet the first lady of the land, Madame Chiang, who has been a continuous source of inspiration to the nation.

But though I met men and women of note and distinction, I was always trying to understand the people of China. I had read much about them and of their magnificent record of culture, and I was eager to sense the reality. I found not only a race wise and profound, deep in the lore of its own great past, but also a vital people, full of life and energy, adapting themselves to modern conditions. On the face of even the man in the street there was the imprint of ages of culture.

I found, to my joy, that my desire that China and India should draw closer to each other was fully reciprocated by China's leaders. Often, as we sat in a dug-out and enemy planes were bombing the city, we discussed the past and the present of our two countries and the bright promise of their future cooperation.

I returned to India full of this thought, and the vague ideas I had nourished for many years now began to take definite shape in my mind. There had been much talk in the West of a federation of Europe, and of a federal union which seemed to exclude India and China. I had dreamed of a wider federation, comprising all the nations and peoples of the world. Perhaps the time for that was not yet. But if there were to be regional federations, then surely there must be an Eastern federation of China and India and other Eastern countries.

I returned in haste.

War and India. What were we to do? For years past we had thought about this and proclaimed our policy. Yet in spite of all this, the British Government declared India to be a belligerent country without any reference to our people, to the Central Assembly, or to the provincial governments. That was a slight hard to get over for it signified that imperialism functioned as before. The Congress Working Committee issued a long statement in the middle of September 1939, in which our past and present policy was defined and the British Government was invited to explain their war aims, more particularly in regard to British imperialism. We had frequently condemned fascism and Nazism, but we were more intimately concerned with the imperia-

lism that dominated over us. Was this imperialism to go? Did they recognise the independence of India and her right to frame her own constitution through a constituent assembly? What immediate steps would be taken to introduce popular control of the Central Government? Later, in order to meet every passible objection of any minority group, the idea behind the constituent assembly was further amplified. It was stated that minority claims would be settled in this assembly with the consent of the minority concerned, and not by a majority vote. If such agreement was not possible in regard to any issue, then this was to be referred to an impartial tribunal for final decision. This was an unsafe proposal from a democratic point of view, but the Congress was prepared to go almost any length in order to allay the suspicions of minorities.

The British Government's answer was clear. It left no doubt that they were not prepared to clarify their war aims or to hand over control of the government to the people's representatives. The old order continued and was to continue and British interests in India could not be left unprotected. The Congress ministries in the provinces thereupon resigned as they were not prepared to cooperate on these terms in the prosecution of the war. The Constitution was suspended and autocratic rule was re-established. The old constitutional conflict of Western countries between an elected parliament and the king's prerogative, which had cost the heads of two kings in England and France, took shape in India. But there was something much more than this constitutional aspect. The volcano was not in action, but it was there and rumblings were heard.

The impasse continued and, meanwhile, new laws and ordinances descended upon us by decree, and Congressmen and others were arrested in ever-growing numbers. Resentment grew and a demand for action on our side. But the course of the war and the peril of England itself made us hesitate, for we could not wholly forget the old lesson which Gandhiji had taught us, that our objective should not be to embarrass the opponent in his hour of need.

As the war progressed, new problems arose, or the old problems took new shape, and the old alignments seemed to change, the old standards to fade away. There were many shocks and adjustment was difficult. The Russo-German Pact, the Soviet invasion of Finland, the friendly approach of Russia towards Japan. Were there any principles, any standards of conduct in this world, or was it all sheer opportunism?

April came and the Norwegian debacle. May brought the horrors of Holland and Belgium. June, the sudden collapse of France, and Paris, that proud and fair city, nursery of freedom, lay crushed and fallen.

Not only military defeat came to France but, what was infinitely worse, spiritual submission and degradation. How did all this come about, I wondered, unless there was something rotten at the core. Was it that England and France were the outstanding representatives of an old order that must pass, and therefore they were unable to hold out? Was it that imperialism, though apparently giving them strength, really weakened them in a struggle of this nature? They could not fight for freedom if they denied it themselves, and their imperialism would turn to unabashed fascism, as it had done in France. The shadow of Mr. Neville Chamberlain and his policy still fell on England despite the change in premiers. The Burma-China route was being closed for three months in order to appease Japan. And here in India there was no hint at change, and our self-imposed restraint was understood to mean an incapacity to do anything effective. The lack of any vision in the British Government amazed me, their utter incapacity to read the signs of the times and to understand what was happening and adapt themselves to it. Was this some law of nature that in international happenings, as in other fields, cause must inexorably be followed by effect; that a system that had ceased to have any useful function could not even defend itself intelligently?

If the British Government was slow of understanding and could not learn even from experience, what can one say about the Government of India? There is something comic and something tragic about the functioning of this government for nothing seems to shake it out of its age-long complacency; neither logic nor reason, neither peril nor disaster. Like Rip Van Winkle they sleep, even though waking, on Simla hills.

The developments in the war situation posed new questions before the Congress Working Committee. Gandhiji wanted the Committee to extend the principle of nonviolence, to which we had adhered in our struggle for freedom, to the functioning of a free state. A free India must rely on this principle to guard itself against external aggression or internal disorder. This question did not arise for us at the time, but it occupied his own mind and he felt that the time had come for a clear enunciation. Every one of us was convinced that we must adhere to our policy of nonviolence, as we had so far done, in our own struggle. The war in Europe had strengthened this conviction. But to commit the future state was another and a more difficult matter, and it was not easy to see how anyone moving on the plane of politics could do it.

Mr. Gandhi felt, and probably rightly, that he could not give up or tone down a message which he had for the world. He must have freedom to give it as he liked and must not be kept back by political

exigencies. So for the first time, he went one way and the Congress Working Committee another. There was no break with him for the bond was too strong, and he will no doubt continue to advise in many ways and often to lead. Yet it is perhaps true that by this partial withdrawal, a definite period in the history of our national movement has come to an end. In recent years I have found a certain hardness creeping into him, a lessening of the adaptability that he possessed. Yet the old spell is there, the old charm works, and his personality and greatness tower over others. Let no one imagine that his influence over India's millions is any the less. He has been the architect of India's destiny for twenty years and more, and his work is not completed.

During the last few weeks, the Congress, at the instance of C. Rajagopalachari, made yet another offer to Britain.[8] Rajagopalachari is said to belong to the Right in the Congress. His brilliant intellect, selfless character, and penetrating powers of analysis have been a tremendous asset to our cause. He was the Prime Minister of Madras during the functioning of the Congress Government there. Eager to avoid conflict, he put forward a proposal which was hesitatingly accepted by some of his colleagues. This proposal was the acknowledgement of India's independence by Britain and the immediate formation at the centre of a provisional national government, which would be responsible to the present Central Assembly. If this was done, this government would take charge of defence and thus help in the war effort.

This Congress proposal was eminently feasible and could be given effect to immediately without upsetting anything. The national government was inevitably going to be a composite affair with full representation of minority groups. The proposal was definitely a moderate one. From the point of view of defence and war effort, it is patent that any serious effort involves the confidence and cooperation of the people. Only a national government has the chance to get this. It is not possible through imperialism.

But imperialism thinks otherwise and imagines that it can continue to function and to coerce people to do its will. Even when danger threatens, it is not prepared to get this very substantial help, if this involves a giving up of political and economic control over India. It does not care even for the tremendous moral prestige which would come

8. On 23 August 1940, Rajagopalachari made what was termed "a sporting offer": "If His Majesty's Government agree to a provisional national government being formed at once I will undertake to persuade my colleagues to agree to the Muslim League being invited to nominate the Prime Minister and to let him form a government as he would consider best."

to it if it did the right thing in India and the rest of the Empire. So the Viceroy gave reply on behalf of the British Government and rejected the Congress proposal. The alternative proposal that he put forward was identical with what he had suggested nine months before. This was to add some popular leaders by nomination to his council and to have an amorphous war advisory council. The Viceroy's council is not a cabinet and all power is concentrated in the Viceroy. So the addition of a few persons to this council made no essential difference.

The Viceroy made it further clear that no major change would take place even after the war unless this was approved of by various groups in India. Thus he gave a power of veto not only to any minority group, but to the feudal princes, and even to British vested interests. This was a complete negation of democracy. It was much worse. For he laid down conditions which were impossible of fulfilment and which made Indian independence even in the future impossible. What came as a peculiar shock to us was the deliberate attempt made by the British Government to encourage every disruptive and reactionary tendency and thus to break the unity of India.

The British Government's proposals had to be rejected and the Congress had no other course left open but to defend itself and the people from the onslaughts that were being made upon it. Thousands of Congressmen had been arrested[9] and forced collections were being made even from the poor peasantry.

The All India Congress Committee withdrew the previous offer made by it and decided in favour of civil disobedience. Mr. Gandhi was appointed as the leader of this movement. As I write this we stand on the verge of this new adventure.

For more than thirteen months now we have given earnest and painful thought to the war developments and to their effect on the Indian situation. We had often proclaimed our faith in democracy and we had condemned aggression. The fate of Denmark, Norway, Holland, Belgium and France distressed us exceedingly and we disliked the prospect of a Nazi order being established all over Europe and possibly elsewhere. Our sympathies went out to the people being ruthlessly bombed in the great cities of Europe and elsewhere. And yet, in spite of a world changing before our eyes, we saw the old face of imperialism still in India and we continued to hear its old and harsh voice. The language was the same and the content changed in no way. The sands

9. From September 1939 to October 1940, about 4,000 persons were arrested for speeches and propaganda supporting the attitude of the Congress to the war and demanding independence for India.

of time ran out in India, as in Europe and the world, but wisdom and foresight did not come to those who might have checked catastrophe.

More and more this terrible war seemed to me something much more than a war between mighty powers. It was a prelude to vast changes in the world, a revolution not only of the political map but of the social and economic structure. Unless this basic fact was grasped, governments and armies would function in vain. The old world had ended and was dying before our eyes. What would the new world be like? Unless we had that vision of the future before us, for what were we fighting? It was the old question put by us to the British Government in September, 1939, and to which there had been no answer. The people of Britain, suffering so grievously and facing constant danger bravely, would perhaps understand our plight in India and help in solving our problem. But governments come in the way, and no government in the world can be so blind to change as the present government of India. Victory and defeat have little meaning unless we know whose victory and for what.

The world of today hangs together, and it will survive or perish together. Only a world order of free nations cooperating together for the common good, and based on social justice, can solve the problems that overwhelm us. It is fantastic to imagine that India or China can be excluded from this order or can be given a subordinate place. The full freedom of India and China is an essential prerequisite to a world settlement. There will be no peace or stability otherwise, whatever may happen in the battlefields of Europe.

So the Indian Congress is again going into the wilderness. With no desire to embarrass the people of Britain, we are being compelled by the imperialism that dominates over us to defend our elementary rights and to insist on our independence. We cannot be willing parties to our humiliation and subjection.

Most of us look upon this question from a political point of view, though all of us are ardently desirous of ending wars and ensuring peace. Mr. Gandhi, as an apostle of nonviolence, and many others who agree with him, are opposed to all wars. For him it is also a matter of conscience not to participate in this or any war. For others the reason is mainly a political one—the denial of the right of India to decide for herself in regard to the war, and the denial of freedom to her. Both avenues of approach lead to the same conclusion. Though the immediate issue is the war issue in India, the real question remains, and must remain, the independence of India.

So many of my colleagues have gone back to prison and I envy them somewhat. Perhaps it is easier to develop an organic sense of life in

the solitude of confinement than in this mad world of war and politics, of fascism and imperialism.

But sometimes there is an escape for a while at least from this world. Three months ago I went back to Kashmir after an absence of twenty-three years.[10] I was only there for twelve days, but these days were filled with beauty, and I drank in the loveliness of that land of enchantment. I wandered about the glorious valley and the higher mountains and climbed a glacier, and forgot for a while the pain and torment of soul which are the lot of humanity today. Life seemed to be worth while.

10. See *post*, section 9, item 21.

87. The Meaning of Swaraj[1]

Brother peasants,

It is about three years ago that I visited your tehsil last time. Before that I visited the interior of this tehsil twenty years ago and I still have friends among the colleagues of those days. I have come to you today and am going to other places with the message that again there is a crisis in the country. But we should not get perplexed, we have to grasp the situation and prepare ourselves; we have to take such steps forward that will benefit the masses. Just now you raised the cry of *inqilab zindabad* five to six times, but I fear that there are few amongst you who realise its meaning. You also raised the cries of *Bharatmata ki jai* and *Bande Mataram*. But who is *Bharatmata*? She is not a woman, *Bharatmata* means the people living in India and we wish them victory. The people of India consist mostly of peasants and when we wish them victory it means that we are wishing victory for ourselves. When we raise cries of *inqilab zindabad* it means that we want to do away with things like British rule, the taluqdari system, poverty, unemployment, illiteracy and disease. When we say Swaraj we mean power in the hands of the masses, the government in the hands of the chosen representatives so that they may be in a position to bring about the desired changes. By bringing about revolution we want to purge ourselves of unemployment and slavery. This is, however, a great problem.

1. Address at Patti, Pratapgarh District, 18 October 1940. Home Department (Political) File No. 3/3/1940, National Archives of India.

You know these days a terrible war is going on in Europe which is revolutionizing the whole world. This revolution is coming to our country also and this we will not be able to check. We do not know what the consequence of the revolution will be but what we want is that the British rule may come to an end and such a government of the people may be established which may banish poverty and unemployment. It is only the strong that are able to take advantage of the revolution. When the Congress organisation grew vast and strong the authorities began to feel anxious to keep the people satisfied. We have, therefore, to strengthen ourselves to take advantage of the revolution. If we act wisely we can not only benefit our country but can also do good to the world. This is the message with which I have come to you. A very terrible war has been going on for the last year, bombs are being thrown on England and Germany, killing men, women and children. In this war our country has also been entangled without consulting a single person out of the forty crores. There was a great deal of discussion on the subject, Mahatma Gandhi saw the Viceroy but to no avail. Still we decided to do nothing that might create an agitation. But the people are continuously being suppressed, there have been forcible collections in the Sultanpur district, people were arrested for doing Congress work and there was danger of our work of twenty years being totally destroyed.

The Congress Working Committee met to consider the future programme as the British Government was prepared to give nothing. And what is this British Government? Big capitalists of England who have been draining our wealth for the last hundred and fifty years. Unless an end is put to this capitalist government the masses of India cannot prosper. The British Government clearly refused to change its system and began to suppress the people. The Congress Committee meeting was held in Bombay to consider this very question and resolved to start satyagraha as a protest, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. He decided to start the satyagraha by men chosen by him and not the general public although the time will come for them also. He asked his old disciple to offer satyagraha near Wardha two or three days ago.[2]

So now these things have started. You are not to offer civil disobedience at present but to do everything in a disciplined way like a soldier. As you see I too have come in the uniform of the Seva Dal because we have to behave as soldiers. At present you are not to offer satyagraha

2. On 17 October Vinoba Bhave began delivery of anti-war speeches. He was arrested on 21 October and sentenced to three months imprisonment.

unless you are told to do so by Mahatma Gandhi or the Congress, but you have to keep ready. It is also possible that the British Government may begin its repression and we have to keep ready for that also. Strengthen the Congress organisation in every village and tehsil and enrol members. You have also to enlist as volunteers. We have stopped training in drill for the present. You should use khaddar and ply the charkha as khadi is now the uniform of Swaraj. You should not be perplexed if you hear that I have been arrested but should conclude that the fight for Swaraj is gaining momentum. It is also possible that the British Government may get confused and prevent the publication of news. You should not get confused if news does not appear in the papers but conclude that it is good news, therefore the British Government has not permitted it to be published. You have to stand up and reach the goal of Swaraj.

I do not like people touching others' feet as this custom breathes slavery. I want people strong, self-respecting and fearless. Many peasants come to me with petitions. I am no official or zamindar to do anything for them. Of course I can do a great deal for all peasants as a class. I am interested in one thing—in one ejectment—that of the British Government. I have taken up this work. Other problems are smaller ones and bound up with this. The great question before us is that of slavery. Remember we have to work peacefully, we have not to resort to rioting. Many people are out to create disorder, they are rajas and maharajas, you are not to follow them as their aim is to turn your attention away from the fight for Swaraj. Your fight is for Swaraj and you have to comply with the instructions of the Congress peacefully. If you will do so you will bring victory to *Bharatmata*, that is to your own selves.

88. A Report on His Own Tour[1]

Jawaharlal Nehru returned to Lucknow, late tonight, after concluding a five-day tour of some of the Oudh districts. He spent the day in Bara

1. Lucknow, 22 October 1940. This report which was published in the *National Herald* of 23 October 1940 was written by Jawaharlal.

Banki district, holding meetings at Rudauli, Safdarganj, Haidergarh and Dewa.

The river Gomti had to be crossed by boat in order to go to Haidergarh. This place, being somewhat difficult of access, is seldom visited by outside leaders and Jawaharlal Nehru's visit was, therefore, a great event and attracted a large gathering.

The meeting at Dewa, which is seven miles from Bara Banki town, was unique and memorable. The shades of evening were falling when Jawaharlal Nehru arrived, accompanied by the president and secretary of the District Congress Committee. A vast concourse of people had gathered to hear him.

Many of these had come over from Bara Banki, but the audience was predominantly kisan. Very soon this great audience settled down in an orderly manner and presented a spectacle which will live long in the memories of those who saw it. A sea of heads stretched away into the far distance and lost itself in the gloom. As far as one could see, there were masses of India's kisan humanity, and beyond the range of vision there were still more of them. It is difficult to estimate such a huge crowd, but conservative estimates placed the number at 50,000.

The size of the crowd was impressive and overpowering. Their demeanour was still more impressive. There they sat, row upon row, eager, expectant, a little excited and yet perfectly calm and disciplined.

Jawaharlal Nehru spoke for just an hour and there was perfect silence throughout. Right at the beginning he had asked them not to interrupt his speech by slogans and they carried out his instructions to the letter and held themselves in leash, although their excitement was apparent. Occasionally a quiver of appreciation at something said ran through that mighty gathering.

This was a political gathering, but it was something much more. Jawaharlal Nehru spoke in a serious vein and with feeling. He was evidently moved. There was a sense of vast issues, of great decisions, of the call which might come to anyone at any moment. The multitude of listeners seemed to be in tune with the speaker and seemed to rise above themselves for the moment. There was a hush and a solemnity, which pervaded the atmosphere.

The proceedings began with a very moving poem in Hindi, describing the plight of the kisan in the kisan's own homely language. The audience appreciated this greatly. It struck home. It was obvious that Nehru was moved. This poem set the tone for his speech. He referred to it right at the beginning—to this picture of present-day India.

And then he spoke, with a quiver in his voice, of the dream that had made life worth while for him—the dream of the India of tomorrow.

He developed this theme and the picture became a living and glowing one. And then, suddenly, he grew sad. For 20 years and more, he said, he had seen this vision and sought to make it a reality. And yet when he saw the condition of the people round about him, their appalling poverty, their miserable environment, his heart misgave him. Was this all the result they had obtained after 20 years' travail and labour?

Then again, he changed his mood and spoke triumphantly of the vast inner changes that had come over the people. They were poor still, and overburdened with care and sorrow, but they had got rid of the fear that oppressed them and the hopelessness that enveloped their lives from birth to death. That was a mighty change, which had brought them nearer to Swaraj. And now they stood on the threshold of the future, a future which would mean a changed world and a new India. What this new India would be, he could not say. That would depend on their stout hearts and strong arms. Fate, Destiny, Karma! We were not going to be their slaves, but we would bend them to our will and build India after the picture in our own hearts.

So he spoke on, and that vast audience listened rapt, unmoving but deeply moved. He spoke of Swaraj, panchayati raj and what this was; of the mighty revolution that was taking place all over the world; of the war in Europe and how India was dragged into it; of the satyagraha started at Gandhiji's instance by Vinoba Bhave; of the next step that would follow; of the vast responsibility of each one of us at this tremendous crisis. Be ready and disciplined! Organise yourself, hold to nonviolence, put an end to all internal squabbles and differences and face the future with unity, strength and confidence.

For slightly more than an hour he spoke and he ended by appealing to the audience to give up the habit of touching the feet. They must behave as free men and give up all habits which reminded one of subjection and slavery. Let them hold themselves erect always, bending to no one.

When the meeting ended, Nehru asked the audience to remain seated till he had left and to make a narrow passageway for him to go through. His instructions were carried out and not a single person got up. Right through that mighty gathering he marched, none moving or touching his feet, as they had done when he came. Only their hands were folded in a silent salute and their faces were alight with a new experience. The stars were shining brightly as Nehru motored away to Bara Banki and that multitude of human beings dispersed, filled all the roads, and marched towards their villages.

89. To Mahatma Gandhi[1]

October 24, 1940

My dear Bapu,

I enclose copy of a letter I am sending to Maulana.[2] You will remember that you referred to Mahmud one day. I do not know what your source of information was, but in this matter at least I think Mahmud is not to blame.

On my arrival here today I received your letter dated 21st October.[3] I have sent you a brief telegram in reply.[4] It is difficult of course to express anything clearly in a telegram. My mind is by no means clear as to what the future is going to be. More and more I think about the problem in India in its larger world perspective. I think of this, naturally, from the political point of view. I think that your plan has great possibilities and therefore I would like it to go ahead and to help it in so far as I can. But not knowing exactly how you intend to develop it, I feel a little confused.

I do not know whom you consider to be the spiritual leaders of the world (the phrase you have used somewhere), but if they are the leaders of organized religions or religious groups, I am quite convinced that they are a hopeless lot. It is the common man who might ultimately make a difference and the approach to him will have to be such that he can grasp it. If that approach is entirely beyond his reach or understanding, it will fall flat. I think the horror of war is bound to lead to a strong reaction. But this reaction will only come when some way out, which guarantees individual and national freedom, is found. Without this guarantee nonviolence becomes associated in people's minds with submission to slavery and force. That argument applies to India also. I have found a deceptive atmosphere among our people, also a certain confusion about the future and as to what they should do.

I have received Mangal Singh's letter. I do not know what you expect me to do about it. I realise all the implications of what he says. Mangal Singh is not a very reliable person, still I think he is right in

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. See *post*, section 2, item 45.
3. Mahatma Gandhi wrote : "I would still like to ask you whether you can see anything to commend itself to you in all I am writing and doing. I would not like you to go in merely as a disciplinarian. My present conception requires those who believe in the plan."
4. "Your letter. Agree generally."

the main about this matter. I am writing an article for the press on the *Sikhs and the Congress*. This will be a fairly frank statement.

During my visit to Sultanpur district I found numerous complaints of forcible realisations for war funds. I enclose a letter about this. On enquiry, I found it to be perfectly correct. Scores of boys came to me and complained to me that they had been forced by their school authorities to pay a monthly sum of 1 anna each for the war fund with their tuition fee, in spite of their protests. It seemed to me a particularly mean thing to do to make these boys pay.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

90. To H.C. Puxley[1]

25 October 1940

Dear Mr. Puxley,

I have your letter of October 23, 1940. I have fixed no tour programme yet and I do not know if I shall tour at all for some time. I am afraid I am quite convinced that the conflict between Indian nationalism and British imperialism is much more deep-rooted than you imagine. This has nothing to do with the goodwill of the British people as a whole of which I have little doubt. The personal equation counts for little and I do not think any good can come out of my further approaches to the Viceroy. The whole outlook of the British Government will have to change before the question can be profitably discussed with them. Of that there are no signs yet. I do not expect any good from any direct or indirect contacts at this stage between us and the government. I would therefore request you not to mention the Working Committee or any of its members, by name or otherwise, in this connection. This will create misapprehensions, and it would be contrary to the wishes of the Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

91. Eastern Nations Unite![1]

The Editor of *The Hindustan Times* has asked me to write something on the occasion of the meeting of the Eastern Group Conference.[2] I am afraid I do not know much about this Conference, and so I am unable to judge of the significance of this gathering, or why anyone should write special articles because of this meeting. But from what little I have learnt, I gather that people from many odd countries, generously if inaccurately labelled Eastern, are meeting together presumably to discuss war needs and production. What then is the significance of it all? Is it merely that representatives from various countries are meeting here, or that anything dealing with the war must needs be important?

I am afraid I cannot say anything that can be helpful to the eminent members of the Eastern Group Conference. I am not interested in India helping in the war, or rather my interest is of an opposing variety. But the very name 'Eastern Group Conference' makes my mind run to a future day when a real conference of Eastern nations will be held.

I am convinced more than ever that a stable future must be built on world-wide international cooperation—political and economic. Indeed I think that some kind of world union or federation is inevitable. But that seems a far-off ideal in this world of war today. It is clear, however, that the day of separate individual nations is past. Probably, as an intermediate stage, several world groups of nations will arise, and their latent hostility may lead to war again on a vast scale.

What are the likely groupings? England cannot continue either as an imperial power or even as a separate nation. Her empire will, of course, go and it is highly likely that Britain will be absorbed in the United States, as also Canada and Australia. The Continent of Europe, minus the Soviet territories, may form another group. The Soviet Union is already a vast federation and will continue, possibly, with some other nations added on to it.

What then of India and the East? Are they to be just hangers-on or dependent entities of these major groups? The advocates of federal union conveniently forget the East. The advocates of a European

1. *The Hindustan Times*, 25 October 1940.
2. Representatives of the governments of India, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon, Hong Kong, Palestine, Union of South Africa, East Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Australia and Newzealand met in conference on 25 October 1940 to ensure "that the best possible use is made of their resources, existing and potential, for the purposes of war."

federation apparently imagine that Asia and Africa will continue as they are, more or less, under the leadership of Europe.

India and the East are not going to put up with any such arrangement, and, therefore, so far as we are concerned, we oppose all these attempts to federate the Western world to the exclusion of the Eastern. A federated Europe, or Europe and America taken together, will exploit Eastern nations and delay their freedom.

We have to look forward for the present, and till such time as a real world union takes place, to an Asiatic federation of nations. Obviously this is the next major step in Asia.

Such an Asiatic federation will be based on the close association of the two great nations of the East—India and China. Other members of the federation might be Burma, Ceylon, Afghanistan, Nepal, Malaya and the Dutch Indies. Of course, if Iran, Iraq or Thailand wish to join it, they would be very welcome. This Eastern federation should have the friendliest contacts with the United States of America and the Soviet Union. It is this Eastern federation that we should aim at. Nothing short of it will be adequate in the world to come.

I look forward to the day when a real conference of all these Eastern nations will be held and will lead to an Eastern union of nations.

92. To Charan Singh[1]

October 25, 1940

My dear Charan Singhji,[2]

I am sorry for the delay in answering your letter of the 15th. It is difficult to discuss fully the situation in a letter. I am myself troubled about many matters. But you are wrong in thinking that satyagraha is to be confined to out and out believers in nonviolence. Gandhiji has made it clear that others are to be included.

I would love to come to Meerut and I shall try to include Meerut in my next tour. But I must await developments before I make any further arrangements.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. (b. 1902); joined the Congress in 1929 and took part in the freedom movement; general secretary and president, Meerut D.C.C., 1940-46; Minister, U.P., 1951-67; Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh, 1967-68, and again in 1970; Chairman, Bharatiya Lok Dal (earlier Bharatiya Kranti Dal), 1969-77; Union Home Minister, 1977.

Do not be in a hurry to think about reverting to normal life. There is no normality possible for any one of us or, for the matter of that, for anyone in the world. I am quite sure that the situation here will develop more rapidly than we think.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

93. To Arthur D. Wiser[1]

October 26, 1940

Dear Friend,
I have received your letter of August 13th[2] and read it with interest. I am happy to learn that you want to come back to India and to devote yourself to work here. You would indeed be welcome, as would the girl whom you intend marrying.

It is a little difficult to give you advice as to how you can prepare yourself for coming to India. I suppose the best way to do that is to read worthwhile books. I do not know that I can suggest any special names of people in America who might help you to understand Indian conditions. There are no doubt many such people in America. But India is changing rapidly, as indeed the whole world is. I think it would be a good thing for you to study social and economic planning because that is a subject which is bound to occupy our attention. I have been functioning as the Chairman of a National Planning Committee for the last two years and I have been fascinated by the prospect of planning on a vast scale.

But for the present we are tied up with other matters which bring conflict and prevent constructive work.

I am passing on your letter to a friend who might be able to suggest some books to you.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. A.I.C.C. File No. F.D. 5/1940, p. 55, N.M.M.L.
2. Wiser, a student of Cornell University, had written that he proposed to settle and work in India after the completion of his studies and had sought Jawaharlal's advice on how best to prepare himself for this.

94. The Eastern Federation[1]

Everyone who has been following the course of events, and everyone who can at all pierce the veil of the future, must have come to the conclusion that we have come to the end of an age. The old world we have known so long is dead or lies dying before us. That of course does not mean that the world will cease to be. That does not even mean that civilisation will perish. But it does mean that the many things that we have known, political forms, economic structures, special relationships, and all else connected with these, will undergo a vast transformation. If any person thinks in terms of the continuation of the world as we have known it, he thinks in vain.

It is patent that the day of small countries is past. It is also patent that the day of even big countries standing by themselves is past. Huge countries like the Soviet Union or the United States of America may be capable of standing by themselves, but even they are likely to join themselves with other countries or groups. The only intelligent solution is a world federation of free countries. Perhaps we are not wise enough to seek that solution or strong enough to realise it.

If there is going to be no world federation in the near future, and if the day of individual nations is past, what then is likely to happen? There may be groupings of nations or large federations. There is a grave danger in this as it is likely to lead to hostile groupings and therefore to the continuation of big wars. It is possible also that these groupings may be the first steps to the larger world grouping of nations. In Europe people talk of a European federation or union; sometimes they include the United States of America and the British Dominions in this group. They always leave out China and India imagining that these two great countries can be ignored. There can be no world arrangement which is based on ignoring India or China, nor can we ever tolerate the exploitation of Asia and Africa by the combined European and American powers.

If there are to be federations, India does not fit in a European federation, where it can only be a hanger-on of semi-colonial status. It is obvious that under these circumstances there should be an Eastern federation, not hostile to the West, but nevertheless standing on its own feet, self-reliant and joining with all others in favour of world peace and world federation. Such an Eastern federation must inevitably consist

1. Allahabad, 28 October 1940. *National Herald*, 2 November 1940.

of China and India. Burma, Ceylon, Nepal and Afghanistan ought easily to fit into it. So should Malaya. There is no reason why Siam and Iran should also not join, as well as some other nations. That would be a powerful combination of free nations joined together for their own good as well as the good of the world. Power would not be merely material power but something else also which they have represented through these long ages. It is time, therefore, in this fateful period of the breakdown of empires, that we thought in terms of this Eastern federation and worked for it deliberately.

With two nations, even more than with others, this Eastern federation will be intimately connected. These nations or groups will be the Soviet Union and America.

There is a great deal of talk about the downfall of Western civilisation. This is probably correct in so far as the financial imperialism of the West is concerned, as well as the capitalist order. But ultimately much that is best in European civilisation should survive. Nevertheless, it is true, I think, that present-day civilisation is ending and out of its ashes a new civilisation will be built up, continuing, I hope, the best elements of the East and the West. No country can do without the science of which the West has been the exemplar. That science and the scientific spirit and method are the basis of life today, and there is in science the search for truth on the one hand, and the betterment of humanity on the other. But the application of that science to evil ends has brought disaster to the West. It is here that India and China with their restraining influence and long background of culture and restraint come in.

So let us look forward and labour for an Eastern federation, never forgetting that it is a step towards the larger world federation.

95. Conversations with Mahatma Gandhi[1]

29 October 1940

Jawaharlal Nehru: Why did you not foresee that they would gag the press?[2] They did more than this last time.

1. Wardha, 29-30 October 1940. Record maintained by Amrit Kaur. Amrit Kaur Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. On 21 October 1940, an ordinance was promulgated prohibiting newspapers from publishing matter affecting the war effort. Mahatma Gandhi suspended the publication of *Harijan* and allied publications in protest.

Mahatma Gandhi: I may foresee and be prepared for all events. But nevertheless it may be a surprise for me. I had hoped they would not behave in this manner. Therefore I can say your repression knows no bounds. I can do my worst too—for example mass civil disobedience. But I may not do this yet. The government still have the capitalists and the princes with them.

JN: I don't see why you should change your whole plan of action because what was probable has happened.

MG: I must because I did not think they would go so far. They won't allow us anti-war propaganda. I accept his interpretation of what I want. He should admit that if I have the power to convert people they should have India out of the war. We are not independent but we are 'at war' with you. We must assert ourselves as far as we can.

JN: You can't isolate your case in this way. It would be better now to say we want independence; nothing limited in the sense of free speech.

MG: I have said independence is not in their hands. They are struggling for their own independence.

JN: But it is there still. When they are defeated it will be another matter.

MG: If they have failed to give us independence, I say at any rate let us not join them in a war against our wishes. I say this according to our strength and internal position today. If they seize my own weapon of nonviolence I must fight for it. I leave independence because they say they cannot discuss that today. So I say all right. I prepare myself for nonviolence for the time being. They won't allow me. Our case is not weakened by the position I have taken up. My civil disobedience as I had envisaged it is not being allowed to proceed. The effect on the government is that they stiffen. Even one man offering civil disobedience has made them harsh. Vinoba Bhave was an unknown quantity outside my and his circle. Now I have to think if I send the next man I don't think I shall get the same result as from the उपवास.[3] The latter will get at world conscience in a

3. *Upvas*—fast. On 24 October, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to the Viceroy: "I told you about the possibility of a fast, prolonged or unto death. I am waiting on God to find what is to be the case. I am trying hard to avoid it but I may not be able to do so. You will have another letter from me when I have come to the final conclusion."

way which nothing else can. Take the example of salt satyagraha.

JN: The case is not analogous. Here it is a case of their empire going. The step they have taken against Vinoba Bhave is a step against a symbol. They wanted to nip our protest in the bud. Your step of 'limitation' put them in a false position. I do not understand, even if you did not expect this development, why should you be driven to your last resort straightway?

MG: I can't explain.

JN: I understand there is no matter for logic or reasoning. One must think impersonally. I can only judge from what I imagine will be the result. I want to ask you whether in the excitement of the movement you have taken a premature step.

MG: I want to avoid it really. I won't hasten it. I am nervous of it. Yet I shall fulfil it if it comes on me. I am fighting *against* my desire. But I see no other way at the moment.

JN: Leave your nonviolence aside for the moment. Aeroplanes have altered everything. No frontiers left—no safety left. Either every nation must be armed to the hilt or else air warfare be banned. Whither are we going, is the question. We have to find a way out. The solution can even come from Linlithgow, Halifax and Churchill etc. God knows when the war will end. There can only be a *world* peace. Or else we shall all be nervous wrecks. Linlithgow personally can't help however much he may want to. The solution lies deeper. Inevitable revolution in the world. Britain fighting it. In a way Hitler is more in tune with it. The fabric of their society must change. I feel your step is very premature. You have only started the movement 12 days ago.

MG: I must tell you one thing. You say the face of the world is changing. I agree. It may be pride in me. But I feel this is the opportune movement not only for us but for the world. I am known all over and I feel I ought to sacrifice myself now. If it is pride in me, nothing will come of my sacrifice and I am then really a drag on you. If my last resort shakes the world, then I feel there will be a great result fraught with much good.

I am therefore placing the best weapon in my armoury to see what I can do with it. I can go to jail also.

JN: All this doesn't make much difference. I have to think what I am to do before and after your fast. It is impossible for me to remain outside jail if you fast.

MG: That brings them still more in the wrong. if they do that. Our policy has been never to take a wrong step. Always let them do the wrong. This happened in salt satyagraha too.

JN: You cannot compare salt satyagraha with this. The issues are different.

MG: They have to swallow a great deal. They are bound to as time goes on.

JN: You are premature—I maintain. You must see what happens. I am clear in my mind that I have to go. There is such confusion in people's mind. They imagine all kinds of foolish things. Granted your step may have a tremendous effect on India and outside. What do we do?

MG: You must watch. You must carry on agitation. Explaining the fast is one thing. Out of my 21 days fast was born the All Parties' Conference. While the fast goes on either you do nothing or else you go to jail straightway.

JN: We must explain to the people. If we do it on a big scale we shall be stopped. If we are stopped are we to submit or not?

MG: I feel while I am alive they will not stop explanations. But they may send you to jail. You go. After me you must carry on the fight. Individual civil disobedience presumably.

JN: Tell me. You fast. Then what do we tell the public to do?

MG: My manifesto will be there.

JN: Positive?

MG: One—constructive programme.

JN: Supposing meetings, etc. are banned?

MG: Then you must take the decision. Mass civil disobedience will be born out of it.

JN: Supposing they decide to let you fast. They will seize us all. Then what?

MG: If they become callous—fast goes on—all of you in jail, I feel crores will die refusing to help them. That is my belief. The other thing is that decent millions of the world are veering towards nonviolence. I may be wrong. But all this will be made plain and if it is my pride that tells me all this, then too I shall be happy that I as a drag will be removed from the world. I have worked for 50 years—not a short time—result will be seen after I have gone. I have not so far ever done anything premature. It may be so. I am averting it as long as I can. I have always felt this to be the strongest weapon in my satyagrahi armoury. There is *hara-kiri* and there is *sati* of Rajasthan. History gives glorious instances of the latter. In Junagadh even Muslims died rather than submit to *zulum*.

JN: But this is not nonviolence.

MG: Of course not. I only say the courage to die is in our bones. I want to do it nonviolently. I feel the face of India will change. How I can't say. But I shall die in that hope. I can't think of anything else that can be effective at this stage.

Mahadev Desai: You don't want to embarrass them. Won't your fast be a terrific embarrassment to them?

MG: Yes and no. But India's nonviolent strength grows. That is my mission. Any embarrassment born of nonviolence will serve them. Mass civil disobedience will give birth to violence. They have no room for lakhs of prisoners. I am embarrassing them. I cannot reduce my strength by not embarrassing them. If they are callous there will be no embarrassment to them. I have used all my strength to convince them. I have no other weapon except this fast wherewith to teach nonviolence to my people.

JN: The embarrassment question is but one of motive.

MG: Yes. But my motive is pure.

JN: I feel I must follow Vinoba.

MG: All right. But we'll talk of it tomorrow.

JN: When?

MG: All right. Supposing you leave here tomorrow, you can do it on the 4th or 5th.

JN: Yes—it must be after *Id* which is on the 3rd. But on 4th we have a conference of workers. Would it matter if they were all there?

MG: If I give notice they won't allow conference, i.e. you won't be there. So have the conference and you go on 8th or so. I would prefer a village because of the significance of that step. History will record the importance we gave to the village in this our last fight—at least the last conducted by me.

JN: I wanted Allahabad. But if you insist on a village I will select a village. How can we send notices to the people? And what about your notice?

MG: I will wire the date and time to the village for the people?

JN: We shall have to duplicate and distribute. It will require 5 or 6 days.

MG: If you are arrested before the meeting you will leave a message.

JN: Will the man who reads my message be arrested?

MG: He will only stress the constructive programme. After some talk—date to be 7th or 8th—*after* the conference in Allahabad.

30 October 1940

JN: I still feel, after sleeping over it, that I must go to jail. But your fast—the last resort, so to speak, is inopportune. It will create

confusion in the mass mind. It will be interpreted by the government that individual civil disobedience had failed. I feel you ought to get the members of the Working Committee to offer civil disobedience.

MG: I do not think this is right. I cannot mix up issues. My own idea was not to send more than three. The fast was always in my mind. What the effect of it will be on the minds of the people or the government does not bother me. If I send the Working Committee it will defeat my whole purpose. I have always felt that Vinoba was to go and you and then I have felt one woman should represent her kind. Someone wholly fitted—a believer in nonviolence who will remain steadfast to the end. While I am alive the question of leadership does not arise. I do not want the Working Committee in jail. I want the Working Committee to restrain themselves. In any case I do not want them to go to jail and *I* fast afterwards. They must go on working. I will keep on directing them so long as I am alive. I feel I shall not become senseless even this time. My fast is a substitute for everything—an integral part of satyagraha. I have been prepared specially for it. I have specialised in fasting previous to any reference to politics. I feel the masses will understand the fast and respond as they should.

JN: What is the response to be?

MG: Go on with the constructive programme, keep to nonviolence and give no help to Britain in war. They must be prepared to die rather than pay. I feel my fast will awaken people too. It is terrible the way our people allow themselves to be wronged and forget and go on being suppressed. I would like you to stay out too.

JN: That cannot be. I must go. It is possible my arrest may have repercussions. How is one to guide it in the right channels?

MG: By what you say to them previously.

JN: In effect—every man who becomes a 'walking newspaper' is really committing civil disobedience. He can be held up under the Defence of India Act. And the sentence is much heavier than it has ever been.

MG: But this is illusive. It would be difficult to arrest people. I don't agree with you that it will be converted into an offence. Duplication of statements is another matter. That comes under the Act. Therefore I have said we don't want to do anything secretly. But of course a certain amount has to come in. Have you any idea of instructions you want to give? I will have to give instructions to Kripalani—maybe daily—for Working Committee members and other addresses too. If they intercept these even we will have to employ persons. We may not have meetings but we can talk as you and I are talking.

JN: Why?

MG: For the reason that we do not want people to be arrested wholesale. They won't allow meetings for publicity. We should not invite the restriction and we strengthen our people—no newspapers, no meetings and yet our work goes on.

JN: After getting there I am to inform you—confirm my programme by phone or wire. When will you inform Vallabhbhai?[5]

MG: I am preparing him for it in my letter today. And I will send him a wire later. You can announce on arrival in Allahabad regarding the meeting on 7th. No harm even if it goes to the papers. Just that you are addressing a meeting. You can announce at the meeting of 4th that you are offering civil disobedience on the 7th.

JN: Till now I have avoided the press. But can I now tell them?

MG: Yes—you may.

5. Vallabhbhai Patel was chosen to be the third of the individual satyagrahis. He was arrested on 17 November 1940.

2

THE CONGRESS ORGANIZATION

1. To Rajendra Prasad[1]

Allahabad
March 11, 1940

My dear Rajendra Babu,
There are some Burmese people who will be attending the Ramgarh Congress. I shall particularly like them to be treated as guests of the Reception Committee during their stay there. In view of the strained relations between the Burmese and Indians, and the want of proper contacts, this visit of some Burmese should be welcomed.

Among those who are coming is a noted Burmese educationist, U.B. Lwin,[2] who used to be the Deputy President of the Senate there. Then there are some young men belonging to what is called the Dobama or Thakin group.[3] This is a progressive group calling itself vaguely socialist but essentially nationalistic. In the welter of parties in Burma, they are the only people who have something other than a personal programme. In regard to the Indian question, their attitude has not been wholly sound but it has been better than that of other people. They are not well off. I hope, therefore, that it will be possible for the Reception Committee to treat them as its guests and to give them free tickets for the Congress and the Subjects Committee.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. Rajendra Prasad Papers, National Archives of India.
2. (b. 1898); Chairman, Public Service Commission from 1947; Deputy Prime Minister, 1959-60.
3. A group of radical nationalists who aimed at political and economic revolution in Burma, if necessary by armed conflict.

2. To V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Allahabad
March 14, 1940

My dear Krishna,
I wrote to you a few days ago that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's Presidential Address might be sent to you in summary by cable. I have

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

now seen it and I do not think it will be necessary to cable it. A copy of it is being sent to you by air mail today. Probably you will get it before you get this letter.

The address was not only written in Urdu, but, if I may say so, it has the Urdu mind behind it. In that sense it is more representative of many Congressmen than my addresses are. To you the address may come as a disappointment and surprise chiefly because it does not deal with many matters which to you are of vital importance today and deals with other relatively unimportant matters at far greater length. During my years of presidency I set a different standard for the presidential address, dealing with foreign affairs and various internal problems in a different background. Then came Subhas's address at Haripura which was a kind of half and half performance. At Tripuri there was hardly any address. So the change to the new style and content is marked.

The address was written entirely in Urdu by the Maulana. Later he asked me to take the responsibility for translating it into English. This was a novel job for me, as I have done no translation work in my life, except some odd sentences here and there and of course the Latin translations I did at school. But Maulana insisted and I did not wish to say no to him. Because of this I had to give up the idea of leaving Allahabad two days earlier and am now leaving only tonight. I asked someone else to do the translation and then went carefully through it. To some extent therefore the language in the English bears my impress. But I have nothing whatever to do with the content which was sent to me without any previous consultation or talk. I tried to make the translation as correct as possible.

Urdu style is so completely different from English style that anything written in good Urdu sounds rather flamboyant in English. Maulana is a Urdu stylist and writes and speaks a choice, though somewhat redundant, language. Remember when you read this that you are reading a translation from another language with a different type of genius.

The Maulana has practically dealt with only two matters in his address. The first part deals with the political issue and narrates what has happened during the last six months, justifying the Congress attitude and saying that it inevitably leads to action in the near future which is of the nature of conflict between the Congress and the government. What this conflict is to be and when, he does not specify.

The second and longer part deals with the minority problems, more specially the Hindu-Muslim question. He has considered this in its political aspects and not in regard to the social forces at work. He has in effect addressed the Muslims of India. Some of his passages in Urdu are very eloquent though they do not read well in English and there is

much repetition. His address is bound to create a marked impression in Muslim India. It may also be appreciated in Islamic countries. It is the address essentially of an advanced and liberal Muslim divine.

Maulana is a curious mixture. Born in Mecca, he spent his early years in Egypt at the Al Azhar University. Then he came back to India and before he was twenty he began to attract attention by his writings in Urdu as well as in Arabic. He started Urdu and Arabic weeklies,[2] the latter having a good circulation in the Arabic-speaking countries where consequently he became well-known. While yet a boy he was considered one of the most learned of the Ulemas or the Muslim divines. His general approach to questions however was not that of dogma but, within the limits of a few basic beliefs, of rationalism. In fact he is very much the type of 19th century or late 18th century rationalists. He reminds me in some ways of the French encyclopaedists of the 19th century. For a Muslim divine to give this impression is very unusual.

Unfortunately he never studied any European language. He has just picked up enough English to read books and newspapers. But he cannot speak it. He knows Arabic and Persian well. Probably he is the ablest among the Muslim divines even from their point of view. Most of them are rather afraid of him because he can floor them in any argument, his knowledge even of the scriptures and traditions being very great. He tries, after the fashion of reformers, to give a very broad and liberal interpretation to religious tenets. In his youth he played an important part in influencing Muslim educated opinion. That influence was definitely an anti-imperialist influence. Consequently when the last war began he was interned and for four years he was kept in this fashion. On coming out of his internment, he joined the Congress and took a prominent part in its work. Unfortunately he is not the type of man who likes the rough and tumble of politics. He is very sensitive and rather avoids crowds and publicity. He lacks a certain vital energy and thus we have not really taken full advantage of his gifts. While he is a magnificent speaker in Urdu, it is hardly possible to induce him to address a meeting. Partly, of course, this is due to ill health.

In the modern world he is rather out of place as he thinks on political lines and hardly at all on social or economic lines, though he is intelligent enough to appreciate a certain development. But he cannot change his background. In the Muslim world of India, however, he is tremendously in advance.

2. The *Al Hilal* and the *Al-Balagh*.

I am writing this long and rather unnecessary letter to you to give you some background of our new President. This will help you to understand somewhat. I might add that though he has cooperated closely with Gandhiji, he is not prepared to accept everything that he is told.

The real reason for writing this letter is that suddenly I found I had some time at my disposal.

This morning's paper brings the very unusual news of an Indian having shot down Sir Michael O' Dwyer and wounded others at a Caxton Hall meeting.[3] The name of the Indian that is given seems to be a fictitious name. Other facts are lacking.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. He was shot dead by Udham Singh at a meeting of the East India Association at Caxton Hall London, on 13 March 1940. Lord Zetland was also wounded.

3. To Jaipal Singh[1]

Ramgarh
March 15, 1940

Dear Mr. Jaipal Singh,

I have received your letter dated the 11th March today for which I thank you. I am afraid it is impossible for me to leave the Congress session and its various committees during the next week. It is to attend to these meetings that I have come here.

You will no doubt realise that the fundamental question before the country today is the political question of Indian independence and allied to it is the war in Europe and India's part in it. This question overshadows everything else, howsoever important it might be. Each community or group in India has to decide this basic issue and its subsequent conduct in regard to other issues will depend on this major decision. For instance, if any group or organisation is opposed to Indian independence and relies upon the British Government for help and special privileges, it ranges itself on the imperialist side on this major issue. With all those who are anti-imperialist and desire the complete

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

independence of India, the Congress will gladly cooperate, even though there might be differences in regard to internal problems. But if there is a vital difference in regard to this major issue, then the basis of co-operation is lacking.

I do not know much about the Adibasi Sabha or the Sanatan Adibasi Sabha and am therefore not in a position to express an opinion. But I am quite sure that the Adibasis should be provided with every opportunity for development and should have all the rights and privileges which we claim for the people of India. I am sure that in this matter the Congress will give its full support to anything that promotes the progress and advancement of the Adibasi community. But this question, like all other questions, must be considered in the larger context of national freedom and independence. Otherwise it may become a narrow issue which comes in the way of this larger freedom and therefore comes in the way of the progress of the Adibasis themselves.

I am afraid I do not know much about the proposal to create Jharkhand into a separate area, to which you refer. There is always a danger in creating small areas artificially and in any event such divisions do not make any vital difference till the major issue is solved. The Adibasis are of course welcome to the Congress if they agree to its creed and objective and its fundamental policy. It is open to them to advance any proposal in the Congress or outside. But you will appreciate that it would be improper for the Congress to bargain for admission of any individual or group to its faith. As it is, the Congress has numerous groups which hold different views but which work together for the independence of the Indian people as a whole.

I do not know anything at all about the promulgation of Section 144 at Ramgarh. In fact I learnt about this for the first time from your letter. I am sure that Congressmen cannot approve of any such action.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. India, Burma and Ceylon[1]

The central political issue dominated everything else at Ramgarh, as it was bound to do. Yet we must take heed of other developments, not

1. Editorial for the *National Herald*, 25 March 1940.

only because of their intrinsic importance but also because they are parts of the larger problem.

The vast sea of humanity, that gathered at Ramgarh, contained people from all parts of this vast country. Among them also were representatives from our sister countries of Burma and Ceylon. This was no new feature in our Congress sessions and yet there was great significance to it at this time of the day. It was a pity that owing to the rain and the consequent disarrangement of normal working, the visit of Burmese and Ceylonese fraternal delegates did not receive the attention that it deserved. They came not merely as curious sight-seers, but as persons grappling with similar problems and trying to find a remedy in joint action.

We are glad to notice that these delegates have taken this visit of theirs seriously and are touring various parts of India and meeting important people. We extend our greeting and welcome to them, our younger brothers, and we earnestly trust that their visit will prove fruitful of cooperation between the peoples of Burma, Ceylon and India. There has been enough of conflict in Burma and Ceylon between our various peoples; there has been enough of bad blood raised by interested parties. But we have always known that below this superficial conflict, there lay the solid roots of mutual interest and cooperation. These roots, which go down into our past history of many a thousand year, cannot be torn out from our hearts and minds, and again we shall see rich flowering in the spring of Asia that is coming to brighten our lives afresh.

The people of Ceylon are our own people, tied to us by race, tradition, language and culture. Economically it is exceedingly difficult to separate them, and why should we separate when it is to our mutual advantage to pull together?

The people of Burma have always formed a golden link between the two mighty countries of India and China. Rightly has this land of Burma been called *Suvarna Bhumi*, the Golden Land. Today, India and China grow closer to each other and it is but natural that their comradeship should embrace the people of Burma also.

We welcome particularly the representatives from Burma of the Dobama Asiayone, the Burmese National League, which is essentially an organisation of the youth of the country and which includes in its fold all the people in that country including Indians, Muslims, Chinese and others. This organisation is full of the vitality of youth and its future in Burma is assured. It looks at Burmese problems in the wider international setting.

There is talk today in Europe of a United States of Europe. We have welcomed all proposals towards a closer union of the free countries of the world, and we gladly associate ourselves with such a union which must be based on freedom for all. But danger lurks in an association of European nations, for this might mean the exploitation of Asia and Africa by the countries of Europe. In any event the time has come when the countries of Asia should look to each other for their protection and common advancement, not for any aggressive design on the rest of the world but to cooperate with others for human good. India is peculiarly and happily situated to be the centre and nucleus of this Asiatic cooperation. It has been for ages past the meeting ground of the two great cultures of Eastern Asia and Western Asia. These two have influenced Indian culture and have been influenced by it. So let us work for this closer drawing together of the countries of Asia, of India, China and Burma and Ceylon and Persia and Afghanistan and Iraq and Palestine and Arabia, as well as the other countries of this great continent.

6. To H.M. Desai[1]

Allahabad
March 26, 1940

My dear Desai,
Dharam Yash Dev has shown me your letter of the 11th March. I am sorry that owing to an office error invitations were not issued to the Ceylon Indian Congress for Ramgarh. I am of course not personally responsible for this unfortunate error as I am not connected with the work in the office. Nevertheless please convey my apologies to our friends of the Ceylon Indian Congress.

Ordinarily invitations are issued to a large number of foreign organizations through our Foreign Department. The mistake probably arose from the separation of the Indians Overseas Department from the Foreign Department of the Congress.

You need not be afraid that the representatives of the Ceylon National Congress will misrepresent facts regarding the position of Indians in Ceylon. The question of Indians in Ceylon has not even been discussed by them or by us with them. If any such discussion was to take place, it could only be done profitably if your representatives were present

1. A.I.C.C. File No. FD-13/1940, N.M.M.L.

also. Jayewardene[2] and Amaratunga are staying with me here today. We have discussed many subjects, but not even referred to the Indian question in Ceylon. I think that such visits do good. People who come from Ceylon or from Burma to India get a much wider viewpoint and come into contact with the new forces that are agitating India. They begin to see to some extent their own problems in a proper perspective.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Junius Richard Jayewardene (b. 1906); lawyer and politician of Sri Lanka; held several cabinet posts intermittently from 1947 to 1960; secretary, Ceylon National Congress, 1940-47; Vice-President, United National Party, 1953; leader of the opposition, 1970-77; Prime Minister, 1977.

6. To H.M. Desai[1]

Allahabad
April 9, 1940

My dear Desai,

Your letter of the 1st April. I am glad to learn that the Ceylon Indian Congress has got a membership of 60,000. I can appreciate the difficulties which arise when a special workers' organisation is started. It is not easy to prevent such an organisation from being formed. Labour problems are very special problems which a national organisation cannot always take up in the same way. Thus the Indian National Congress, though interested in Indian labour, cannot object to the formation of trade unions. In fact it encourages them, provided they are started on right lines. In the same way I do not see how you can prevent a workers' federation. I do not like, however, any workers' union to be racial. Any workers' union should be open to all workers in that industry, whether Indian or non-Indian. It may be that in practice the membership is dominantly or exclusively Indian. Still, it is improper to confine it to Indians. It will be much better to call it a tea estates' workers' union or some such name.

1. A.I.C.C. File No. FD-13/1940, N.M.M.L.

In any event, great care should be taken to avoid any conflict between the labour federation and the Ceylon Indian Congress.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To H.M. Desai[1]

Bombay
April 20, 1940

My dear Desai,
Dharam Yash Dev has sent me extracts from your letter to him and the cutting from the *Ceylon Observer*. I have read the interview given by Mr. Jayewardene. It is true that in parts of this interview he has emphasised some matters which will give a wrong impression. But it is not possible to contradict anything that he has said. First of all because no names are mentioned and one cannot contradict what an unknown person might have said. Secondly because it refers to "those Indians in Ceylon who impede our political progress." The words do not refer to all Indians and no one can say that there is not a single Indian in Ceylon who has not impeded Ceylon's political progress.

Again when it is said that false news is sent to India, it is impossible to check the statement or deny it except in a particular context.

It is obvious that Mr. Jayewardene has indirectly tried to lay the blame on Indians in Ceylon. But his interview as a whole is a friendly one and shows how impressed he was with his visit to India. I do not see how you can just issue a denial of the statement because nobody denies qualified statements. If you choose, however, you can issue a statement expressing your satisfaction at the visit of Mr. Jayewardene and others to India where they could see for themselves the background and the ideals of the Indian national movement which were entirely friendly to Ceylon and against all exploitation in India or elsewhere. At the same time you may express your regret that he has indirectly tried to lay the blame on Indians in Ceylon. There may be some Indians in Ceylon who might not have behaved correctly just as many Ceylonese have not behaved correctly, but it is unjust to make general remarks of this kind without specifying them or substantiating them. Indians,

1. A.I.C.C. File No. FD-13/1940, N.M.M.L.

whether in India or Ceylon, were all against exploitation of anyone and certainly they did not want to impede Ceylon's political progress. As for news sent out to India, if Mr. Jayewardene will point out any false news sent by responsible Indians you will be grateful to him. You do not put these questions to Mr. Jayewardene with a view to have a controversy but to remove misapprehension.

Some such approach seems to me the right one. I have no doubt whatever that Jayewardene's visit to India has been a good thing from the point of view of relations between India and Ceylon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

Bombay
April 21, 1940

My dear Maulana,
You will remember your discussing with me the question of someone going on our behalf to America. No suitable person could be thought of at the time and in view of the developing political situation here, it is even more difficult now to think of sending any prominent person.

At the same time it seems to me very necessary to do something about America, not just a propaganda tour delivering speeches, etc., but someone with sense who could meet our many friends in America and make arrangements for future work on an efficient basis. America is full of goodwill for us and I have many friends there among Americans who write to me repeatedly that something should be done. Unfortunately the Indians in America are a very unsatisfactory lot. They shout a lot and do no good work. Often they do injury to our cause. We cannot rely upon any single one.

My own view is that we should not have any formal or official representation in America, but at the same time we might have close unofficial contacts with some group who could work efficiently and responsibly. Something of the kind we have had in London through the India League, which does not represent us in any way or commit us and

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

yet which does good work for us. Whether this is possible or not in America, I do not know. But an effort should be made.

As it is not possible to send anyone from here, I have been thinking of some suitable person going from England to America for this purpose. This is much more feasible and would not cost much. The only such person I can think of in England is Krishna Menon who might go for a month or two to America. Even if he went, I should like him to do so not as our formal representative but unofficially, though with our goodwill.

I had not mentioned this at all to Krishna Menon, but he has been thinking on the same lines and he has written to me independently that he was considering the prospect of going to America. His chief difficulty is one of funds and he has asked me whether it would be possible for some private arrangement to be made for a hundred pounds. He realises that it would not be fitting for him to commit the Congress in any way or to have any official authorisation. All he would like is a letter of goodwill from you which would contain briefly a reference to our present Congress position and to our desire to have international contacts with men of goodwill.

Personally, I think that it would be a very good thing for Krishna Menon to go to America. The position in England is such that little good work can be done at present. In America many of our people have made themselves thoroughly objectionable and decent Americans, who are our friends, do not want to have anything to do with them. It is essential that any work on our behalf should not get tied up with particular parties or groups abroad. Krishna Menon's visit will be good in itself and will lay the foundation for future work.

I do not know what can be done in this respect by you or whether you approve of my suggestion or not. You will remember that sometime in December or January, the Working Committee sanctioned £200/- to be sent to Krishna Menon to cover the cost of cables and other expenditure incurred more or less on our behalf. It was then thought that further financial help might be sent to him two or three months later if necessary. Those three months have expired and in view of the developing political situation, it seems to me essential that we should make some further provision for further work there. We may not have a chance to do this later. I would have liked, therefore, for a further sum of £200/- to be sent to him on the same conditions as before. This sum may be utilised at his discretion for work in England or, if he so chooses, for a visit to America or for both. Having regard to the magnitude of the work both in England and America, this sum is a very small one. If, however, the sum is considered too

much then we should send less at present. I would suggest that at least £100/– be sent to him as soon as possible. Apart from this, I shall personally try to contribute something to this end.

I shall be grateful to you if you could let me have your opinion as early as possible. Events are developing rapidly and it may become too late to take any such action after some time. I would also request you, if you agree, to send a letter to Krishna Menon expressing your goodwill at the prospect of his visiting America and hoping that he will explain the Congress viewpoint to our friends there. You might add that all we desire is that the world should be correctly and truly informed of the facts in India and of what we stand for. It would be good if you would add a note as to the present Congress position in India. You could send this letter and note to Krishna Menon directly or through me. It would be preferable to do both to avoid your letter going astray. Krishna Menon's address: V.K. Krishna Menon, C/o India League, 165, Strand, London, W.C. 2.

As you know, I expect to be here for another two weeks or more.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To N.S. Hardikar[1]

Andheri
April 24, 1940

My dear Hardikar,
Your letter of the 22nd. I shall gladly see you whenever you come here. I expect to be round about Bombay till about the 10th of May. I am fully occupied with the Planning Committee's work and have in fact a few odd engagements in Bombay. I am at present living in Andheri in order to work without interruption. Whenever you can come to Bombay during this period, I shall gladly fix up a meeting.

As you might have seen in the papers, Ranjit Pandit has been asked by the Working Committee to enquire into and report about the present state of volunteer organisations within the Congress. He is undertaking a brief tour and will probably go to the Karnataka soon for a day or two. I hope you will meet him and have a talk with him. You will please give him all the available literature on the subject as

1. N.S. Hardikar Papers, N.M.M.L.

well as a personal note by you containing your suggestions. In particular given him information about the old Seva Dal people and what they are doing now.

There is no reason to be excited about the Muslim League Conference at Hubli.[2] It is no good taking these things lying down. There has been enough of that. At the same time one must proceed with discretion. I do not know whether Congress Muslims have any strength in Hubli or the Karnataka. It is their business to work hard to explain the Congress viewpoint among Muslims. Within the next few days an Independent Muslim Conference is going to be held in Delhi.[3] I do not know how successful this will be and whether its decisions will be good or not so good. If the resolutions are the right ones, the fullest publicity should be given to them among the Muslim masses.

As for your political conference, I am afraid it is quite out of the question for me to preside over or even to attend it. I do not attend conferences nowadays. I have neither the time nor the inclination to do so. I am fully occupied with other work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. The Bombay Muslim League Conference was held on 24 May 1940 at Hubli under the presidency of the Raja of Mahmudabad.
3. This was held from 27 to 30 April 1940. Khan Bahadur Allah Baksh presided.

10. Rally Round the Congress[1]

The Pakistan scheme is a foolish scheme which will not even last twenty-four hours. It is highly anti-national and pro-imperialistic to which no freedom-loving man could agree.

The All-India Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha are both communal organisations and have no social basis in the masses, but have reactionary and semi-feudal supporters in the princes and landlords. These organizations can never represent the masses and fight for the independence of the country. The Congress, which has a social basis in the masses, insists on the demand for a constituent assembly on behalf

1. Speech at Poona, 28 April 1940. From *The Hindustan Times*, 30 April 1940.

of the people. The first fundamental of this demand is that the decision of a constituent assembly should be regarded as final and the British Government must accept it as the demand of the whole country.

Secondly, the representatives to the constituent assembly must be elected by the masses. Unless these principles of self-determination and democracy are accepted, India can never be satisfied.

The charkha, which is full of potentialities, has a great part to play in the freedom of India, though some sections of the people think otherwise.

The Congress will fight for these demands and I appeal to you to support the Congress in this fight.

11. To V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Bombay
6 May 1940

My dear Krishna,
Your letter of the 24th April has just come. I have not been able to write to you for some time. This Planning Committee business is exhausting me completely and the other members are also drooping away. We spend six to seven hours daily in session and this is hard work. Then I have to make all manner of drafts and discuss matters with individuals. I have hardly time left to read my letters.

I want to tell you that Maulana Azad approved of your going to America and he said that he would try to get the A.I.C.C. office to send you a hundred pounds. I understand that this money has been sent to you. This is not particularly for your American visit but in continuation of the last remittance to you. You may of course utilise this for your visit.

About the other matter that you write, I have no time now to say much. But I should not worry about these odd statements in the press about what Gandhiji has said.[2] Journalists are too apt to exaggerate and put on interpretations. The position remains as it was.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1 J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Krishna Menon had sent a press cutting in which it was reported: "Mr. Gandhi favours the immediate appointment of a joint committee representing the best elements of Britain and India to devise a formula acceptable to both countries. He seems confident of its success provided that a determination to reach a settlement exists on the British side."

12. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

Bombay
May 11, 1940

My dear Maulana,
Thank you for your telegram and your letter of the 9th. It was my intention to go to the Frontier Province towards the end of this month as I stated at the time of the Working Committee meeting. But if you intend holding the Working Committee meeting early in June, I cannot go to the Frontier in this month.

Achyut Patwardhan's[2] address is Ahmednagar. That I think is enough. I am writing to him that you wish to appoint him a member of the Working Committee and that he should write to you directly. If you consider it necessary, you might write to him directly. I am afraid I can suggest no name for the Committee.

I am thinking of going to Wardha for a day on the 15th on my way back to Allahabad and Lucknow. In view of international developments I should like to have a talk with Gandhiji. After that I shall be busy with our provincial Congress meetings and at Allahabad. I have been away for so long that a great deal of work has accumulated.

I am afraid I cannot come to Naini Tal as I have too much work to do which I cannot do there. Apart from this, I dislike greatly going to these hill stations like Naini Tal or Mussoorie. These places do not suit me at all and the crowds of people who are there do not fit in with my temperament. At this time of great world crisis it would specially produce a feeling of tension in my mind if I went to a hill station.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. (b. 1905); leader of the Congress Socialist Party; joined the civil disobedience movement in 1932 and was imprisoned several times; member, Working Committee, 1936; participated in the 'Quit India' movement and was underground, 1942-46; retired from politics in 1950.

14. The Problem of the North West Frontier[1]

It is a matter of profound sorrow that people entertain fears of intensification of forays and inroads into the settled districts from their own neighbours in the event of a further deterioration in the international situation. Never has this problem been approached correctly although it has engaged the attention of the British Government for a long time.

The Congress approach to the problem is different from the government's.[2] Although it is not prepared to tolerate depredations directed against India and Indian subjects, it is always ready to extend its hand of friendship and sincerely try to investigate the real difficulties besetting the tribes.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan has so often expressed his desire to proceed to the tribal areas and work among those people for the purpose of reforming them, but how can the government brook this insult that a task which the full military strength has apparently failed to achieve should be successfully performed by the Congress.

The Frontier Provincial Congress Committee applied to the government for permission to send a deputation to Waziristan but nothing has come of it as yet. Just as there need be no panic in India on account of the bogey of a foreign invasion of the country, similarly there need be no uneasiness on this account as there is no reason why the Congress, when the time comes, should not be able to find a satisfactory solution of the problem.

1. Speech at Namak Mandi, Peshawar, 28 May 1940. From *The Hindustan Times*, 29 May 1940.
2. The British Government's policy towards the North West Frontier sought to maintain full control over the tribes by establishing large cantonments and at the same time professed to work for the economic betterment of the tribes. The Congress tried to reach friendly agreements.

15. Message to the Frontier[1]

A visit to the Frontier is always an exhilarating experience. This brief visit of mine filled me with confidence for the future of the Frontier

1. Peshawar, 28 May 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 29 May 1940.

and of a free united India. I wish the people of the Frontier well. I hope that the next Congress will be held here and show the rest of India the homeland of a brave and gallant people who have done so much in the cause of India's freedom.

16. An Appeal to the People of the Frontier Province[1]

I have come to consult the Fakhr-e-Afghan[2] and other colleagues when the country is faced with a great revolution which might have far-reaching consequences. How are we to meet the coming events and save the country from internal chaos, civil strife and loot that may possibly follow during the period of transition after the fall of a tottering imperialism?

Every Indian must devote his attention to this supreme problem and not keep his eyes shut against dangers. Of course, panic will not help. Rather it will be a standing invitation to peril. Therefore, I advise you not to lose your nerve but prepare yourself for facing every emergency. It has been suggested to me that tribesmen may swoop down upon the country or dacoits hold the field during such a crisis. While all such possibilities may present themselves, I am of opinion that a solution has to be found.

I appeal to you to cooperate with Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and supply him with selfless workers. In him the Frontier is fortunate to have a great leader. He is a dynamic personality in India and behind him is a great organisation of faithful soldiers, the Khudai Khidmatgars. You should send your names to Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and volunteer for preserving safety and avoiding possible internal strife, chaos and loot during the coming changes. It will be to our pride and glory to guarantee safety to every English child, woman and man in India during such perilous times.

The English and the French are brave people; they are fighting Hitler with all their might and resources. They may win; nobody can predict the outcome of the war, but even if Hitler wins, his triumph will be short-lived for there are great powers who will not tolerate Hitler dominating the world.

1. Speech at Abbottabad, 30 May 1940. From *The Hindustan Times*, 31 May 1940.
2. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

If Hitler or any other invader attacks us, we Indians would fight to the death; we would rather perish in the struggle than submit to his will, even as we have fought British imperialism bravely. For we do not want ourselves to be offered as a present from one imperialism to another.

17. No Return to Office[1]

To imagine that the Congress will go back to provincial ministries in order to cooperate in the war effort is to delude oneself. We stand for the independence of India. We have to think and act in terms of a new order that is coming and to prepare India to assume the command of her house. There may be trouble and difficulty in the transition stage. We should face it like men and take what is ours without the permission of others who have too long usurped it.

1. Allahabad, 15 June 1940. From *The Hindustan Times*, 16 June 1940.

18. The Khaksars[1]

I referred to the great excitement prevailing in Lahore City and advised the people not to be panicky at the close of a long speech[2] dealing with the political situation.[3] The situation was no doubt serious in India and all over the world, and we were living in the midst of vast changes, but it was no use getting excited about it.

In regard to the Khaksars, I said that I could not pass any opinion about the recent events in Lahore, as I did not know enough about

1. Statement to the press, 18 June 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 19 June 1940.
2. Not printed.
3. On 22 February 1940, the Punjab Government had imposed restrictions on the formation of volunteer bodies as they were thought to be organizing themselves into private armies. The Khaksars started a campaign defying the government order and held demonstrations. On 11 June 1940, the Government of Punjab declared the walled city of Lahore to be "in a disturbed and dangerous state" and increased the number of police.

them, but I had long noticed and deplored that the leaders of the Khaksars had introduced fascist methods and encouraged violence. This was injurious to the country. It was curious that in moments of crisis, this leadership disappeared and left the rank and file to shift for themselves. I expressed my opinion that there must be large numbers of people among the Khaksars who had been misled by this leadership and who were themselves hardly responsible for its vagaries. The charge that the leaders were a kind of fifth column may be true if there was evidence to that effect, but I doubted if the rank and file could have knowledge of this.

I referred to the long five-column statement issued by the Punjab Government, in which it was stated that those who do not actively support the war effort will be presumed to belong to this fifth column.[4] This argument struck me as remarkable. It could not be made to apply to every Congressman who followed the Congress policy of noncooperation with regard to the war.

4. On 11 June 1940, Sikandar Hayat Khan had said: "There are forces in the province and elsewhere waiting for a suitable opportunity to create disruption and disorder... It is hardly necessary to emphasise that any organisation engaged in undermining law and order and creating unrest is guilty of directly helping the enemy."

19. To Mrs. Rallia Ram[1]

Allahabad
July 11, 1940

Dear Mrs. Rallia Ram,
Thank you for your letter[2] of the 8th July. I fully appreciate what you say. All I can suggest is that you should keep in touch with the Punjab P.C.C. and see what can be done through them. We are likely to have a difficult time in India but it is no good losing our nerve about it. We shall stick it out.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. A.I.C.C. File No. P–16 Part I/1940-41, p. 395, N.M.M.L.
2. She had asked Jawaharlal to do something about the existing state of communal disharmony in the Punjab.

20. To J.B. Kripalani[1]

Allahabad
July 11, 1940

My dear Jivat,
The Minorities Department of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee has decided to issue fortnightly, in English, a review of the Urdu press. The first such review has just come out and I am having it sent to you. This is the first attempt and it is hoped that subsequent issues will be fuller and more detailed. It seems to me that this enterprise of the U.P.P.C.C. is worth while. Indeed the A.I.C.C. office might well take it up. For a long time past most of us have been living in complete ignorance of what the Urdu press contains. The most astounding lies and misrepresentations are repeated from day to day and there is not even an attempt on our part to contradict them. This press review will help at any rate to keep us informed of what is being said in the Urdu press. Because there is no proper reply or contradiction to these, it is inevitable that the Muslim masses should believe in these. You will notice even in the brief review sent how Congress speeches and statements have been completely twisted and misrepresented.

The next step after issuing this kind of review is to seek to correct these misapprehensions by letters or articles in the Urdu press. Part of the Urdu press will gladly accept anything that we send. So far there is no machinery to send it, but the U.P. Committee is prepared to help in every way in this matter.

Thirdly it is necessary to issue some small pamphlets frequently which can be widely sold or distributed among Urdu-knowing people. There is a definite field for them. At the present moment there is a mass of such literature from the Muslim League side. On our side there is next to nothing.

We discuss the Hindu-Muslim question frequently but so far we have taken no steps even to approach the Muslim mind through the press, pamphlets, etc. It is true that a great part of that mind is prejudiced against the Congress and is not likely to listen to us with any confidence. Nevertheless, there are vast masses who want to know and understand and who would gladly welcome any such approach by us.

1. A.I.C.C. File No. G-2/1940, N.M.M.L.

If you would care to make any suggestions in regard to the Urdu press review, we shall gladly welcome them.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

21. To Mahatma Gandhi[1]

Lucknow
July 17, 1940

My dear Bapu,
I have just received your post card.[2] A great deal can be done on the lines you suggest and, as it happens, we have quite competent men to do it. Unfortunately we have not got enough money for any such work on a big enough scale.

As a matter of fact we have had a Urdu weekly for the last two years. This was not officially started by the Congress but it was sponsored by leading Congressmen in this province. It is called *Hindustan*. I think it is far the best Urdu weekly in India, so far as literary and political contents are concerned. But, as it so often happens, the managerial side was hopelessly incompetent and, in spite of all efforts, the weekly has become an increasing burden. Because of the rise of the cost of paper due to the war, it has become almost impossible to carry it on. Very probably the last issue will come out this week. That will be a pity.

A weekly does not cost very much and it could do a lot of good but the finances must be forthcoming. With a weekly like the one you have mentioned and a number of pamphlets in simple Urdu, I am quite sure that we would create a marked impression on the Muslims. They are just in the mood to understand and the feeling against the leadership of the Muslim League is growing. In the U.P., in spite of everything we have always had some Muslim backing and good Muslim workers. In Delhi the anti-Muslim League sentiment is strong.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Mahatma Gandhi had suggested that a Urdu weekly be started to give dispassionate replies to the allegations of the Muslim League.



AT U.P. CONGRESS VOLUNTEERS CAMP, ALLAHABAD, APRIL 1940



WITH AMRITA SHER GILL

22. To J.R. Jayewardene[1]

Bombay
August 1, 1940

Dear Mr. Jayewardene,
Your letter of the 20th July unfortunately missed me in Allahabad and had to follow me to Poona, where I received it only two or three days ago. The handbook and pamphlets that you sent me reached me and I was grateful for them. I read them with interest. The photographs have not reached me yet, but they might be awaiting my return in Allahabad.

I entirely agree with you that the pace of events in the world is very rapid and is likely to lead to big consequences in India and Ceylon. Indeed for the last two or three months we have given the most earnest attention to not only the present situation but the possible developments in the near future. This has led us to a consideration of certain basic matters which did not arise merely in our struggle for freedom. To some extent there has been a re-orientation of our policy, though this does not affect the present. This has resulted in Gandhiji dissociating himself, to some extent, with certain policies of the Congress.[2] This does not mean of course that there is any separation between the Indian National Congress and Gandhiji. But it does mean that he is not prepared to take the responsibility for the decisions of the Indian National Congress and to that extent he wants a free hand.

What the immediate future will bring, no one can say. But it is clear that the present position cannot continue. Personally, I am quite convinced that whatever the result of the war may be, the British Empire cannot survive it, nor can such spread-out empires exist in the future. It is too much to hope that a real world federation of free nations will emerge out of this terrible conflict. But one must presume that the day of small nations is past and only large federations or compact empire states will survive. India is a big enough country, with sufficient potential resources in men, material and ability, to stand by itself even in such a world. But it will take some years to arrive at that stage, and in any event I see no reason why India should not join a larger federation if that is conducive to her own good as well as the advancement of the world. I do not see India remaining part of a fundamentally British federation, though it is conceivable that we might

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. See *ante*, section 1, item 50.

be members of a federation which includes Britain as well as non-British countries. In the event of the defeat of Britain in the war, it is exceedingly unlikely that any British federation will emerge. What might then happen is some federation with its centre in America.

Personally, I should like India to be closely associated in a future order with China, Burma and Ceylon as well as other countries which fit in. Our relations with China have become very close during the last year or two, and I am sure that the leaders of China look upon this possibility with favour.

Ceylon is too small a political and economic unit to stand by itself in the future world. I quite agree with you that there might be danger ahead for Ceylon under these circumstances. It will, therefore, be highly desirable to discuss the future relations of India and Ceylon, so that our minds may be clear and we should know what we are aiming at. Your proposal, therefore, is a welcome one.[3]

I have today discussed this matter with our Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, and he told me to convey to you that he welcomed the idea very much and he and his colleagues would gladly meet a deputation from the Ceylon National Congress to discuss this matter. It is a little difficult to fix any definite date for this at present. It would not be desirable to delay such a discussion too much. At the same time the present situation is so complex and many new developments are so likely to take place within the next few weeks, that the future is uncertain. Still, provisionally, some time in the latter half of September or early in October might be suitable.

If Gandhiji's presence is necessary, and we think that his presence is certainly desirable, we shall have to meet at Wardha.

If you let me know the dates that suit you we shall keep them in mind.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. He had suggested that representatives of the Ceylon National Congress should come to India and meet Congress leaders including Mahatma Gandhi.

23. To the Secretary, Karnataka P.C.C.[1]

Allahabad
August 4th, 1940

Dear Comrade,

I have your letter[2] of the 31st July enclosing a letter from Coorg D.C.C. Your reference should really be made to the President of the Congress or the General Secretary. I presume you have written to them. I shall however give you my own opinion. It seems to me clear that in any public institution whether it is a municipal or a district board or a cooperative or a bank, if Congress members are in a clear majority, they should not contribute to a war fund, that is donations, nor should they utilize their machinery to collect such donations. In regard to war loans however the position is somewhat different. Such institutions have usually to invest their money in certain gilt-edged and approved securities which are usually government loans. War loans may be treated as such government loans and where there is a desire to invest money they need not be affected. That is a matter for the directors to decide as to which investment is more desirable from the point of view of the share-holders. In any event I do not see why any cooperative or bank should give a donation for war purposes. In regard to your staff it should be clear that no pressure should be exercised upon them by the union president or others. If they as individuals choose to act in a particular way they are free to do so but not under pressure.

If there is any question of conflict with the government on this issue that conflict must be willingly faced. No government can order a contribution to a voluntary fund from any individual or organisation. There is no direct conflict in this with the Defence of India Act. But if indirectly it is said to cause a conflict there should be no hesitation in adhering to the position which is in conformity with Congress decisions.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1 A.I.C.C. File No. P–10/1940-42, p. 204, N.M.M.L.

2 He had written asking for clarification as to what the attitude of Congressmen toward war-fund collections should be, as individuals and as members of an institution.

24. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

August 4, 1940

My dear Maulana,
I have just returned from Bombay. I find in today's paper a statement that the Working Committee might meet towards the end of August or early in September. I hope the meeting will take place about the 26th as previously suggested. As I told you, we have tried to fit in the Planning Committee's meeting with this date and have fixed it for the 30th August. This session of the Planning Committee is likely to last from the 30th August to the 8th September. I do hope that the Working Committee meeting will not conflict with these dates.

Ranjit Pandit has gone to the Frontier Province this morning in connection with volunteering. The situation in the Frontier, from reports received by me, is a difficult one and has to be handled very carefully. Abdul Ghaffar Khan's resignation from the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. has naturally created a great deal of consternation in people's minds and confusion prevails as to where everybody is. The average Pathan does not understand the finer points of politics. He sees that Badshah Khan has resigned from various Congress committees and he thinks there must be something wrong somewhere. This applies to Khudai Khidmatgars especially.

There is likely to be trouble on the border. In fact there has been trouble. It appears that the Faqir of Ipi[2] wants to assume the offensive on a biggish scale. We have heard about this Faqir of Ipi for a long time and curiously enough no one that I came across knows much about him. Not even Khan Sahib. He needs a great deal of watching.

Under the circumstances, I think it will be definitely better for you to invite Dr. Khan Sahib to join the Working Committee, of course through Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Not to do so may lead to further complications.

According to your advice I have written to Ceylon people welcoming their suggestion. I think this matter might be placed before the Working Committee at their next meeting.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Haji Mirza Ali Khan, the Faqir of Ipi, conducted a determined offensive against the British in Waziristan in 1936-38. Repeated British military raids failed to break his resistance.

25. To Mohammed Yunus[1]

Allahabad
August 6, 1940

My dear Yunus,
I have your letter of the 31st July from Srinagar. I received your previous letter also. I suppose you have gone back to Peshawar now and have met Ranjit.

I can quite understand that the proceedings of the A.I.C.C. were confusing. The whole situation is very confusing, not only in India but all over the world. Added to this Mahatmaji's articles have produced even more confusion.[2] The fact is that we are all going through a tremendous period of change and it is very difficult to adjust to these changes. I think that the situation is developing very rapidly and that within the next few weeks, here in India at least, there will be some clarity of action. We must not therefore bother too much about intellectual arguments but prepare for this inevitable step. In fact all that has happened in the past few weeks here is essentially a preparation in a way. If other steps had been taken there was fear of all manner of internal disputes in the Congress. We have tried to avoid that.

Badshah Khan's statements were right in so far as he was concerned. But I wish he had not resigned in a hurry because in any event we have to face conflict and we shall of course face it all together.

The new Ordinance of the Government of India applying to volunteers is a very important and aggressive step which will bring matters to a head very soon.[3] It will affect the Khudai Khidmatgars and we shall have to think carefully what we should do. There are many Congress volunteers' camps going on in the U.P. at present. I have advised them to go on exactly as before except that for a few days they need not take out processions in the cities. Next Sunday I am going to Cawnpore for a big volunteers' rally. This too will take place as arranged so far as

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. On 21 July 1940, Mahatma Gandhi wrote: "Now that I am no longer in the Congress, I may not offer civil disobedience even in my own person in its name, but I am certainly free to offer civil disobedience in my individual capacity whenever it may be necessary. No one need suppose that all civil disobedience will necessarily be taboo while the country is still being educated in ahimsa of the strong." On 4 August he wrote: "If the Congress is goaded to it the science of satyagraha is not without a mode of application in spite of the internal weaknesses."
3. See *ante*, section 1, item 54.

we are concerned. We cannot possibly submit to a break-up of our volunteer organisation because of the government's action. I have no doubt that the Congress Working Committee will issue directions about this. But for the next few days we shall watch developments, meanwhile carrying on our work.

Badshah Khan will be thinking of what steps he should take in regard to the Khudai Khidmatgars. If I may suggest, he should carry on quietly as before and there should be no change in the work of the Khudai Khidmatgars. There need not be for the present any big aggressive demonstrations, but other work should not suffer in any way. What is more important is that Badshah Khan should explain the situation to his colleagues and lieutenants of the Khudai Khidmatgars and tell them that the conflict is impending all over India. We must be ready for it and must all pull together.

Under these circumstances you should certainly remain with Badshah Khan. I am glad you have profited by your stay in Kashmir. You might show this letter to Badshah Khan and to Ranjit.

With love,

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

26. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

Allahabad
August 7, 1940

My dear Maulana,
I have just received your letter of the 5th.

About the sugar industry, I wrote to Rajendra Babu fully on the subject giving my views only a few days ago.[2] But, as you say, after the action the government has taken, we need not take any further steps just now.

I wrote to you yesterday about the new government order regarding volunteering. It was not my desire to issue a statement on the subject but there is so much confusion and so many people come to me about it that I am issuing the enclosed statement.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. See *post*, section 5, item 5.

You will be welcome in Allahabad whenever you come. My programme is: 11th Cawnpore, 14th Lucknow, and possibly the 15th, 16th Benares. I hope to be back in Allahabad on the 17th and to stay on here till the meeting of the Working Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

27. To J.R. Jayewardene[1]

Wardha
August 24, 1940

Dear Mr. Jayewardene,

Thank you for your letter of the 15th August[2] which I have shown to our President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. We shall be glad to meet the deputation from the Ceylon National Congress whenever it comes here. I agree with you entirely that our discussions should not be restricted to any particular issues but should cover future relations between India and Ceylon.

If you have been following developments in India, you will no doubt notice that the situation here is undergoing a complete change and the crisis that I hinted at in my last letter has arrived. This makes it very difficult for us to say definitely when and where we can meet you. It may be that long before November we shall not be in a position to meet you, or rather, that we shall be incapacitated from doing so. But apart from this uncertainty about the future, we shall look forward to meeting you early in November. Gandhiji will be pleased to meet your deputation.

The developing world situation makes it incumbent on all of us to look ahead and to think of the future. Whatever this future may be, it is certain that it will be very different from the past and the present.

About the exact position of the Communist Party in the Indian Congress not much can be said. The Communist Party is not a legal party

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. He had written to say that a deputation from Sri Lanka would visit India in November 1940.

in India. For many years the Government of India has banned it.[3] Nevertheless many individual Communists exist and proclaim their faith in communism. They describe themselves openly as Communists. There are a fair number of others who, though not official Communists, are near Communists. Between the Communist and Socialist Parties here, there has been almost continuous conflict. For some time the Communists were members of the Congress Socialist Party but later many of them left it.[4] Since the war began many of the well-known Communists have been arrested under the Defence of India Act and interned.

So far as the Congress is concerned, it has no rule banning any organisation or individual except one preventing members of communal organisations with objectives opposed to that of the Congress. All other persons can join the Congress if they accept its objective and methods. Of course they are supposed to remain within the general discipline of the Congress. If Communists wish to join the Congress, they are perfectly at liberty to do so and, indeed, many have joined it in the past. Some of these have been important office-bearers in different provinces or districts. There has often been some trouble in local committees with Communist members and strictly speaking they have not always kept within the Congress discipline. But no disciplinary action has been taken against them except in very rare instances. This was partly due to the fact that they are often good and earnest workers and partly because the British Government here is persecuting them so much.

It is not easy to write briefly about the recent differences of opinion between Gandhiji and the Working Committee. These differences are largely based on the theory and application of nonviolence. They have been exaggerated somewhat in the press and it is quite likely that they will not affect materially any action that the Congress might take. There is no question of Gandhiji doing anything hostile to the Congress or of forming a different organisation. All that he intended doing at one time was to invite those who fully believed in nonviolence, even for a future state, to get into touch with him so that he might take some action through them. Such action would of course not have been against the Congress in any way. It is quite possible, and indeed

3. In July 1934, the Communist Party of India and its branches were declared unlawful.
4. Since 1936 the Communists had been working in collaboration with the Congress Socialist Party. However, the relationship was not cordial and in March 1940 the Congress Socialist Party resolved to expel the Communists from its ranks.

probable, that by the time you come here all these problems will be of the past.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

28. To J.B. Kripalani[1]

Bombay
28.8.40

My dear Jivat,
I hope you have addressed all P.C.C.s drawing their attention to W.C. resolutions asking for public meetings to be held to explain the Congress position. This has to be emphasised and it has to be further made clear that this should be done before the A.I.C.C. meeting. Afterwards it may be too late (though this of course need not be mentioned).

Bombay city is behaving very badly. I mean the P.C.C. here, not the public. They are sitting tight and doing nothing. Vallabhbhai is also put out by this but he is going away to Gujarat. I suggest that you might write separately to the President and Secretary of the Bombay P.C.C. calling upon them to give effect to the W.C. resolution and hold meetings immediately. Just one show meeting is not enough. Everyone should have one or more meetings.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. Maharashtra Government Records, File No. 3590/H/II-2.

29. Cable to the President, Indian Congress, Durban[1]

Bombay
29.8.40

Your cable received late. Indians cannot accept any position regarding racial inferiority and segregation. You must demand full citizenship rights.

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

30. To Lal Bahadur Shastri[1]

September 10, 1940

My dear Lal Bahadur,
I hope you have communicated the M.N. Roy resolution[2] both to Roy and the A.I.C.C. office. It is not enough to just send the resolution to Roy. It should be pointed out to him that the resolution itself is explicit. The main charge is that Roy has carried on persistent propaganda in public against the Ramgarh Congress decision. He has full freedom to criticise Congress decisions in the A.I.C.C. itself but it is quite another matter to carry on intensive propaganda outside on lines which are entirely contrary to the Congress directions. In particular the fixing of an All India Day[3] appears to be objectionable. No one objects to an anti-fascist demonstration as such but the whole purpose of this All India Day appears to have been to cultivate public opinion to support the British Government in the war. Now this is the very opposite of what the Congress has laid down repeatedly during the last year. This policy has led to all manner of results already, including a large measure of noncooperation with the British Government. It is likely to

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. On 7 September 1940, the U.P.P.C.C. passed a resolution suspending M.N. Roy from the membership of all elective organizations of the Congress for breach of discipline and demanded an explanation of his conduct.
3. M.N. Roy had called for the observance of an All India Day on 14 July 1940 (the 151st anniversary of the French Revolution), supposedly to mobilize the anti-fascist forces.

lead in the near future to civil disobedience. The policy Roy has been urging is, whatever the reason for it may be, one of cooperation with the British Government in the war. At any time such propaganda is undesirable and likely to injure the Congress. At the present time it is doubly so. Therefore Roy should be asked definitely to say whether he has been in fact carrying on this propaganda against Congress decisions or not. If he admits it, then no further proof is necessary of the fact and the only question to be considered is what conclusion should be drawn from such a fact. If, however, he denies the fact, then reference will be made to his articles, statements, etc.

Please inform Roy that the Council is meeting on the 22nd and if he cares to come in person he can do so to explain his position, or he can send his explanation in writing. Tell him also that the information of this has been sent to the A.I.C.C. and if he so chooses, he can send a copy of his explanation direct to the Working Committee. A copy of the letter you send to Roy should be sent to the General Secretary of the A.I.C.C.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

31. On the Resolution of the Working Committee[1]

The resolution passed by the A.I.C.C.[2] brings us to the verge of a great crisis in this country and each one of us has to shoulder a part of this responsibility. There is no room for further argument and debate amongst us. We have to function individually and collectively as disciplined and peaceful soldiers of our nonviolent army and carry out the directions issued from time to time by Gandhiji and the Working Committee. To my comrades in the United Provinces I make a special appeal. Today the Working Committee have passed a resolution warning Congressmen not to offer any form of civil disobedience till further

1. Statement to the press, Bombay, 18 September 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 19 September 1940.
2. On 15–16 September 1940, the A.I.C.C. meeting at Bombay resolved to launch a nonviolent struggle for the preservation of the elementary rights of the people under Mahatma Gandhi's guidance.

directions are issued by Gandhiji. The U.P. Emergency Committee meeting in Bombay have drawn the attention of all Congressmen and Congress committees in the province to this resolution and called upon them to act up to it immediately. They have further asked for full publicity to be given to the A.I.C.C. resolution. Volunteer camps should conclude their period of training and no new volunteer camps should be started till further directions are issued. All our volunteers have to undertake other work and to shoulder heavier responsibilities. To that end let us all now address ourselves.

32. To Mahatma Gandhi[1]

September 23, 1940

My dear Bapu,

I am enclosing a page from the *National Herald* which reproduces two very interesting judgements of the Supreme Court of the U.S.A. These judgements are not only interesting in themselves and very well written, but also raise a point which may well come up for decision in India. Of course there is no urgency about this issue and if you are too busy, you need not read these judgements. But I thought they might possibly interest you.

You might have heard that M.R. Jayakar returned from England a few days ago. I am told he wanted to meet you just before you left Bombay but hesitated to do so as that was your last day there. I did not see him either. It appears that he is thoroughly disillusioned about the British Government's attitude towards India and is convinced that this government is determined to crush the Congress. One curious criticism he is reported to have made about the A.I.C.C. decision. He said that mass C.D. should be indulged in and not individual because, I presume, he wanted us to react in as big a way as possible to the British Government's offensive.

You will be interested to know that the private bank accounts of well-known Congressmen are being examined in detail by the police under orders from the district authorities.

An interesting case happened in Lucknow the other day where a Congressman was sentenced for a speech of which there was no proper report. A constable had just noted down a few sentences out of a long

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

speech. When objection was taken to this kind of a report, the magistrate said that we could not expect the police to arrange for the reporting of the speeches that were being made and so he would proceed on that very inadequate basis. This is interesting doctrine.

I have just received a letter from Horace Alexander in which he mentions that the British Government is obdurate in regard to India because Anglo-Indian officialdom has assured them that Congress is weak and Gandhiji's influence is waning.

I am going to Lucknow on the 26th night and I expect to remain there for four days. We are having our Provincial Congress Committee meetings there as well as some other committee meetings.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

33. To M.N. Roy[1]

Allahabad
September 23, 1940

Dear Comrade,

I sent you a letter from Bombay in which, among other things, I requested you to let me know, for submission to the Council of the U.P.P.C.C., your reactions to the recent resolution of the A.I.C.C. I felt that the Council would like to know whether you were prepared to abide by this resolution and to observe the discipline of the Congress, at a moment when action may be demanded of every Congressman, or whether you would oppose such action.

I have now seen in the daily press a message circulated by the Associated Press which purports to give your comment on the A.I.C.C. resolution.[2] This is dated Dehra Dun, September 20th. I enclose a cutting from *The Statesman* giving this message. I shall be glad to know if this is a correct report of what you have said.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L. This letter was drafted by Jawaharlal for Lal Bahadur Shastri.
2. M.N. Roy had stated that the A.I.C.C. resolution "will only please Berlin and Rome. It is beyond mortal understanding how moral support for Britain and professed abhorrence for fascism are reconciled with anti-war propaganda. The Bombay resolution is sure to lead to the extinction of the Congress.... The Congress leaders having chosen the wilderness, a joint effort should be made by more realistic politicians to form popular ministries in the provinces."

In this report you have severely condemned the A.I.C.C. decision and called it a betrayal of democratic and progressive forces. Further that this resolution is sure to lead to the extinction of the Congress, whose leaders are to be thanked for that inglorious end. You refer to this releasing of popular forces (which presumably are outside the Congress) which will assert themselves under different leadership and oppose the policy of the Congress.

You have invited "more realist politicians" to form popular ministries in the provinces. This appears to be an invitation to all those who are outside the Congress, and such in the Congress who may be opposed to the Congress policy, to combine together as "realist politicians" to oppose the Congress policy and programme and help in the war effort of the British Government. *Prima facie* this is not just indiscipline but an invitation to revolt against the Congress and to organise anti-Congress elements for the purpose. Under cover of fighting fascism, it is an attempt to help British imperialism at a moment when that imperialism is determined to crush Indian nationalism and our movement for freedom.

I am putting to you my own interpretation of what you have been reported to have said. It will be of course for the Council to decide. It is obvious to me, however, that what you have stated has raised very vital and far-reaching issues, and I have therefore thought it only fair to you as well as to the Council to draw your attention to these.

I have consulted the Acting President on this subject and he desires me to inform you again that you will have full opportunity, should you so desire it, of addressing the Council in explanation of what you have said or written. In view of the gravity of the matter he will be prepared to allow you to address the full meeting of the P.C.C. also, which will be held on Sunday 29th September, in Lucknow. Any written explanation that you may send will of course be considered.

Yours sincerely,
Acting Secretary, U.P.P.C.C.

14. To Sampurnanand[1]

September 24, 1940

My dear Sampurnanand,

Your letter has just come.[2] I am afraid it is not much good our thinking about past happenings and wishing them otherwise. We cannot change the past.

I am sorry you will not be able to come on the 29th. Why not come for the 28th? Come at least for one of the two days.

About the University Committee, I shall remember what you have written and see what can be done in the matter.[3]

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. On 23 September 1940, Sampurnanand had written: "I cannot help feeling that with a little more strength of character and self-confidence, we could have made a more revolutionary use of our opportunities. There need have been no hurry about running away from the ministries... Our bargaining power, if I may use the term, would have been far greater if we had had certain positions in our hands during the critical times through which we are passing and are likely to pass, as the war progresses."
3. He had said that the Report of the Universities Enquiry Committee which was set up when he was the Education Minister of U.P., was now ready. He felt that the Committee should continue to function although it was felt by some Congressmen that they should withdraw from all government committees.

15. The Coming Struggle[1]

The U.P. Provincial Congress Committee respectfully welcome the resolution of the A.I.C.C. passed in Bombay on September 16, 1940, and pledge themselves to such disciplined and peaceful action as may be demanded of them in furtherance thereof. The Committee hold that the time has come to resist the imposition of the will of the British Government on the Indian people, to prevent the exploitation of India's manpower and resources for the war, and to assert by dignified and

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. This resolution passed on 29 September 1940 was drafted by Jawaharlal.

effective action India's right to independence and to shape her own destiny.

The Committee call upon all local committees and Congressmen generally, in this hour of grave crisis when a vast struggle in the country is impending, to prepare themselves in every way to face this struggle with dignity, fortitude and confidence.

36. A Note on Indo-Sri Lanka Relations[1]

For some time past the question of the treatment of Indian residents in Ceylon has been before us. Last year I visited Ceylon in this connection.[2] Now, owing to the development of the world situation and the possibilities opening out of far-reaching political and economic changes in the near future, this question has become absorbed in a much larger question — what should be the future political and economic relationship of Ceylon and India? Representative Ceylonese have approached the Congress with a view to our discussing this with them and have envisaged a much closer union than exists today. Some kind of a federation of India and Ceylon, and possibly other countries, with internal freedom for each country, has even been hinted at. We, on our part, have welcomed this new trend of opinion in Ceylon.

An official Ceylonese delegation is visiting India soon to confer with the Government of India about Indo-Ceylonese trade and other matters. This delegation has expressed a wish to meet Congress leaders for a discussion of the much wider issues referred to above. We have willingly agreed to have this discussion. About the same time a delegation from the Ceylon Indian Congress will also visit India.

It is desirable for our office to prepare a full brief for all these forthcoming talks. All the necessary papers and information should be collected together, and indexed for ready reference. Brief notes should be added to the longer documents. The papers I brought with me from Ceylon last year should be examined and all relevant documents sorted out and arranged.

Apart from this, a full note or notes should be written giving a *resume* of Indo-Ceylonese relationship and allied subjects. This note is likely

1. 4 October 1940. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 10. pp. 1-69.

to be a lengthy affair and will require time and labour. I suggest that it may be divided into two main parts : (1) A historical, political and economic account of Ceylon with special reference to the contacts between India and Ceylon in the past and the present; and (2) a separate account of the special conditions, disabilities or privileges of Indian residents in Ceylon today.

This work should be divided up between the Foreign Department and the Overseas Department, the former dealing with the first part, and the latter with the second part. There might be some overlapping. This does not matter. But of course an attempt should be made to fit in one part with the other.

Part I Shri Keskar will deal with this. There should be a brief historical sketch of Ceylon — past contacts with India (cultural, political, trade etc.) — the effects of British rule in changing the economy of the island — the mixture of races, religions, languages, cultures — statistics about these as well as the problems which have arisen because of them — constitutional developments during British rule and, more particularly, during recent years — the growth of the national movement and conflicts between this movement and the British authorities — the part that Indians have played in this movement and the part they now play — the Donoughmore Commission and the present constitution — constitutional conflicts in recent years and the present national demand—attitude to European war — attitude, if any, to foreign happenings, such as Spain, Abyssinia, Munich, Sino-Japanese conflict — relations with Buddhist countries — economic problems — trade with India and other countries — growth of tea and rubber industries and consequent dependence on world markets — effect of depression in 1930 and after — dependence on Indian trade — growth of unemployment — measures taken to check this — future economic prospects — what would be the effect of a closer union of India and Ceylon on either country?—what would be the economic effect on Ceylon of collapse of British Empire or of breaking away from it?

Part II Shri Dharam Yash Dev will deal with this. This should include an account of the growth of Indian business, trade, and labour in Ceylon — the nature of this business and vested interests now (financial, moneylending, land-owning, plantations, big business, small shops, state services, municipal services, domestic services, shipping, import and export business) — the legislative and executive measures taken to check Indian business and restrict Indians in services — the growth of plantations with Indian labour — conditions governing this labour, privileges,

disabilities, grievances — statistics of labour, business and services — immigration rules and regulations — Government of India's or Madras Government's checks and control of immigration and supervision of Indian labour conditions in Ceylon — system of recruiting labour for Ceylon in India — immigration depots — growth of labour organisation in the plantations as well as in services and shop assistants — are there labour unions confined to Indians or are they mixed unions consisting of Indians and Ceylonese workers?—reasons for growth of bitterness between Indian workers and Ceylonese — movement to boycott Indian shops, labour, business and domestic staff — is this boycott movement toning down now? — effect of stoppage of emigration from India last year on Ceylon's economy — the problems which arose last year necessitating Jawaharlal's visit — effect of this visit — subsequent developments — the franchise as it affects Indians as a whole and Indian labour especially—proposal to restrict all kinds of immigration — the present position of Indians — their grievances, disabilities and demands — the case for the Ceylonese in answer to these — the question of a double nationality (Ceylonese and Indian), with privileges of both — or must every person choose between the two?—the growth of Indian organisations in Ceylon.

I have indicated above the kind of notes that should be prepared. These are meant for the members of the Working Committee and may thus include confidential matter. If they are to be published later, they can be revised for the purpose. A number of typed copies should be prepared.

37. To Syed Mahmud[1]

Wardha
Oct. 12, 1940

My dear Mahmud,

I was half expecting to meet you here and was disappointed. I felt that I must have a talk with you both in fairness to you and to myself. We have known each other for a long stretch of years and have not only been personal friends but comrades in political work. Our personal

1. Syed Mahmud Papers, N.M.M.L.

friendship will, I hope, continue. But, it seems that we are drifting far apart so far as political work is concerned. Some things have happened in recent months which have shocked me greatly and pained me. Of course there is nothing strange for me to differ from others. In some ways I differ from every one of my colleagues. I have long known that your viewpoint and approach are different from mine. Still, I imagined that there was a fundamental agreement about essentials between you and me. I now realise that there is no such basic agreement and that we are as the poles apart. This surprises and distresses me and it was for this reason that I wanted to talk to you to find out for my own satisfaction what you felt. And yet recent events have left little doubt in the matter.

I have long felt also that you avoided discussing many important matters with me. I had no business, of course, to make you discuss them, and so I avoided, as a rule, having a serious discussion with you. I laughed and talked casually and so passed over various subjects. Lately I have come to feel also that you resented somewhat my overbearing manner of discussing anything. I am sorry for my manners. Anyhow, if that was your feeling about it, it made it still more difficult for me to talk to you seriously. Ordinarily therefore I would have simply given up serious political talk with you though this was not easy with an old colleague. I propose to do this. But, as I have said, it did not seem quite fair to you or to me to do so without one at least final talk with you. So I had hoped to have an opportunity of a talk with you here. That has not come off and so I am writing, but inevitably what I am writing conveys only a small part of my mind. If it is possible for you to see me in Allahabad I shall be happy.

Last year, in November, it amazed me to find that you should give a long letter containing your views on important matters to Gandhiji without any reference to me, although you and he were in Anand Bhawan at this time. The contents of that letter (copy of which was sent to me by Gandhiji) stupefied me. I could not possibly conceive that a Congressman could write it, least of all you. You will remember that I wrote to you then.[2]

Since then it has dawned upon me that both on the political question and the communal question our approaches are entirely different and in fact somewhat hostile to each other. Your outburst at the last Bombay Working Committee meeting knocked me over. Not that I mind a loss of temper. I am often guilty of it. But the ideas you gave expression to were astonishing. This had nothing to do with facts. It

2. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 381–382.

was the whole approach that was stupefying. Because you said something there about my trying to impose my will and opinions on you, I decided then and there not to discuss this or other serious matters with you.

I now learn that quite unknown to any member of the Working Committee, you made a proposal to the Muslim League, which the League turned down. This was really amazing and I cannot conceive how anyone could have done so behind the backs of his colleagues. I do not know the facts except what Maulana has told me. It appears that people were talking about it in Delhi. If these facts stated to me are correct, then you were grossly unfair to all your colleagues and indeed to our cause. Merits apart, this action was injurious both to the Congress and to the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity.

But the merits of the proposal made, make matters worse. So far as I am concerned, you know that I hold very strong views on this subject. I have often expressed them in your presence. Knowing this and knowing what Maulana and other colleagues of yours thought, you deliberately made a proposal which, I think, was hopelessly and absolutely wrong, and which puts us in a completely false position.

There is one other matter which has troubled me. I am told that you were responsible for telling people outside the Working Committee about Gandhiji's threat to fast. We had all solemnly promised not to say a word about it. I have not mentioned it to a soul.

I really cannot make out whether you have done all this casually and enthusiastically or deliberately and of set purpose. However this may be, all this creates a vast gulf in public affairs between you and me. My life is wrapped up in public affairs. I have hardly any other life. I hold strong views and I am not likely to give them up. My mind is full of world problems and their relations to India. I am certain that we are in the midst of the biggest revolution in history. I broke with my father on political questions. So you can imagine how deeply I have felt what you have said or written. It has upset me completely.

The future is dark and uncertain for all of us but so far as I am concerned, I have put an end to my normal life. Probably I shall soon be in prison. But that is a small matter. I do not propose to compromise any more and it may be that I go under completely or at least for years. I felt therefore that I must write to you by virtue of our old friendship before it is too late to communicate with each other. I repeat that if it is possible for you to meet me, I shall be glad.

You will remember that in 1931 or 1932 I was unhappy that you avoided jail. I told you so later. But today, if I may venture to suggest to you, you should not go to prison, if you believe that all this

programme is foolish and farcical. We should stick to our beliefs and principles.

Love,

Yours affly.,
Jawaharlal

38. The Sikhs and the Congress[1]

Your resolution has my sympathy in so far as I regret any differences between the Congress and the Sikhs. It is strange, however, that you address the Working Committee to attend to these differences. They have done or said nothing to create any differences. On the other hand, various Sikh leaders have made statements and have adopted an attitude which is at complete variance with the fundamental policy of the Congress. In the present war situation they have advised the Sikhs to co-operate with the British Government in a large measure and have dissociated themselves from the Congress noncooperation with the war.[2]

It is not possible for anyone or any group at this critical moment in our country's history to have it both ways and try to gain the favour of both the British Government and the national movement at the same time. Each individual as well as each group must choose definitely on which side it proposes to stand. It is a matter of deep regret for me that some Sikh leaders have chosen this moment to create confusion in the public mind by their dual and non-committal attitude. I am sure that the Sikh community as a whole is fully in sympathy with the national movement and the struggle to come.

1. *The Hindustan Times*, 17 October 1940. This was the reply sent by Jawaharlal to the Gujranwala District Congress Committee's representation to the Working Committee to settle the differences between the Sikhs and the Congress in the Punjab.
2. On 9 August 1940, Master Tara Singh had written to Mahatma Gandhi and Maulana Azad asking the Congress not to do anything to prevent recruitment to the army. On 30 September 1940, the All India Sikh League appealed to the Sikhs to continue to cooperate with the war effort, and on 7 October 1940, the Akali Political Conference called upon the Sikhs not to embrace the creed of nonviolence which was opposed to the basic spirit of the Sikh religion.

39. On the Discussions of the Working Committee[1]

I have seen in some newspapers reports from Wardha of what purports to be an account of the discussions in the Working Committee. Some of these reports are quite fantastic and entirely wrong. Some have a grain of truth in them. It is obvious that every matter that comes up before the Working Committee is fully discussed from various points of view. It is obvious that there are differing points of view and approaches in a vital matter. It is the duty of each one of us to give expression to his own opinion fully before a final decision is taken. Often a decision is not wholly in keeping with a member's viewpoint. Yet for the sake of democratic discipline he agrees with it, unless it is such a vital matter that he cannot do so.

Mahatma Gandhi's approach to many problems is often a non-political approach. Some of us, including me, view these questions from a political angle only, though all of us, I hope, keep in mind the moral aspect of every question. I have sometimes found it difficult to understand Gandhiji's approach, because my mind functions differently. While fully appreciating the political aspects of nonviolence in our struggle, I have been unable to appreciate many of its implications.

Gandhiji, though he lays emphasis on certain ethical and other aspects, does not ignore political aspects as everyone knows. It is perhaps a question of emphasis for him.

He has developed a certain technique of action which has yielded great results to our movement for freedom. It is clear that the Congress and the country want that technique to be continued and it is obvious that Gandhiji is best fitted to lead a movement with that technique.

In many matters I have ventured to disagree with him, and probably I may continue to disagree with him. But at the present moment I have no doubt that we must give full and loyal cooperation to him, so that he may have full opportunities of developing this great movement. Any other course would be a foolish one leading nowhere.

Events are likely to develop fast. Let us be prepared for them and not waste our time in theoretical arguments. This does not mean my accepting all the implications of everything that Gandhiji may put forward, but I do propose to function as a disciplined soldier so long as I can.

1. Statement to the press, Allahabad, 17 October 1940. *National Herald*, 18 October 1940.

I should like to clear up a misunderstanding which seems to have spread among many people about the present objective of our movement. Our objective can only be independence and no kind of settlement with any power or authority is possible except on that basis. The immediate issue has been raised by the war and by the necessity of our declaring our position in regard to this war.

It is not an issue of civil liberty or freedom of speech except in so far as these are related to the war issue. The issue is : India and the war. And this is intimately related to our right to independence. The objective today and till we achieve it is unadulterated independence. There should be no mistake about this.

40. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

October 18, 1940

My dear Maulana,

You may have noticed a message that appeared in the *Hindusthan Standard* from Wardha in which it was stated that you had offered to resign. In *The Leader* today there is another message which I am sending you.[2] This is patently false. I wanted to tell you that no word of mine here or in Wardha to anyone could possibly lead him to come to any such conclusion. In fact I have said nothing at all about this matter to anyone. I did not mention it to the members of the Emergency Committee who were present at Wardha, and in fact met no pressman except Shiva Rao with whom I did not discuss any internal politics.

I issued a brief message yesterday which I enclose. It is just possible that I may issue something more in view of the misstatements in the press.

I am leaving tomorrow morning for a five or six days tour. My programme is: October 18th Pratapgarh, 19th Rae Bareli, 20th Sultanpur, 21st Fyzabad, 22nd Barabanki, 23rd Lucknow, 24th back in Allahabad.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. It was reported that Jawaharlal and Azad had pleaded for a more effective campaign and said that the Working Committee should be allowed to frame its own scheme and if Mahatma Gandhi did not like to take the responsibility for it he could be relieved of leadership. Mahatma Gandhi was supposed to have retorted that they had no right to overrule his scheme. Jawaharlal and Azad were thought to have said that they might as well give up all idea of civil disobedience rather than indulge in the child's play which Mahatma Gandhi had invented for them.

Probably I shall leave Allahabad again on the 25th night. 26th Farrukhabad, 27th Mainpuri, 28th Etah, 29th back in Allahabad.

During these tours I shall be going to rural areas and returning in the evening to the headquarters of the districts where I spend the night. I intend spending a few days in Allahabad during Diwali and *Id* and then to go out again, probably to Meerut and other places in the north.

All this is of course subject to developments. I am inclined to think that these developments will be quicker than I imagine.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

41. To Vallabhbhai Patel[1]

Camp Sultanpur
October 20, 1940

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am in the middle of a heavy tour at present. I hope to be back in Allahabad on the 24th morning. So far I have no programme after that. I have informed Kripalani to telephone to Bapu that I am perfectly prepared to follow Vinoba if and when Bapu wants me to do so. I shall await his instructions.

I should like to make a suggestion about the Vithalbhai Trust that you are creating.[2] Would it not be better to add Maulana Azad to it as one of the permanent trustees, apart from his capacity as President of the A.I.C.C. This will mean that when the President changes, Maulana will continue to be a trustee and there will of course be the new President also. This is just a suggestion for your consideration.

All manner of difficulties are arising about the reporting of Vinoba's satyagraha.[3] You know what the government is doing and what instructions the government has issued to the press. Should the *National*

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. He had written to Maulana Azad that a Vithalbhai Memorial Trust be set up to administer the Rs. 1,00,000 which was a bequest of Vithalbhai Patel to the A.I.C.C.
3. On 18 October 1940, newspapers were instructed that "no account of the incidents leading up to satyagraha by Vinoba Bhave and no reports of his speeches or any subsequent developments should be published without previous reference to the Chief Press Adviser of Delhi."

Herald follow these instructions or not? This difficulty will arise also in connection with Bapu's statements and articles in the *Harijan*. I should like your opinion about this.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

42. To M.N. Roy[1]

Lucknow
October 23, 1940

Dear Friend,
I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th October. You have pointed out certain apparent contradictions. But on re-examination you will perhaps find that there is no inherent contradiction. While the Working Committee confirmed the decision of the Council of the U.P.P.C.C., they recommended to the Council a manner of dealing with this matter which avoided, as far as possible, anything being done which might hurt your feelings.[2] It is not their purpose, I take it, as it was not the purpose of the Council of the P.C.C., to do anything which would be personally discourteous to you. This was a matter of policy and organisational unity and the personal aspect was not involved. As you yourself point out, your letter was not clearly a resignation but was an intimation that you would resign under certain circumstances. The Council felt, therefore, some difficulty in treating it as a resignation. The Working Committee, however, perhaps strained this point a little and were prepared to consider it as an offer to resign.

It is true that as a result of the Council's resolution, you ceased to be a Congress member, subject to what the Working Committee might finally decide.[3] In view of the Working Committee's recommendation,

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L. The letter was drafted by Jawaharlal for Lal Bahadur Shastri.
2. The Working Committee had recommended that M.N. Roy may be allowed to resign from the Congress and had asked the Council of the U.P.P.C.C. to accept his resignation.
3. On 29 September 1940, the Council of the U.P.P.C.C. resolved that M.N. Roy's name be removed from the list of primary members of the Congress and he be not permitted to become a primary member of the Congress for a year from the date of decision.

the Council will gladly reconsider this matter and vary their previous resolution accordingly. My object in writing to you my last letter was to enable the Council to take this step in a formal way. This would have been facilitated by some communication from you regarding your desire to resign. I cannot of course commit the Council to anything and my suggestion was a personal one. It is entirely open to you to take such steps as you might like in the matter.

In order to get over the difficulty pointed out by you, you might write to the effect that it was your desire, under the circumstances that have arisen, to resign your Congress membership. If this membership is still supposed to continue or if the Council takes any step which would enable you to resign from the membership, you are sending your formal resignation.

Some such form of words is suggested for your consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Acting Secretary, U.P.P.C.C.

43. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

October 24, 1940

My dear Maulana,
I enclose a telegram which I received from Shaukat Ullah Ansari[2] yesterday, at Lucknow. The telegram reached me late as I was touring. It is too late to take any effective action and in any event I do not know what effective action we can take. Still it might be worth while for you to send a letter to the Swiss Consul. You could say that you had received a cable from Iqbal Schedai in Switzerland to the effect that he had been ordered to go out of Switzerland. His going out meant necessarily his going to either Italian or German occupied territory and this was bound to lead him to a great deal of trouble. You hoped that the Swiss Government would be good enough to consider the case and not to take this unfortunate step against an Indian.

You need not say anything about the date mentioned or anything else about the man in question.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. (b. 1908); nephew of M.A. Ansari; member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57; Governor of Orissa, 1968-71.

Iqbal Schedai as a boy took part in the *Hijrat* from India about 1920. Since then he has been living in Europe, in Italy, France and Switzerland. I believe he has also got married there. I met him for the first time in 1926 and since then I have seen him occasionally during my visits to Europe. I cannot say much about him or hold myself responsible for him. But a non-committal letter from you to the Swiss Consul, as suggested above, would do no harm and might possibly do some good.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

44. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

October 24, 1940

My dear Maulana,
At my suggestion, Kripalani has sent you a telegram requesting you to agree to an extension of the period of making Congress members this year. I hope you will agree to this for many reasons. Just after *Ramzan* and Diwali, will be the best time for making Congress members.. But the chief reason is that people should have some definite work like this to do during the next few weeks.

You will remember that I told you that I had written to Mahmud from Wardha.[2] On my return here today I found that Mahmud had been here for the last four days. He had not received my letter yet or any other during the last 12 days as he had been living in a remote village.

I had a talk with him about many matters. He denied vehemently having made any suggestion, direct or indirect, to the Muslim League people. The very idea seemed to shock him. He said that he had casually met Khaliquzzaman and Jinnah at Brelvi's place just before he left Bombay. Khaliq suggested to him that the Congress should agree to accept the Viceroy's proposals. Mahmud in reply said that this was impossible. This was all the talk he had with him, and he met nobody else and did not write to anybody in regard to the communal or political question. He mentioned to me that both Khaliq and Nawab Ismail

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. See *ante*, item 37.

had met Bhulabhai twice at the latter's house. What talk they had, he did not know.

I asked Mahmud also if he had in any way mentioned that Gandhiji at one time intended having a fast. I asked this question as Bapu suggested that Mahmud had told some people about this. Mahmud expressed the greatest astonishment and definitely and categorically denied having said anything even casually, or whispered anything on this subject to anyone. The very idea of his doing so pained him.

I mention these two definite facts to you as I think you ought to know them. I think that in these two matters Mahmud must be believed. About other matters he told me that it was true that he had been feeling completely unnerved largely owing to physical ill health. I shall probably have further talks with him.

You need not worry about my accident. It was a very minor one and I am quite well.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Gandhiji.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

45. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

October 25, 1940

My dear Maulana,
Your letter of the 24th has just come. I am glad to learn that you are getting over your indisposition. So far as I am concerned, I am quite well.

Yesterday, on arrival here, I received a letter from Bapu asking me if I was in general agreement with what he was doing.[2] If so, to write to him, presumably so that he might instruct me accordingly. It was a difficult matter for me to deal with in a telegram. Ultimately, however, I wired to him briefly "Agree generally". I wrote to him somewhat more fully.[3]

I do not think there is any purpose in my staying back. And so I have informed Bapu.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. See *ante*, section 1, item 89.
3. *Ibid.*

About the Working Committee meeting, I do not think that any useful purpose will be served by all of us going there. Perhaps if you went and conferred with Gandhiji it would be enough. But this is for you to decide.

If you intend holding a Committee meeting in Wardha early in November, this might suit the Ceylon people who would like to get there on the 10th or thereabouts. I suppose the meeting would be after *Id.* We have a function in Allahabad on the 5th November which I should not like to miss.

Personally I think it would be a good thing if you and I met the Ceylon delegation in Allahabad at some leisure. In Wardha everything is so rushed. Later they could go to Wardha and meet Gandhiji and the others. Even if a Working Committee meeting is held in Wardha it would be desirable for us to meet the Ceylon people in Allahabad. I have had a very long memorandum prepared on India and Ceylon by our Foreign Office and Overseas Department. This deals with the question, historically, culturally, economically, etc.

So far as the China Mission is concerned, there is no point in its going to Wardha to meet the Working Committee. In fact this will be undesirable and they will not like it. They have come here to meet individuals and not organisations. I am helping them in drawing up their programme and I proposed to the Consul-General in Calcutta that I am prepared to send Dr. B.V. Keskar of our Foreign Department to help in making up the programme. This programme appears to be a lengthy one and includes a visit to Kashmir and Ajanta and Ellora. I have written to Sir Akbar Hydari and am writing to some people in the Kashmir Government. In other places we shall get into touch with our friends. It may be worth while for Keskar to accompany the Chinese Mission.

I have today received a cheque for Rs. 500 from the Scindia Steam Navigation Company for the *Hindustan*. I do not know however how long these papers will continue. I agree with you that so far as we can, we should keep the *National Herald* going. I have just heard that Gandhiji has stopped *Harijan* because of restrictions placed upon it.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3

THE INDIAN STATES

1. A Cry from Jobat[1]

Those who have to deal with the Indian states have lost the capacity for surprise. Nothing is too fantastic, or tyrannous, for it to happen there. But I must confess to a feeling of surprise when I learnt of an order passed recently in Jobat state in central India. The Dewan of this state ordered a certain Mr. Shamsuddin to leave the state forthwith. That was not enough. His sons (names not given) were included in the order. That too was not enough. The heirs and successors of Mr. Shamsuddin and his sons were also included, and all these people, born and unborn, were commanded not to re-enter the state without special permission, previously obtained, from the Darbar.

This remarkable order, which is passed on future generations for ever and ever, will delight the heart of a lawyer and a constitutionalist. It will no doubt be one of the prized specimens in the future museum where the relics of the princely order of India will be preserved for the instruction and amazement of our people. It deserves no commentary and so I give below a statement on Jobat as I received it:—

> Jobat is a small state in Central India Agency. Its area is 131 square miles, with a population of 21,152, and having an annual revenue of Rs. 79,000. The state is connected by Dohad (Gujarat) B.B. & C.I. Railway, which is 45 miles from it.
>
> The heart-rending tale of repression on the people and kisans of the state came into bold prominence, when they in their scores, carrying posters and placards, walking all the way, came to put forward their grievances at Dohad before the Central India States People's Conference held under the presidentship of Acharya Shree Narendra Deva.[2] The Conference after deliberating over the matter resolved to investigate into the misrule of Jobat state.
>
> The following order served by the state on some prominent residents of Jobat state, who have been there for hundreds of years, and who owned extensive lands, properties and buildings, and who had lived peacefully and contributed to the well-being of the state, and whose family had produced cricketers and sportsmen of all-India reputation, throws vivid light on the vagaries of the irresponsible and autocratic rulers of the Indian states.

1. *National Herald*, 28 March 1940.
2. On 13 February 1940, at Khandwa.

Order :

Dewan office, Jobat state, C.I., Office order No. 157 of 1938.

In pursuance of the Darbar order No. 24 dated the 18th February, 1938, it is hereby ordered that Mr. Shamsuddin and his sons with all their heirs and successors shall leave the Jobat state territory on or before the 26th February and shall not re-enter the same either by themselves or their heirs or successors without special permission previously obtained from the Darbar except in the course of transit on the Barjhad Sewria Pucca Road only in the conveyance usually meant for the purpose but while doing so shall not be allowed to alight from the conveyance.

(Sd.) S.L. PANDE
(Dewan, Jobat state, C.I.)
Feb. 21, 1938

Later on similar externment orders were executed affecting about 150 souls, and their properties, estates and buildings valued at thousands of rupees were snatched away from them without even the farce of a trial.

It will be seen from the above order that without any provocation or offence, numerous families have been turned out and the order further seeks to penalize the future children of the externees who may be born hereafter. Such an order is unheard of in recent memory and has surely no parallel anywhere. No wonder the people, groaning under the heels of such a tyrannical rule, take recourse to sporadic action.

If an indictment against the Indian princes is required the above order is sufficient to condemn the whole princely order and the Paramount Power, who acquiesces in such orders, as also equally responsible. No wonder that even Gandhiji in his characteristic style has dubbed the Indian princes as so many Indian Hitlers.[3]

The people of the states cannot suffer this condition of things any longer. They demand that the British Government shall either secure and guarantee to them the same form of government as their brethren across the borders in British India enjoy, or, if the British Government deny their responsibility in this behalf, the people demand that they should be left to secure the administration they desire by peaceful and legitimate means, and that the British Government should withdraw the protection given to the princes.

3. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 503.

2. To V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Allahabad
April 9, 1940

My dear Krishna,
I am not writing to you much about general conditions here because short of writing long essays, which may or may not get through, there is no other way of dealing with such a situation. Generally speaking developments that are taking place are expected. The various groups line up according to programme. Gandhiji goes forward, step by step, in his own way. That way is often unusual and sometimes a little difficult to follow. Nevertheless it is the only effective way at the present moment and the country is moving in that direction, at any rate the Congress as a whole.

The new orientation of the Muslim League since the Lahore session is, in a sense, to be welcomed because it clears up matters and removes so many doubtful and confusing middle situations. In a sense of course it creates difficulties of which undoubtedly the British Government will take advantage. But the League has taken up a fantastic position which puts it out of count with large numbers of people completely. The issues become clearer.

There has just been an attempt in Bombay to form a Centre Party.[2] There is nothing in this. Some old Liberals are trying to change their name and to rope in Ambedkar.

The Executive Council of the U.P. Congress Committee passed a resolution recently which was sent to you by air.[3] I should like to draw your attention to this specially.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. The All-India National Liberal Federation met informally on 7 April 1940 to consider the formation of a central party in India whose object would be to bring pressure on the British Government to grant Dominion Status speedily and prevent another civil disobedience movement.
3. The U.P.P.C.C. resolution of 1 April 1940 endorsed the Ramgarh resolution on war.

Another matter which is important is the intensive repression that is going on in the Indian states, notably Ratlam[4] and Jodhpur.[5] The Central Assembly has just passed an enactment trying to make it more difficult for any activity to take place in the states.[6] This deserves special notice as it shows how completely the British Government is supporting reaction in the states.

A new organisation has been started called "The Muslim States' People's Conference" or some such name.[7] This is in effect a move of some Hyderabad Muslims to prevent reforms in Hyderabad. It has naturally the support of the Muslim League.

The Forward Bloc, after a lot of shouting, has staged a few petty demonstrations which do not amount to much.[8]

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. In 1938, the Ratlam Praja Mandal put forth a list of eight demands asking the government to provide the basic amenities of a responsible government, including reorganization of land revenue system and establishment of panchayat boards. The state authorities placed a ban on the Praja Mandal, arrested workers, refused entry into the state for the sympathisers of the movement and banned all meetings and processions. On 30 March 1940, some prisoners were beaten inside the jail. Hearing their cries a number of people gathered outside and formed a procession, and were in turn lathi charged. There was complete hartal in the state and even schools were closed in protest.
5. The Jodhpur Lok Parishad was declared unlawful by a proclamation of the Maharaja on 1 April 1940. Thereafter, huge processions were taken out in protest and lathi charges and arrests became a daily occurrence.
6. On 2 April 1940, the Central Assembly passed the Bill extending the Defence of India Act to Indian states and tribal areas.
7. An All India States Muslim League was formed in 1939 with the declared aim of preserving and advancing the rights and interests of Muslims in Indian states. It was intended to counter the increasing influence and activities of the All India States People's Conference led by the Congress.
8. The Anti-Compromise Conference held at Ramgarh in March 1940 under the leadership of Subhas Bose resolved to begin countrywide satyagraha on 6 April 1940, against India's forced participation in the war. The agitation was started in different parts of India by the Forward Bloc, but soon petered out with the arrest of the leaders.

3. Arson in Bidar[1]

The Holi day on March 23 last saw a strange and tragic happening at Bidar in Hyderabad state to which little attention has been paid in the press. Some newspapers have had reports but the Associated Press has not troubled itself in the matter, and this silence about a major important occurrence is deserving of enquiry.

On that day, following a petty altercation between some boys, a large mob, directed by well-known persons, collected at the heart of the bazaar and deliberately set fire to 117 houses and shops which were burnt down with a loss of over fifty lakhs of rupees. Bidar is not an out-of-the-way place. It is the headquarters of the district. For over three hours, the mob looted and burnt, and no one tried to check them. Policemen, it is said, looked on. After the work of destruction was completed, the curfew order was promulgated, which, in effect, prevented owners of shops and houses from going to the burning heap and attempting to rescue what they could. Those fires burnt on for many days. It is clear that this burning was a calculated and premeditated affair. It could not have taken place otherwise in such an organised and deliberate way as is indicated.

The reaction of the Hyderabad Government was significant. They seemed however to attach no great importance to this ghastly deed. They tried to prevent news from going abroad. No help was given by them to the sufferers and a reasonable demand for an impartial enquiry and compensation was turned down. A very high official,[2] passing near Bidar, did not care to go to the spot where the fires were still smouldering, although requested to do so. Meanwhile, 2,000 merchants and others, deprived of what they possessed, have left Bidar and taken to the villages.

What the Hyderabad state will do further in the matter I do not know. But this tragedy has thrown a lurid light on the conditions that prevail in this premier state of India which is premier not only in size, but in backwardness and medievalism.

Do mobs take the place of government in this state? And do they have passive or active support of the representatives of the authority? This is a negation of government, and of all decency. One's sympathy goes to the unfortunate people of the state who have to endure this.

1. Statement to the press, Bombay, 20 April 1940. *National Herald*, 23 April 1940.
2. Sir Akbar Hydari, President of the Executive Council.

4. To V.K. Krishna Menon[1]

Bombay
April 21, 1940

My dear Krishna,
Your letter of the 6th April has reached me here. I have come today to a suburb of Bombay in order to escape the numerous engagements that pursue one in Bombay itself. I propose to devote some time here to the material collected for the Planning Committee, which begins its session on the 1st May. I shall be round about Bombay for the next three weeks or so.

Your cablegram followed me from Allahabad. I sent you a reply from here.[2] It did not contain very much. But then it is not easy to write much under the circumstances. I can quite understand the lack of news at your end. News of a dramatic kind is no doubt lacking but all manner of happenings are taking place from day to day which have significance and which point in one direction. It is not an easy matter to write about all this and, even if I wrote, I doubt if I could get through. The point is that the situation has hardened on every side and all these debates in Parliament and good advice or threats that are doled out to us are hardly read here. Our minds are turned in a different direction now. We realise fully all the implications of the situation and of its difficulties. But in regard to certain fundamental matters there is no doubt left and this makes it clear that sometime or other a conflict is inevitable. Gandhiji has stated repeatedly that he will not precipitate a struggle but events sometimes do not wait for permission. It seems to me clear that the present British Government has made up its mind to try to down the Congress in every way. All its policy points this way. Its attitude to the Indian states, to the communal question as well as to the larger political question is of one piece.

Meanwhile, although nothing dramatic has occurred, there is a continuous invasion of ordinary liberties. Many individuals, chiefly belonging to the Forward Bloc, or labour workers or other leftists have been picked off in various parts of India.[3] There is no direct attack on the Congress as such or on noted Congressmen. But many Congressmen, here and there, have suffered arrest. Yet it would be wrong to say

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. See *ante*, section 1, item 12.
3. In March and April 1940 the Defence of India Rules were directed against the left-wing, peasant and labour leaders in different parts of India.

that these arrests have been on any big scale, having regard to the extent of India and our past experience.

Advanced socialistic literature is being suppressed. This was always so in Bengal and other parts.[4] But even Allahabad has now come into line. And Kitabistan has had a large number of their publications and other books confiscated, chiefly those dealing with socialism or Russia. The U.P. Government have applied the Defence of India Rules to such publications and any matter which is prohibited under section 19 of the Sea Customs Act 1878, is prohibited.

In Bengal there is almost a complete denial of civil liberties, right of meetings etc.[5] In other places this is being gradually restricted. The Indian states are behaving more aggressively. There has been severe repression in Ratlam and Jodhpur as well as several other states. Many of these states have English administrators or Dewans, and these people can do what they like over the head of the ruler. It is clear that the policy is a uniform one, dictated by the Political Department of the Government of India.

Last month, on the 23rd March, an occurrence took place in Bidar in Hyderabad state. Bidar is a district headquarters. A very petty private affair was given a communal turn and what appears to be an organised and premeditated attack, took place on all the shops owned by Hindu merchants. One hundred and seventeen shops were completely burnt and an enormous damage was caused. No effort was made by the authorities to stop this, and it would appear that the authorities were aware of it from the beginning. Efforts were made to prevent the news from leaking out and the Associated Press man sat tight on the occurrence. Most of the newspapers contained nothing about it, though *The Hindu* of Madras gave some accounts. All this was clearly an attempt to terrorise the political demand for reform.

I am afraid you will have to do in future without any regular supply of intelligent news. I shall of course continue writing to you but it is not easy to write intelligently about a complex developing situation under existing circumstances. You know the background.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. On 5 April 1940, an order was imposed which prohibited the publishing in Bengal of any document in connection with the National Week programme of the Bengal Congress under Subhas Bose. On 10 April 1940, the Bengal Government placed a ban on public processions, meetings or assemblies in the province for six months from 21 April 1940.
5. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 176.

5. What of the Indian States?[1]

What of the Indian states in this crisis? What are the people there to do now, or later, if satyagraha envelops the land? These questions are repeatedly put to me and I confess that I find it difficult to answer them. The difficulty arises from a variety of factors. The states are so numerous and so various, their political and economic development varies so enormously, that a uniform policy for all is hardly possible. It is true that fundamentally the problem is the same in all the states and that problem is a part of the all-India problem.

It is obvious that the policy that the states' governments are pursuing is inspired and controlled by the Political Department of the Government of India. There is a patent uniformity in that policy, as there must be, when the source is one and the same. The reaction of the states' people should also, therefore, be uniform, in so far as this can be brought about.

Let us look at the problem of the states in its larger context. The states were partly the creation of the British raj; all of them have subsisted for these long years because of the protection of British imperialism. There can be little doubt that, but for this shelter and protection, they would have changed enormously during the last hundred years. They look still, as of old, to this imperialism for protection, and the British imperialist looks to them for support against the powerful nationalism of the Indian people. It is a combination for the mutual benefit of each other, and aimed at the Indian people, whether they live in the provinces or the states. The whole scheme of federation contained in the 1935 Act was aimed at giving strength and stability to this combination and disabling the Indian people from challenging it effectively.

In recent years, there has been much talk about the so-called independence of the states. And yet the fact is that they are far more under the thumb of the Political Department of the Government of India now than they have ever been before. Apart from privately exercised control, we see vast numbers of British officers, previously connected with the Political Department or with the imperial services, in high offices in the states, completely controlling the administration there. It will be found that wherever this is so, there is usually greater repression of the people of the state. The rulers are hardly in the picture.

1. Signed editorial in the *National Herald*, 27 April 1940.

In the crisis that is upon us, it is clear that the Indian states' governments stand fully ranged with British imperialism. Not only that, they have flirted and come to private arrangements with all reactionaries. It is well known that communal organisations are in high favour with the authorities in the states. There is nothing communal about this marriage of convenience. It is a political coming together — reaction clinging to reaction. And so Hindu rulers come to terms with and encourage Muslim communal organisations, and Muslim rulers are friendly to Hindu communal organisations. The opposition of both is to progress and freedom and the growth of national unity and strength.

The old intrigue has borne fruit and the British Government relies upon communalism and the feudalism of the states to meet the tide of advancing nationalism. Let us realise fully who our opponents are. Recent developments are to be welcomed for this reason at least, for they separate the wheat from the chaff, and all of us can see the picture of present-day India in all its brutal nakedness.

What are the states' people to do? In this hour of crisis, discipline is needed and no two voices should command. It is for our leader in the struggle, Mahatma Gandhi, to issue directions and we should adhere to them. As I understand him, he does not want the states' people to launch satyagraha the moment Congress starts it in the rest of India. Obviously widespread satyagraha in India will have a powerful effect on the states and their people. The whole of India will be shaken up and no one knows what the consequences will be, except that they will be far-reaching. The states' people cannot be mere lookers-on and they will have to bear many trials and tribulations. They must prepare themselves for them and be ready for all eventualities. What they ultimately do will depend on the course of events and their own strength. The ultimate decision will rest with them.

While therefore the states' people should not automatically join a Congress satyagraha movement, some of them may have to start their own satyagraha for reasons which apply to them. Even today a satyagraha movement would be justified in many states where the cup of humiliation and repression is overfull. But let them not act hastily or precipitately but with deliberation which is the sign of strength. Haste at the wrong moment leads to adventurism and demoralisation. The time of trial and testing will come soon enough; let them work hard and get ready for it. The Indian states have hitched their wagon to the chariot of imperialism. They have both had their day and will go together.

6. The Congress and the States[1]

The Congress has been accused of not taking any interest in the states. This is incorrect. No sane person would wish British India to attain freedom and allow the states to remain backward. In fact, the Congress policy is to concentrate our power at one place to fight a powerful government, instead of splitting that power in several places. The Indian states will necessarily march abreast of the rest of India. At this juncture of history, when we see the end of small countries, it is idle to think of dividing India. We are seeing the end of the present world. The present war has proved the impossibility of the existence of smaller countries. Under such conditions no patriot can think of dividing India into parts.

The Congress has to face several new problems. Communal organizations are opposing the Congress at every stage and on every question, and they are exploiting their co-religionists. There is no communal problem in India, but under the guise of religion, vested interests have created difficulties. They cannot oppose the freedom movement as they did twenty years ago, but they in the same breath demand freedom and also place obstacles in the way of freedom.

Communal organizations have also sprung up in Indian states and strangely enough state governments are helping communal organizations and suppressing state Congresses, or other non-communal bodies. Some Hindu states are even financing communal Muslim organizations, while Muslim states are financing Hindu associations. The Kashmiris are to be congratulated on their bold decision to be above communalism and for having a common platform. I assure the states subjects that they will not be left behind while British India marches ahead.

Twenty years ago Mahatma Gandhi started a new movement in India. He made the poor peasant his soldier. The Indian peasant, who was already overburdened, fought for freedom successfully. India has undergone several changes in the course of twenty years. Though much difference is not visible in her constitution, the downtrodden and oppressed Indians can raise their heads now. How is India to achieve complete freedom? By violence or by Mahatma Gandhi's new technique of nonviolence? The war has again proved the futility of violence. Violence as a means of attaining independence is an antiquated method. Even the French Revolution and other revolutions were violent, but the

1. Srinagar, 1 June 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 2 June 1940.

difference between regular troops and people at that time was slight; both were armed with the same sort of weapons. Now the case is quite different. Armies are equipped with the latest methods of warfare, while the civil population is totally disarmed and guns are quite ineffective when bombs are dropped from the air by armed forces. This is an age of new scientific inventions. It is difficult to fight against tanks and aeroplanes without being equally well equipped and strong.

It is no use talking of resorting to violence for attaining independence in a country which has no armies. In our method of nonviolence, even if we are invaded by lakhs of troops and thousands of planes, the result will be the same. Nonviolence, therefore, is best suited for India.

A revolution is bound to come and India must be fully prepared for that. The map of the world is fast changing, and India's millions should be prepared to have an effective voice in preparing a new map of the world.

7. The Minority Problem in Kashmir[1]

In Kashmir, as in British India, there is a tug-of-war over the majority and minority question. In British India the majority is that of Hindus and in Kashmir, Muslims are in an overwhelming majority. Quite the reverse conditions prevail in Hyderabad. During my few days stay in Kashmir I have found the same fears and doubts entertained by the Hindu minority as the Muslims entertain in British India.

There is some truth in the doubts and fears, but the way in which the question has been magnified with government help is blocking the path of freedom. The enemies of India's freedom attach great importance to this question, and they want safeguards and weightages. After getting separate electorates, the minorities may feel that they have succeeded in getting more than their due, but they still remain minorities. Minorities can never be turned into majorities even with all the safeguards, but mistrust crops up.

A constituent assembly can alone solve India's problems; and the question has to be settled by different communities without reference to the third party. The only solution for Indian problems is that the communities should put their heads together and come to an agreement, or if they disagree, break their heads. No sane person will prefer the latter

1. Speech at Srinagar, 3 June 1940. From *The Hindustan Times*, 4 June 1940.

course; the only course, therefore, left open lies in the spirit of cooperation.

Big issues are facing India, the most important being freedom, on the face of which the problems of Kashmiris appear insignificant. Kashmiri Pandits form 5 per cent of Kashmir's population. Even if safeguards are given, they might get 10 per cent, but what security can be given in this revolutionary world? Kashmiri Pandits can go ahead by dint of their ability. During the fifty-five years of its existence the National Congress happened to be presided by Kashmiri Pandits for seven years, not because Kashmiri Pandits were given special protection but because they have a broad sphere of work. The struggle has been going on in Kashmir for some years, but the happenings of 1931[2] disturbed all patriots, and I decided to help the Kashmir movement if I could. There is a mass movement in Kashmir, and it is possible that the masses might commit mistakes, but they are never wrong. Mistakes can be mended by cooperation. The masses here alike are ignorant, but we cannot shun them; they are the real India.

I will be leaving Kashmir shortly, but would like to go with the satisfaction that communal harmony will prevail and the mass movement will run on Congress lines. Beware of the machinations of the government, but at the same time I ask you to rise above service politics and work for the common good of the country.

2. The arrest of a Muslim in June 1931 led to communal rioting. The British Government intervened and ordinances were imposed, resulting in imprisonment, public flogging and shooting at Anantnag, Shopyan, Baramula and Sopore.

8. Farewell Message to Kashmir[1]

I am grateful to all the organisations and individuals who did me the honour of welcoming me. I am especially grateful to Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah and the Kashmir National Conference whose guest I was privileged to be during my stay. Sheikh Abdullah has shown remarkable qualities of mass leadership and has combined them with the vision of a statesman. He has steered the bark of the people's movement from communal channels towards nationalism, in spite of opposition and difficulty, and has made of Kashmir a bulwark of our national movement. Kashmir is fortunate in having this brave and far-seeing leader.

1. Statement to the press, Lahore, 12 June 1940. *National Herald*, 13 June 1940.

To the Kashmiri Pandits I would make a special appeal, for I have claims on them as they have on me. Let them play a brave part in the mighty happenings of today and seek not a narrow protection which binds and restricts, but the joy of taking part in the great movements which are changing this old world of ours.

The old order changes and only those who are capable of adapting themselves to the new order have any future before them. The old orthodoxy is a chain that binds and prevents progress and it must go. The old questions and arguments and objections are dead today and are of no significance. Only the major questions that grip the world and India have real meaning.

To the solution of these and the establishment of an independent and united India and the liquidation of her poverty, let us all address ourselves. In this great game of life the women of Kashmir must play their full part.

9. To Dwarka Nath Kachru[1]

Bombay
July 1, 1940

My dear Dwarka Nath,[2]
I enclose a letter of introduction for you for Miss Padmaja Naidu. Please call on her soon after reaching Hyderabad. In the event of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu being there, you should meet her also.

You should proceed to Hyderabad as early as possible. You may stay there up to two weeks. If you consider it necessary, you may prolong your stay even beyond this period. The main thing to aim at is that you should do your work thoroughly and efficiently. If this involves a slightly longer stay, I do not mind. You must try, however, to make it a worthwhile job.

I am also enclosing a kind of a letter of authority. This need not be shown to anyone except when this is necessary. In regard to the authorities in Hyderabad state, you need not approach them on your own initiative. Your visit, however, is not a secret one and if you are asked by

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Dwarka Nath Kachru; secretary, All India States People's Conference; joined Jawaharlal's secretariat in 1947 to deal primarily with state affairs; died in an air crash, 1950.

any official or non-official, you should tell him the objects of your visit. It is not desirable for you to try to develop any contacts with the authorities or to write to them for any particulars. Try to get your material without such official writing to any high authority. Later on if you find that it is not possible to get some important report or papers otherwise, you can write to the particular department. Even then you should not write to any of the ministers. In case, however, you have to write to any high official or any other official, do not enter into any argument with him, even if he invites you to do so by letter or orally. Tell him that your purpose is not to interfere in any way in Hyderabad with any work, or to come into conflict with the authorities. Your business is to collect material from all sources and to collate it and present it to me.

Your first approach will naturally be to the State's Congress people who will no doubt give you every assistance. You should consult Miss Padmaja Naidu also as to how you can get further material, more especially any official material. Later on you should approach any other important organisation in the state, political or economic, and ask them if they can supply you with any material. It does not matter whether that organisation is opposed to the national demand or not. But it must be an important organisation.

You should not waste your time over unimportant groups or individuals. In this matter as to whom you should approach or not, you should consult Miss Padmaja Naidu and abide by her advice. You should also consult her in regard to official communications that you may get or that you may have to send.

If necessary, you should visit various parts of the state, more especially some typical village areas. You will probably be asked to go to Bidar in connection with the recent incidents there.[3] You can go there because Bidar is an important place anyhow. You may also collect such material as you can about those incidents and find out what popular reactions are. It is not your business, however, to investigate closely into these incidents.

It is desirable that as you proceed with your work, in Hyderabad or in other states, you should work methodically, taking full notes of all you do and the important conversations that you may have. A daily record should be kept. This will help you later in drafting your report. Trusting to memory is not good enough.

Your general line of inquiry should be as follows :

1. A historical retrospect of Hyderabad state, more specially from the

3. See *ante*, item 3.

time the present Asafjah dynasty[4] took control, with special reference to the early British period and the treaties and settlements with the British.

2. The relations of the ruler with the British Government subsequently up to the present period and the general attitude of the British towards the state.

3. The economic conditions prevailing in the state, industrial developments if any, arts and crafts.

4. The system of land tenure — how it developed, what it is at present. The position of the feudatories. The big landlords, the middle landlords and the tenantry. Generally the agrarian position.

5. The position of the peasantry as a whole. The burden of taxation and debt.

6. Legislation affecting industrial workers and the peasantry.

7. Budgets of the state showing what part of the revenue of the state goes to the Nizam personally, to his family and to feudal chiefs. Also any separate private revenues of the Nizam. What is spent on the army, the police force, education, public health and sanitation and the other nation-building activities?

8. Analyse education so far as the money spent upon it is concerned. How much is spent on the Osmania University and its connected institutions, that is at the University stage? How much is spent on secondary education and how much on private education? Find out the number of primary and secondary schools and the percentage of literacy. Has this percentage been growing, and, if so, at what rate? Are there any restrictions in the way of opening schools by private individuals?

9. What is the money spent on ecclesiastical institutions? How much on mosques, on churches, on temples and gurdwaras?

10. The condition of civil liberty in the state in regard to press, freedom of organisation and association, public gathering etc. The laws which govern restrictions of civil liberty.

11. The growth of the political reform movement in the state. Conflicts with the state. The present position.

12. The communal question and how far it comes in the way of the political movement.

13. The strength of the state Congress. How many Muslims are associated with it?

14. More than a year ago there was a conflict in the University over *Bande Mataram* and a large number of university students left the University. What is the position in regard to this now?

4. Founded in 1724 by Nizam-ul-Mulk.

15. The Khaksar movement in the state. How strong is it and who are its leaders?
16. Apart from the state Congress, what other organisations exist in the state including communal or semi-religious organisations?

These are some of the points which you should bear in mind. Others will no doubt occur to you.

You can show this letter to Miss Padmaja Naidu as well as some of the leading members of the State's People's Congress. It must be remembered, however, that this letter is not meant for publication and should not be shown to pressmen. Indeed you should not seek any contacts with pressmen or any publicity. Such publicity will come in the way of your work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To the Secretary, Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind[1]

Delhi
July 3, 1940

Dear Sir,

I have received today your letter of July 2nd in which you have been good enough to send me copies of two resolutions which were passed by the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind at Jaunpur last month.[2] I understand that copies of these resolutions have been sent to the Congress President, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, also. I presume he will write to you about them.

In acknowledging these resolutions, however, I wish to express to you my own personal opinion in regard to them.

The first resolution refers to the riots at Bidar in Hyderabad state. Possibly the reference in this resolution is to a statement I made about the riots.[3] I might inform you that I issued that statement in my capacity as President of the All India States People's Conference after duly satisfying myself that what I had stated had sufficient foundation. I do not know what grounds you have for challenging my statement unless you are relying on statements issued by the Hyderabad Government. I

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. From 7 to 9 June 1940.
3. See *ante*, item 3.

presume you appreciate that statements by governments, whether the government is the Government of India or the Hyderabad State Government, cannot always be accepted as a true narration of facts, because these governments themselves are parties to the occurrences and desire to protect their prestige. I am certainly not prepared to accept, without due inquiry, a statement issued by the Hyderabad Government, for I know from considerable experience that these statements are not to be relied upon. So far as I am concerned, I took great care to inquire into the matter to the extent I could before I issued my statement. Therefore the reference in the resolution to hasty comments being made without inquiry is not correct. My statement was neither hasty nor without inquiry. I do not know what steps you have taken to inquire into the matter independently and how far such steps were calculated to bring out the truth of the incidents. I shall be glad to know which particular statement of mine you think, from the evidence in your possession, was incorrect. I should also like to have the nature of this evidence so that I can judge for myself. I can assure you that in the event of any comment of mine proving untrue, I shall gladly withdraw it.

I have not got my statement with me at present but as far as I remember, I gave certain facts about the Bidar incidents and then referred to the absence of civil liberties in Hyderabad and the general backwardness of the state in political and economic matters. I shall be grateful to you if you will let me know wherein you disagree with me — whether this is in regard to the facts stated about Bidar or about the lack of civil liberties and the general backwardness of Hyderabad state.

Your second resolution refers to a case apparently going on in the Central Provinces.[4] It is unusual for conferences to express their opinions in regard to such matters even though they may pass their resolution on an opinion expressed by a High Court. I do not know if you or your conference have taken the trouble to inquire into this matter or have gone through the evidence. To express an opinion without doing this is extraordinary. I am surprised that on the slender evidence you should expect the Congress to take disciplinary action against Mr. Shukla[5] and other ministers. I would have thought that if such a matter was to be brought up before a conference previous steps would be taken to have a thorough enquiry into it.

4. This referred to certain charges levelled against the Congress ministry for ill treatment of Muslims in 1937-39. A judge enquired into these charges and found them baseless.
5. Ravi Shankar Shukla (1877-1956); Prime Minister of Central Provinces, 1938-39, and Chief Minister, 1946-56.

The Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind is an organisation commanding respect and one is entitled to presume that it will discharge its functions with responsibility. I regret, therefore, that these two resolutions should have been passed at an open conference.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To Amrit Kaur[1]

Poona
July 28, 1940

My dear Amrit,[2]
I have your "Strictly Personal" letter as well as another. I shall write to you more fully later. This is just to acknowledge your letters and to say how glad I am that you have agreed to join the Standing Committee of the States People's Conference. We are trying hard to put this Conference on a sound and responsible basis. Gradually we have got new men into it. Probably we shall reorganise the office completely.

I have known Suman[3] off and on for some years and rather like him. As for the other person I am not at all impressed by him and consider him very irresponsible. Your suggestion that we should have a reliable worker in every state or group of states is good but is not feasible. Firstly because we have not got so many people to go round, secondly because it is not easy to impose people from outside. What we are trying to do, however, is to have a number of competent men attached to our Central Office who will be touring continuously and reporting to us about conditions and workers in the state. Their busisess will not be to take part in any activity or to advise in any way the local people but to observe and to report to us. We have already begun this on a small scale and it has had good results.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. (1889-1964); secretary to Mahatma Gandhi for 16 years; Union Minister of Health, 1947-52; member, Rajya Sabha, 1957-64.
3. Shridev Suman, Chairman of the Parvatiya Praja Parishad of Simla; secretary of the non-official enquiry committee which investigated the firing in Dhami in July 1939.

12. To Mahatma Gandhi[1]

August 10, 1940

My dear Bapu,

I have just received your letter of the 8th.[2] About Hyderabad, I can make no suggestion. So much depends on the strength of the people and their organisation. I think, however, that it is far better for them to concentrate on the rural areas where the chances of communal clashes are probably less. I do not see how they can remain passive under the circumstances. Yet it may be perhaps better not to precipitate a big crisis immediately in view of the rapid developments of the political situation in India as a whole. When this all-India situation advances further, Hyderabad people might be in a better position to assert their right.

In a sense I am not sorry at the developments in Hyderabad. The impossible attitude that Bahadur Yar Khan and others have taken up will react on them.[3] It may of course lead to a great deal of trouble and bloodshed. In any event the state Congress people should make it perfectly clear that they cannot reduce by an iota their demand for responsible government.

I understand the Working Committee is likely to meet in Wardha in eight or nine days time. I hope to meet you then.

About the exactions for war funds, I have written to the secretary of the U.P.P.C.C. to send you some particulars. Some have been published in the press and are clear enough. Some others, though equally clear, might be explained differently. For instance, a usual case is for a person to be approached for a donation. He refuses or offers a smaller sum than what is demanded. Immediately or a day or two after he is arrested on the charge of preventing others from subscribing to the war funds, and thereby coming in the way of war efforts.

I have just had a case like this from Allahabad district. A poor village shopkeeper was asked to give Rs. 15/- or Rs. 20/-. He said the most he could possibly give was Rs. 5/-. He was cursed and sworn at and immediately a notice was given to him to appear to show cause why he

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Mahatma Gandhi had written that he had read a very depressing report on Hyderabad. He asked Jawaharlal for any suggestions for remedying this situation as well as for any authentic evidence of war exactions.
3. The Muslim communal organization in Hyderabad, the Ittehad, was headed by Bahadur Yar Khan. It opposed the scheme of reforms announced by the Nizam in 1939.

should not be proceeded against under the Defence of India Rules. His case is up today in a court here. Usually this kind of thing is not done with full-fledged Congressmen who are expected to refuse anyhow. Another case which has come to me today is from Kasganj in Etah district. A *Naib Tehsildar* went to the shop of a Congressman on 2nd of August and demanded money for the war funds. This was refused and the man stated that as a Congressman he could not do so. Thereupon the *Naib Tehsildar* threatened to take action and had the name of the person noted down. On the next day this man, who is the nephew of a well-known Congressman in the district, was suddenly arrested for non-payment of a punitive police tax. He was put in the lock-up and for 30 hours he was not given any food or facilities for bathing etc. This arrest was completely illegal as punitive tax can only be recovered by attachment of property and the person concerned, whose name is Omprakash, has considerable moveable and immoveable property. The amount of punitive tax concerned was only Rs. 6/- which could easily have been realised by attachment. Omprakash's uncle, Manpal Gupta, thereupon created a lot of fuss and ultimately Omprakash was discharged. That is how the matter stands now.

Another interesting case is that of Thakur Surendra Bahadur Singh, Taluqdar of Simri in Rae Bareli district. He is a Congress M.L.A. His father, the Taluqdar, recently died and thereupon, at his own request, his taluqa was taken under the court of wards. The Deputy Commissioner informed him that he should contribute Rs. 1500/- to the war fund. He refused to do so as a Congressman. He was then told that he held his taluqa on conditions of loyalty and good service and the court of wards has a perfect right to give the donation out of the revenues of the taluqa. Thereupon he sent a registered notice to the Deputy Commissioner protesting against this imposition and saying that it was wholly illegal. His case was that it might or might not be open to the government to confiscate his taluqa for want of loyalty to them. But it was certainly not open to them to give a donation on his behalf and against his will. In spite of this the Deputy Commissioner has already paid or is going to pay this sum to the war fund and Surendra Bahadur Singh is thinking of bringing a declaratory suit in a court of law.

I am getting complaints from various districts of pressure being brought on kisans to pay eight annas or a rupee or more per plough. It is obvious that they do not want to pay but are compelled to do so.

Petty government servants and minor officials dare not say no when they are asked to contribute. A recent case which came to my notice informally but nevertheless correctly was that of a stenotypist of a district magistrate. He was asked to give Rs. 200/-. His salary was

Rs. 125/- a month. He pointed out hesitatingly that he had a large family and it was entirely beyond his capacity to pay that sum. He was then told that in any event he and his family would have to starve if the British lost the war. So this was a kind of insurance that he had to pay. A curious thing is that one does not hear very much about donations from higher officials. They think it is enough for them to serve the cause by giving their very efficient service at a high rate of payment.

The number of new appointments at high salaries grows from day to day. Probably a very large proportion of the funds that are being collected goes towards the payment of these high salaries. Simla, I understand, is crowded with this type of officials serving the great cause by drawing a fancy salary for little or no work. There was a recent case of an English official who was till recently drawing Rs. 750/- a month suddenly being pushed into some war work and is being given Rs. 2500/- a month. It was stated that he had accepted this new job at considerable sacrifice to himself.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

13. The Anachronisms that are the Indian States[1]

A real crisis, when it confronts a nation, brings up all manner of problems to a head. A revolutionary situation tears the veil which covers inner conflicts and disorders in the body politic and shows them for what they are. We have a crisis in India and the world today: we have a devastating war which threatens to spread and prolong itself till a great part of modern civilisation is in ruins. This is big enough and overwhelming in its significance, and yet behind this crisis and war lies something bigger and more significant. It is a mighty revolution that we are passing through, marking the end of the political and economic structure which has dominated Europe and America, and through them the rest of the world, for more than a hundred years.

That structure has come to a full stop and can no longer deal with current problems. It can no longer provide work and security for the

1. First published in *States People* and reprinted in the *National Herald*, 18 September 1940.

people, and no social and economic structure which fails to do so can endure. The choice before Europe is not one of carrying on, as it has carried on so far, or of changing. The change must come; it has already crept in to a large extent because of the war. The old order is dead.

The immediate choice is what shape the new order will take. Will it be a fascist reorganisation of the political and social structure, or a socialist? The former is the enemy of all democratic processes, but it is relatively easy for imperialism to change to it and thus keep the reins of authority still in the hands of the old gang. The latter may retain much of democracy but it must liquidate imperialism and vested interest.

We have seen in France how easily it has gone fascist at the top, though there is little doubt that the people generally are opposed to this and are lovers of freedom. A similar development cannot be ruled out for England, not necessarily through defeat in war, but because the imperialist tradition is still strong there. We have seen how England even now, in spite of peril and danger, reacts to the demand for Indian freedom.

But whatever may happen in Europe and America, one thing is as certain as anything in human life can be — the complete reshaping of the political and economic structure, with the state largely controlling production, distribution, transport and financial structure and in fact most departments of organised human activity. That has already taken place for war purposes; it must continue after the war, though the state itself may change its form and content.

If the essence of the present world situation is this vast revolutionary change, how will this affect the Indian states? It is patent that India as a whole or the Indian states cannot remain apart from this world change. Viewed from this point of view, the states are astonishing anachronisms which still exist as if they were in the eighteenth century or earlier. It will be difficult for them to skip the nineteenth century and land themselves suddenly in the middle of the twentieth. Yet there is no help for it, for the pace of events today does not permit of slow progress or transition.

The break-up of the British Empire will have a powerful effect on them for they have survived because of this empire. They dread this break-up and, curiously, at the same time, the rulers or the ministers of some of the larger states indulge in dreams of extending their domains when this break-up comes.

It may be, of course, that we have to go through, to our misfortune, a period of disruption and disorder in India, and that some of the major states play a leading part in it. But if history and current events can

teach us anything, this is certain that the Indian states system must end. It is an absurdity, a relic of medievalism, an offence to all intelligent political and social thought, immoral and unjust, and a challenge to every ideal that we cherish. Above all, it is entirely out of keeping with modern conditions. It must therefore go, though it is likely to give a lot of trouble before it does. Without any of the virtues of a fascist economy, it has all its vices. It will grow increasingly fascist and ally itself to other fascist elements in the country.

It has been our aim and purpose to solve the Indian states problem peacefully and, wherever possible, with the cooperation of the parties concerned. We have put forward the objective of full responsible government for the people. Our efforts have not succeeded to any appreciable extent and the authorities in various states have progressively become more oppressive, and have refused to take even moderate steps towards the people's freedom. If they insist on shutting their eyes to obvious facts and if they are ignorant of the world's happenings, they will not thus stop the pace or extent of change. Indeed the change will then be more sudden and more far-reaching than we have imagined.

For all of us it must be clear that we cannot, under any circumstances, give up our objective of full responsible government and civil liberty. At any time this would have been wrong; in the middle of world revolution today, any weakness in this respect is grave disservice to the cause we represent. Petty compromises will not help us. We are not going to sell our birthright for a mess of pottage.

India seems to be on the verge of a great internal crisis and satyagraha is in the air. Obviously any such movement will have far-reaching repercussions in the states. It is difficult to give any advice which can apply to all the states, because conditions vary so much. Ultimately the decision and responsibility for steps to be taken must rest with the people of each state. The fact that there is satyagraha in a great part of India does not necessarily mean that it should be started immediately in the states. But it does mean that all of us, whether we live in the states or elsewhere, are caught up in the coils of revolutionary change, and we must prepare with all our might for this, and function bravely and steadfastly when the call comes to us.

14. To K.B. Menon[1]

Allahabad
October 25, 1940

My dear Menon,
Your letter of October 19th. I am sorry I have been unable to write about Jaipur. If possible I shall deal with it later.

I am quite clear that the *States People* should continue as long as it can. There is no question of the privilege of going to jail being denied to anyone. Jail going comes in the course of work and we accept it with pleasure. The main thing is work, not seeking jail. It is quite possible and probable that from fairly small beginnings a very big movement may develop in India. All of us will have our full share of risk and adventure. Meanwhile we must carry on and do the jobs entrusted to us as well as possible.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. All India States People's Conference File No. 6/1937-41, N.M.M.L.

4

NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE

1. To Begum Hamid Ali[1]

Allahabad
March 25, 1940

My dear Begum Hamid Ali,
I have received your telegrams in which you say that you do not agree to the interim report of the Women's Sub-Committee and therefore you withhold your name from it.

I have not myself seen the interim report but I suppose it has been sent to our office in Bombay. Such reports are provisional reports indicating the general line taken and the subjects touched upon. They do not finally commit a sub-committee. But they are necessary to keep our office informed and to help in the coordination of our work; I had hoped that the full reports of the sub-committees would be available by this time. But as this could not be done satisfactorily, I requested the sub-committees to send interim reports. Ordinarily the question of a member of a sub-committee signing such a report or withholding signature from it does not arise as the interim report embodies the general sense of the committee and the line of approach. In almost every committee dealing with far-reaching issues, differences of opinion are bound to arise and an attempt is made to reach as large a measure of common agreement as possible. In the event of there being disagreement or several viewpoints in regard to some particular matters, this is indicated in the body of the report. Usually such differences are limited in number, while the agreement is more fundamental and widespread. I have no doubt that so far as the Women's Sub-Committee is concerned, there will be this fundamental agreement in spite of minor differences which can be indicated in the final report.

I was a spectator at one of the meetings of the sub-committee in Bombay and I must say that I was pleased and surprised at the earnestness and ability of the members in tackling their problems and I have great hopes that the report of the sub-committee will be a worthy document. A full consideration of all viewpoints, especially yours, is essential before the final report takes shape. It was chiefly because of this that I consented to an extension of time for the final report. I would rather that it was delayed than that it should be unsatisfactory. With your large experience of women's work and women's problems in India

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

and elsewhere, your criticism and cooperation is of essential importance and I am sure the committee will benefit by this very greatly.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. To Lakshmibai Rajwade[1]

Allahabad
March 30, 1940

My dear Tai,
As you felt that it was not possible at all to hold a meeting of your sub-committee in Delhi on the 3rd April, a postponement became unavoidable. But I must confess that it was unfortunate that such a postponement should take place. I have considered all the circumstances which you pointed out and they were important. Still I think it would have been better to hold the meeting even though you were totally unprepared for it. I think this postponement will, instead of facilitating matters, cause much more trouble. However we need not discuss that now.

It is no doubt your objective, as it is mine, that the report of the Women's Sub-Committee should be an able, well-written, well-argued, persuasive document, which has the approval not only of your committee but of a large section of opinion, and which forcibly draws opinion towards the many problems with which it deals. This necessitates not only very careful decisions but also very careful drafting, so that the approach should be as friendly as possible to the reader. This involves also an attempt to avoid being side-tracked by internal controversies inside the sub-committee as well as outside among the general public. The best of reports may turn out to be a complete flop, if it does not bear all these factors in mind. Many of the subjects dealt with by your committee relate to intimate details of personal life and to all manner of prejudices and customs. It is right that these prejudices and injurious customs should go and we should work to that end. But the way to remove them is not always the way of merely denouncing them. One has to approach the subject in a manner which is the least offensive to large sections of people and which does not irritate them to such an

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

extent as to blind their reasoning capacity. Otherwise there is great danger of the whole report being condemned off-hand as a fantastic Utopian and airy document which has no relation to fact. Or, even worse still, it might be dubbed as an immoral and injurious document. Few people will care to read the report carefully and most will condemn it off-hand. The result of this will be bad for the women's cause and it will also be bad for the whole National Planning Committee. As it is, we are being accused of being visionaries, out of touch with reality and evolving doctrinaire schemes. If this is added on to a feeling that our committees are bent on uprooting every established rule and custom in India, the result will be a mass opposition which will bury all our efforts at reforms. I do not think that because of this we should accept anything that is evil. But there are ways of approach and suggestion, which, while not accepting the evil and not giving up the ideal in view, yet make the approach gently and persuasively with a full realisation of existing conditions. After all we have to build out of existing conditions and we may not ignore them. The alternative is that it should prove totally ineffective and a waste of labour.

I write all this as your interim report, which I have read carefully, has proved a great disappointment to me. Such a report, I am quite sure, will not carry your cause any further. It will indeed injure it. Of course it is not right for me to base any conclusion on an interim report. Still this gives some indication of what the final report is likely to be. This interim report seems to me a collection of assertions or proposals, often overlapping each other, sometimes by no means clear, and generally badly drafted. From beginning to end it is completely doctrinaire and does not even seem to envisage the problem that has to be faced. It only looks at a certain future that is aimed at. Of course that future must be considered, especially with a view to a planned society. But I am quite certain that that future will never be realised in this fashion and by this approach.

You will forgive me for writing frankly on this subject, but I do attach importance to your report and I think that it might well be a landmark in the women's movement in India. I am anxious, therefore, that it should fully come up to the mark. Among other things, it was essential that the greatest consultation and cooperation should take place between the various members of your sub-committee. Otherwise the sub-committee itself, or part of it, might sabotage the report or divert public attention from the major questions to minor issues, which will make people excited. We have to face a danger now that howsoever well the report may be drafted, and the interim report gives no promise of good drafting, it will meet with a certain opposition in the sub-committee and greater opposition outside. It is far safer to try to eliminate this

opposition at an early stage by having as much cooperation as possible between the various members of the sub-committee. I would have suggested that even at this stage, when drafting is being undertaken, some of the members of the sub-committee should be invited to cooperate and help in this work. I do not know how far this is possible now, but I still think that an attempt should be made. I spoke to Professor Shah briefly on this subject as well as others contained in this letter. Unfortunately he was here only for half an hour. But I think that I gave him my general viewpoint. He agreed with me that it would be desirable to have other members of the sub-committee to function if possible. Mridula of course will be with you. I have asked Sarup to try to go to Bombay to help you and, though she is not very well, she has agreed to do so. She is going to Delhi. From there she expects to reach Bombay about the 5th April morning. She is prepared to remain there a week or ten days. I cannot approach any other member and indeed I should not like to do so. That is for you to fix up.

Although we are pressed for time in the N.P.C., I would much rather give you more for your sub-committee's report rather than get something which is not AI. If I can be of any help to you in any way, you can always command me.

I suggest that you should not fix the next meeting of your sub-committee till you have completely finished this job of drafting with the help of as many members as possible. Having done that, the date can be fixed and it might be desirable for Mridula to pay a visit to Begum Hamid Ali with the draft to discuss it with her.

I have written to you at some length but I have only put before you a small part of my mind on the subject. I have spoken about it to Sarup and Mridula also.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

Bombay
April 20, 1940

Dear Mr. President,

I have to report to you about the activities of the National Planning Committee. It was our hope and intention to finish the preliminary work of this Committee within a year from its inception, but the magnitude of the task has prevented us from completing it within that period. I addressed last year's Congress President, Shri Rajendra Prasad, on this subject and he was good enough to extend the period for our report. The National Planning Committee at their last sessions appointed 29 sub-committees on various subjects. Each of these sub-committees in effect has to deal with an important sphere of economic and other activity and there has been great delay in the sub-committees presenting their reports. This has reacted on the National Planning Committee which cannot proceed with its work till it has received the reports of its sub-committees. Because of this reason, we have repeatedly had to postpone our meetings.

The full Committee is now meeting on the 1st May and will probably continue in session for two weeks. We have now received full reports from 5 sub-committees, namely:

1. Heavy Engineering 2. River Training and Irrigation 3. Labour 4. Population 5. Horticulture.

Interim reports have been received from the following sub-committees:

1. Chemicals 2. Public Finance 3. Transport.

Final or interim reports are expected within the next few days from the following sub-committees:

1. Rural Marketing 2. Industrial Finance 3. Housing 4. Animal Husbandry 5. Communications 6. Currency and Banking 7. Insurance 8. Manufacturing Industries.

Apart from the above mentioned sub-committees, there still remain 13 sub-committees to report. The next meeting of the National Planning Committee will consider such reports and interim reports as are placed before it and may also discuss some general issues of policy. After that we shall have to give some more time to the remaining sub-committees for their reports. When all the reports have come in, they will have to be considered together and the final report of the Planning Committee itself drafted and considered. All this is likely to take at least 4 to

1. A.I.C.C. File No. G-23/1940-42, pp. 72-74, N.M.M.L.

5 months more, and maybe 6 months. In view of the critical political situation, it is possible that our work may suffer or be delayed. It is our desire, however, to complete as rapidly as possible the work of the sub-committees so that all the material may be ready for any future use.

We have tried to carry on our activities within the limits of our restricted finances. This has often resulted in delay. Owing to the expansion of our work and the heavy burden that this has cast on us, our expenses have been considerable. And yet I would venture to say that work has been carried on far more economically than is usually possible under such circumstances. We have carried on our work for a year and five months with funds which were intended for half this period. Our present resources will probably be exhausted about the end of June. It is necessary for us, therefore, to arrange for further contributions for another four or five months and, in particular, for the printing of our own report and the reports of the 29 sub-committees. This printing is likely to be a heavy item in our budget.

I am giving you this information of our financial position so that you may be in touch with developments in the National Planning Committee. I am not making a request for a grant from the Congress funds. It is our desire not to burden the Congress with this expenditure in so far as we can help it. We have avoided of course accepting any money from any private or non-official agencies so far, as this was not considered proper by us. We have depended solely on contributions from provincial governments and some state governments (Hyderabad, Mysore, Baroda and Bhopal). It may be that these governments might help us a little still further. I am addressing them on the subject.

Our office is sending to the A.I.C.C. office the audited statement of our accounts up to the 31st December 1939 and another statement till the end of March 1940.

We are also sending to the A.I.C.C. office copies of the reports of the sub-committees received by us so far.

In view of the circumstances mentioned above, I would beg of you to extend the time for the submission of our report. I cannot suggest any definite time but provisionally it might be fixed at the end of September 1940, or to be on the safer side, till the end of the year.

There is a considerable demand from the press and the public for the reports of our sub-committees. We have so far treated them as confidential but it is difficult to keep them so, as unauthorised reports go to the press and sometimes mislead the public. It is our intention, therefore, to issue a brief synopsis of our sub-committees' report to the press after the report has been presented to the N.P.C. I trust you approve of this procedure. The sub-committees' report or the synopsis will of course in no way bind the National Planning Committee, much less the



WITH MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE, BOMBAY, APRIL 1940



WITH MOHAMMED YUNUS AND SHEIKH ABDULLAH, SRINAGAR, JUNE 1940

Congress. It is just a report of certain experts appointed for a particular task. This fact will be made clear.

It is quite likely that in these sub-committees' reports there will be considerable variety of opinions and sometimes even conflici in regard to vital matters of principle. This is inevitable, as the number of people working in the N.P.C. is large and represents a variety of opinions. The N.P.C. will try to coordinate these opinions as far as possible, though this may not always be possible. And finally it will be for the Congress Executive to consider the N.P.C. report and give its own opinion in regard to it.

I am sending a copy of this letter to the General Secretary of the A.I.C.C. at Allahabad. As I have mentioned above, sub-committees' reports are also being sent to him, as I did not wish to burden you with this voluminous material. Should you, however, desire to have these reports or any other information, we shall gladly send them to you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The Progress of Planning[1]

1. We are meeting today after a long interval and I owe an apology to the members of the Committee both for this delay and for the repeated changes of date. We met on the last occasion in full committee in June 1939 and it was decided then that we should hold our next sessions in the second half of October 1939, though no exact date was fixed. Owing to the delay in the work of the sub-committees, it was felt, however, that no useful purpose would be served by our meeting then. I consulted all the members by circular letters, and many of them personally also, and found that this was the general opinion. The war in Europe, which began early in September 1939, had created a new situation in India, both politically and economically, and various crises were developing. October was a changing and uncertain month, and later months added to this uncertainty. Under these circumstances, it was the general

1. Chairman's note to the members of the Committee, 1 May 1940. National Planning Committee File No. 135/1940, N.M.M.L.

feeling that we should postpone the third sessions of the N.P.C. and carry on with the work of the sub-committees. Members will, I trust, appreciate the reasons for the delay in holding this session, and realise that the fault lay in the circumstances, and that no one was to blame for it.

2. Recent and repeated changes in the date of this meeting must have been disconcerting to members and I must apologise for them. It is not an easy matter to suit the convenience of all our members, who are busy men, living and carrying on their businesses or professions in distant parts of India. We have tried our utmost to meet their wishes and their convenience, but inevitably what suited some, did not suit others.

3. We meet under strange conditions in India and the world. It is a curious anomaly and contradiction that while we think and plan to build up India, and thereby help also in building up the world on a more secure foundation, that world is engaged in the work of destruction on a vast scale. The future that we envisage seems to recede further away, and even the heritage of the past stands in danger of being lost. A dispassionate consideration of the world's problems yields place to the crime and folly of war, where reason and logic and goodwill have no place, and passion and hatred reign and the sword decides.

4. To some it may appear that this is a most unsuitable time for planning, which is essentially a labour of peaceful cooperation. It may be argued that we should wait for better times and more stable conditions, for who knows what the outcome of the present conflict will be? On what foundation shall we build, when no man can foretell what that foundation will be? And yet though we are so uncertain of the future, this we know well that the future will be very different from the past or even from this changing present. Already we see vast political and economic changes taking shape in the womb of the future. Can we plan in India with all this doubt and uncertainty?

5. These considerations fill our minds, as they should, and we must give careful thought to them. And yet these very considerations lead us to a contrary conclusion. For it is this very time of change and uncertainty that demands mental activity and a vision of the future that we desire. If we are mere onlookers now, and passive and helpless agents of circumstances or the will of others, we barter away our claim to that future. Instead of preparing for it, we hand the reins to others. Every conflict ends some time or other, every war is followed by a peace, temporary or more enduring, every work of destruction has to be followed by construction. That construction will be chaotic and wasteful unless previous thought has been given to it. A period of war and dynamic change therefore demands, even more than the static times of peace, the

planned activity of the mind, so that, when time and opportunity come, this may be translated with all speed into the planned activity of the nation.

6. Another change, intimately affecting us, has taken place during the past few months. Most of the provincial governments, which fathered this Planning Committee and cooperated with our work, are no more, and in a large number of provinces, the structure of a limited provincial autonomy has given place to autocratic rule by alien authority. The outlook has changed completely and we see from day to day the reversal of the old policies. India, which was emerging gradually into a semi-colonial stage, is now again being treated as a full colony and its resources used for anti-national purposes.

7. This change is obviously of great significance for us. Under these circumstances our planning becomes even more divorced from present conditions than it was before, and the structures that we might build, might appear to some as castles in the air. Yet that would be a foolish thought, for everyone knows that present conditions in India, as well as elsewhere, are transitory and must pass. And in passing, they will not give place to the limited and restricted autonomy of the provinces that we had, but to a much broader freedom. And so, though the circumstances have changed, the necessity for planning is all the more vital and urgent.

8. The political changes in India have added in many ways to our difficulties and it is conceivable that additional obstructions may hamper our work still further in the future. I was asked at one time whether it was desirable to continue the activities of the National Planning Committee. I had no hesitation in giving answer that we must continue this work, even though the difficulties that encompass us increase and make normal functioning hardly possible. In any event, our sub-committees should carry on their labours and finish them; in any event, we must collect all our material and arrange it and give it shape. If this is done, we shall be in a position to deal with it rapidly and effectively when the time comes.

9. I should like to express my indebtedness, as well as, I am sure, the appreciation of the Committee, to the chairmen, secretaries and members of the various sub-committees that we appointed, for the way they have tackled their difficult tasks, and given their time and energy to them. I should also like to express my gratitude to the members of our office staff who have worked hard and willingly, often far beyond the usual office hours.

10. It is a matter of sorrow and deep regret for all of us that Mr. P.N. Mathur, the Chairman of our Engineering Industries and Transport

Industries Sub-Committee, died suddenly a few weeks ago. Mr. Mathur took the deepest interest in the work of the N.P.C. and the report of his sub-committee, which he completed shortly before his death, is one of the most valuable and practical of our reports. It is exceedingly unfortunate that a man of his ability, training and earnestness should leave us in the prime of his life, when so much good work could be expected from him.

11. We have so far received reports from the following sub-committees, and these reports have already been circulated among members. Some of these reports are final, others are interim reports, as indicated opposite each.

1.	Engineering Industries and Transport Industries ...	Final
2.	Population ...	Final
3.	Housing ...	Final
4.	Labour ...	Final
5.	Horticulture ...	Final
6.	River Training Part I ...	Final
7.	Manufacturing Industries ...	Interim
8.	Chemicals ...	Interim
9.	Transport ...	Interim
10.	Public Finance ...	Interim
11.	Currency and Banking ...	Interim
12.	Land Policy ...	Interim
13.	Animal Husbandry ...	Interim

12. I understand that we are also likely to receive very soon the following reports :

14.	Rural Marketing ...	Final
15.	Industrial Finance ...	Final
16.	Power and Fuel ...	Interim
17.	Women's Role ...	Interim

13. There remain thus 12 sub-committees which have so far sent no report at all. It is unfortunate that some of the sub-committees dealing with agricultural subjects are particularly behindhand. Two sub-committees — Technical Education and Fisheries — have not functioned at all so far. Fisheries is perhaps not so important, but Technical Education is a vital and essential part of planning and it must be dealt with adequately. Unfortunately the eminent men who were appointed, one after the other as chairman, were unable to give time to this work. I hope that this sub-committee will soon begin to function.

14. Almost every report complains of the unsatisfactory nature of the statistics and data available. It is clear that adequate data and information is of the essence of planning, and therefore the very first step that a planning authority must take is to organise the proper and scientific collection of statistics, both for the formulation of the plan and for its checking from time to time. It might have been worth while for us to have a special sub-committee to deal with statistics for this science is becoming highly specialised. It is not merely a question of collecting facts, but of doing so in the most advantageous way, of arranging them properly and of drawing the right conclusions from them. Fortunately we have in India an efficient organisation which deals with this subject—The Indian Statistical Institute and the Statistical Laboratory of Calcutta. Professor P.C. Mahalanobis,[2] who is in charge of this laboratory, has kindly offered his cooperation to us in every way and has sent us two notes on the subject, which are being circulated to members.

15. I have gratefully accepted the offer made by Professor P.C. Mahalanobis to examine all our sub-committees' reports from a purely statistical point of view and to send us his suggestions thereon. Copies of these reports have been sent to him.

16. The procedure to be followed during this session of the National Planning Committee will be determined by the N.P.C. itself on the first day. Provisionally, separate dates have been fixed for the presentation of each sub-committee's report and the chairman and secretary of that particular sub-committee have been invited to be present on that day. It is suggested that a general discussion might take place on the report then and advantage might be taken of the presence of the chairman and secretary to elucidate the report. If the N.P.C. desires to take any decisions on the report at that stage it will do so.

17. A very detailed discussion of all the recommendations made in the reports at this stage may perhaps not be desirable, as this might delay the presentation of the other reports. Many of the fundamental questions that arise are common to many reports and it would probably be better to consider them as a whole after the various reports have been presented and generally discussed.

18. We have arrived at a stage when some of these fundamental questions of policy have to be considered and some indication given as to

2. (1893-1973); Fellow of Royal Society; Principal, Presidency College, Calcutta, 1945-48; founder and director, Indian Statistical Institute, member, Planning Commission, 1955-73.

the method of approach to planning. It is inevitable that some of the sub-committees adopt differing methods and even make recommendations which do not fit into each other. The N.P.C. itself represents many viewpoints, and while we must endeavour to bring them together and agree as far as possible, the possibility of disagreement on certain vital issues need not frighten us. A discussion of these different approaches and points of disagreement will be helpful to us, as well as later on to the public at large. That in itself has importance as the ultimate policy of the state will necessarily depend on public opinion, and the more informed this public opinion, the better it will be for us. It may be desirable, when our report stage arrives, to give fully these differing viewpoints.

19. It must be remembered that final decisions in regard to national planning will have to be taken by the state when it has the power to do so as well as the ability to give effect to its decisions. It is even more important to remember that the very basis of our planning is a free India, democratically fashioned, where no external authority can interfere or obstruct the nation's work. There can be no planning otherwise; if there is interference or obstruction from outside, it means the imposition of external authority and other people's decisions on us. Full political and economic freedom is thus an essential prerequisite to planning.

20. It is obvious that at present we are far from this political and economic freedom. Political domination is patent enough, but a far more dangerous and insidious thing is economic domination. While the public can see and feel political domination, and therefore reacts to it, it is not so conscious of the economic stranglehold which throttles the life of the nation and prevents industrial and other growth. We have had enough experience of this in the past and the present is full of dangerous possibilities owing to the war and its far-reaching consequences. These consequences are affecting Britain's economy vitally and may shake up completely or even upset her economic structure. Under present circumstances, it is exceedingly likely that the burden of this upsetting will be shifted as far as possible on to India, and we shall suffer because of it. Our financial and currency policy have long had no relation to the interests of India or the good of the Indian people. They are controlled by alien authority for other ends. As the war progresses and the tension grows the necessity and desire to exploit India will also grow. All the misfortunes of the pound sterling will be passed, with something added on, to the rupee which has been forcibly connected in unholy marriage to the pound. Our gold continues to flow away at a time when every nation tries to conserve it.

21. All these and similar considerations are of vital importance for us in the present as well as in the future. They do not affect our planned scheme as that is based on an elimination of these factors and of all external authority. But it is possible that improper and unjustifiable advantage might be sought to be taken of a part of our scheme in order to consolidate and strengthen foreign authority and interests in India. We must be on our guard against this. Our scheme is conceived for a free India and not for a colonial India with the strings of political and economic authority held elsewhere. It cannot be transplanted on different soil.

22. To give an instance: many of our sub-committees' reports have recommended state ownership or control of certain industries, services and enterprises. Indeed we have already come to some general decisions on this subject. Obviously, when we refer to the state we mean a free and democratic India; we do not mean the present state in India, subordinate to and controlled by foreign authority and interests. It would be absurd for the present state in India to interpret our recommendation in its own favour and thus add to its own political and economic power. This present state is carried on in the interest of British vested interests in India, and for this state to have more power means that British vested interests are further entrenched and added to. We know to our cost how Indian industry and enterprise have suffered because of this in the past. The Government of India Act of 1935 tried to perpetuate this state of affairs by preventing us from touching British interests in India. That policy continues and will be intensified under the pretext of war economy.

23. I have laid emphasis on this aspect of the question as it is important that all of us, and the public, should bear it in mind and prevent our exploitation as far as we can. Keeping this in mind, we should proceed with our planning.

24. Thinking and planning for the future is essential if that future is not to end in misdirected energy and chaos. It is foolish to imagine that when the present crisis at long last ends, a new or better arrangement of world affairs or our national affairs will automatically emerge out of it. It is equally unwise to allow matters to drift, protesting occasionally perhaps, but otherwise looking on helplessly, for fear that what we may do might involve a risk or be taken unfair advantage of by our opponents. The world is full of risks and dangers today. We cannot escape them. The greatest risk and danger is to drift and not give thought and energy to finding a way out. It is manifest that the old order has had its day and is dissolving, whether we like this or not. It has led to wars and upheavals and continuing conflicts which involve not only passion and hatred and an enormous waste of energy and resources,

but also prevent us from achieving what is otherwise easily attainable. We have to understand the conflicts of forces that dominate the world today and seek to resolve these conflicts. It is certainly a possibility that the world may inevitably be led to social dissolution. We have to avoid that, if we can, but we cannot do so by shutting our eyes to the fact that the existing order is incapable of preventing this catastrophe. Something else, more in keeping with modern condition, has to be evolved. Politics, in our country as elsewhere, dominates the scene and occupies men's minds. But the real changes that are shaping the world are deeper than politics. If we plan, we must consider them and have clear minds about them.

25. We shall thus have to consider, at this stage or later, the basic and fundamental policies that must govern our planning. Without a definite and clear-cut objective in view, and an understanding of the path we must pursue, we shall plan ineffectively or perhaps even in vain.

26. Already the N.P.C. has given some thought to this matter and we have come to some general but fundamental decisions. It is well to recapitulate some of them. We are aiming at a free and democratic state, which has full political and economic freedom. In this state the fundamental rights of the individual and the group—political, economic, social and cultural—will be guaranteed, and the corresponding duties and obligations laid down. The state will be progressive and will utilise all scientific and other knowledge for the advancement of the people as a whole, and for the promotion of their happiness and material as well as cultural and spiritual well-being. The state will not permit the exploitation of the community by individuals or groups to the disadvantage of the former and to the injury of the nation as a whole. To realise the social objectives, the state has to plan through its representatives for the nation (whenever possible, in cooperation with other nations) and to coordinate the various activities of the nation so as to avoid waste and conflict and attain the maximum results. This planning will deal with production, distribution, consumption, investment, trade, income, social services, and the many other forms of national activity which act and react on each other. Briefly put, planning aims at the raising of the material and cultural standard of living of the people as a whole. In India our standards are so terribly low and poverty is so appalling, that this question of raising standards is of the most vital importance. The N.P.C. has suggested that national wealth should be increased between two and three times within the next ten years, and this should be so planned as to raise the general standard at least in a like measure.

26. The principle of state ownership or control of key industries and services, mineral resources, railways, waterways, shipping and other means

of public transport, has also been accepted. This principle was laid down first by the Congress at Karachi in 1931.

27. Further it has been decided that defence industries should be owned and controlled by the state; and that public utilities and all key industries should be owned or controlled by the state. A strong body of opinion in the N.P.C. was in favour of the state always owning public utilities. The principle of state ownership or control legitimately applies to other large-scale industries or enterprises which are likely to be monopolistic in character, or even to other large-scale enterprises.

28. This change may be impracticable in the near future in existing industries. But wherever even an established industry, under private control, receives aid or protection from the state, or tends to develop into a monopoly, or comes into conflict with the general policy of the state, the state should take necessary steps to assure conformity in all such ventures with its basic policy and with the objective laid down in the plan.

29. It is clear that the very nature of planning requires the control by the planning authority in some measure of even other than key or vital industries. This control might vary with the industry in question, but it will have to be rigid for the key or vital industries.

30. It has further been decided that efforts must be made to avoid the establishment of new vested interests or anything else which may come in the way of planning.

31. A tentative list of defence industries, key industries and public utilities is given at page 102 of the red book. These lists will no doubt be revised by the sub-committees concerned.

32. The N.P.C. has also declared that cottage industries, in conformity with the national policy, should be protected and encouraged. I have dealt with this matter in previous notes to the members. It will have to be considered more fully when we have the sub-committees' reports before us.

33. At the instance of the Manufacturing Industries Sub-Committee, a meeting of the chairmen and secretaries of all the sub-committees was held in Bombay on February 11th 1940, in order to consider matters relating to the control and functioning of industries. A full discussion took place then which was very helpful to those present. I have already sent to all members of the N.P.C. a memorandum about this meeting. Some decisions were taken in conformity with those of the N.P.C. as mentioned above. It was further recommended that in the event of a private industry being taken over by the state, fair compensation should be paid. In calculating this compensation, a number of factors will have to be taken into consideration, so that the interests of the general

public do not suffer and, at the same time, the owners are not victimised. It was not thought necessary to go into further details in regard to this matter at that stage.

34. This meeting of February 11th also laid down that any large-scale industry, which may come into conflict with a particular cottage industry encouraged and supported by the state, should itself be controlled by the state. Such control will prevent any conflicts arising and coordination will be easy. This viewpoint had previously been expressed in the N.P.C. also.

35. I must apologise to members for the length of this note. I have written it in order not to take the time of the Committee by having to talk about these subjects, and also to put the issues before us as concisely as possible.

5. On the Work of the Sub-Committees[1]

Bombay
15th May 1940

Dear Friend,

The third sessions of the National Planning Committee began on the 1st of May and continued till the 14th of May. During these two weeks the Committee worked hard and considered many of the reports that had been presented to it. We came to certain conclusions in regard to these reports. These have been published in the public press and we hope to issue them for your information and for reference in the form of a book soon. These conclusions, taken separately by us in regard to each report, will have to be reviewed by us as a whole so that they may fit in with each other. This process of coordination will come at a later stage.

Unfortunately, all the reports of the sub-committees were not ready for this meeting of the N.P.C. Some final reports came to us and some interim reports. It is of urgent importance that those who have not sent in their reports yet must do so early. It is not desirable or possible to hold up the activities of the Planning Committee because one or more sub-committees are not functioning satisfactorily or have not sent in their reports. I would beg of you, therefore, in the event of your

1. Circular to the chairmen, secretaries and members of the sub-committees of the National Planning Committee. Purshotamdas Thakurdas Papers, N.M.M.L.

sub-committee not having sent the report yet, to see to it that immediate steps are taken in this regard. The National Planning Committee is meeting again on the 21st June 1940 to consider the remaining sub-committees' reports. Every sub-committee that has not reported so far must send its report before that date, preferably a clear week earlier. If the final report cannot be got ready, an interim report embodying the main conclusions should certainly be sent by this date.

At our last sessions the following final reports were disposed of:

1. Heavy Engineering 2. Irrigation—Part I of River Training 3. Animal Husbandry 4. Population 5. Labour 6. Rural Marketing 7. Housing 8. Horticulture. The following interim reports were dealt with: 9. Chemicals 10. Manufacturing Industries 11. Currency & Banking 12. Insurance 13. Power and Fuel.

We have also received interim reports from the following sub-committees:

1. Mining & Metallurgy 2. Transport Services 3. Public Finance 4. Land Policy 5. Women's Role.

Thus we have had final or interim reports from 18 sub-committees so far. 11 remain still to report. These 11 should send their interim or final reports by the 15th of June.

Those sub-committees whose interim reports have been considered and resolutions passed, should take note of the N.P.C. resolutions in regard to their reports, and draw up their final reports keeping these in view. Those sub-committees whose final reports have been considered and disposed of should finally revise their reports for publication in future.

As the work of the Planning Committee proceeds, the vastness of the problem before us becomes more and more evident, and the time required increases. This means greater expenditure. I would beg of you to keep this in mind and not to cast the burden of expenses on the N.P.C. as far as possible.

As I write this letter events in Europe and elsewhere are marching at lightning speed bringing disasters in their train. We in India are bound to be affected by these. But whatever may happen elsewhere or in India, the work we are doing in the Planning Committee is of essential importance for the future and we should make every effort that it should be carried on and should not suffer. I am grateful to you for your cooperation in this work and I look forward to the carrying on of this joint effort of so many of us to a successful conclusion.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Planning for India's Future[1]

After a fortnight's strenuous session, the National Planning Committee concluded its present series of meetings yesterday. We met daily, in the mornings and in the afternoons, and worked hard and I am afraid most of the members were exhausted by this process. I am very grateful to the members and to the representatives of the provincial governments and states who attended this session, and helped us to hammer out some bits here and there of the planned scheme that we hope to evolve. It has been an intensely interesting experience for me, and I hope it has been so for others, to consider all these vital problems not separately by themselves but in relation to the nature of things and with insufficient data at our disposal to prepare a detailed scheme for all forms of national activity. That will take a long time and all the resources of the state. But the Committee has done something which, I feel more and more, is of vital significance. This feeling has grown upon me during this fortnight's work when we came to grips with our subject. This is the first time in India when these various subjects have been seen as parts of a coordinated whole. At any time this is necessary, but today when the world, as we have known, is tumbling all around us, it is doubly essential to keep this picture in our minds so that we may not lose ourselves in trivialities and in chaotic and unplanned development when the time comes. This Planning Committee, I hope, will lay the foundation of the planned India of the future. The super-structure will inevitably come later. But if even the foundation is laid in men's minds a great national task will have been done.

In regard to many matters opinions differ very greatly. But it has been a pleasant surprise to me how even those who differ can very often arrive at an agreement when we have a common objective in view. Even when the differences persist, it is worth while to pursue our course, noting down the differences wherever they exist. If the material is ready, various viewpoints represented and facts collected, decisions can be taken by the state when the time comes.

It must always be borne in mind that we are thinking in terms of a planned society, and, therefore, our recommendations must be taken as a whole, and not in bits. Occasionally, of course, some bits might be desirable in themselves and they can be taken separately. Often also

1. Statement to the press, Bombay, 15 May 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 16 May 1940.

it might be injurious just to take one bit and not the rest, as this would break up any equilibrium that may exist without bringing a new equilibrium in its place. Therefore, it must be borne in mind that this scheme must be viewed as a whole. We intend at a later stage to indicate what may be done in the earlier transitional stages, though in the changing order of today it is not an easy matter to say much about the present.

We propose, therefore, to carry on our work with vigour, and we are meeting again in full Planning Committee on June 2, 1940, to consider the remaining reports of sub-committees. In this work that we are doing we require, of course, the fullest intelligent cooperation of the public and the press. Ultimately it is not the Committee that will decide the future of India or of its political or economic organization but the people of India who will take the final decision. It is for them, therefore, to pay attention to what this Committee is doing. Perhaps one of the most important and desirable consequences of our work is to make people think of planned work and a cooperative society. This thinking has been too rare in the past. In order to reach the public the obvious medium is the press.

We would have liked to take the press and the public into our confidence about all our work, and we have tried to do so as far as we can, but, inevitably, our meetings have to take place in private so as to give the fullest opportunity to members to express their opinions. Also it is right and proper that our reports should be submitted to the Congress before we give publicity to all of them. We have, however, given publicity to most of our resolutions dealing with these reports. We hope to print them soon in book form for facilitating reference.

Our work grows as we enter into deeper waters. It takes more time and energy and it costs more. As a matter of fact, the total expenditure of the Planning Committee so far has been relatively small. Compared to the average official committee or commission which deals with one subject only, our expenditure has been little. With this, it must be remembered that we were not dealing with one subject, but with a vast number of vital subjects dealing with every phase of national activity. When this is borne in mind it will be realized how economically we have worked. I am grateful to the provincial governments and to the states who have sent us contributions for our work. I trust that in view of this work enlarging itself and taking more time, they will continue to send some contributions so that this vital work might not suffer for lack of funds.

All of us today are inevitably absorbed and oppressed by international happenings and yet in spite of that we cannot and must not lose our balance or get excited or forget that whatever may happen, we have to

build up India. In this work of keeping the balance of the public mind, and in making them think of the future of constructive effort even in the midst of the present destruction, the press can play an important part. I hope, therefore, that they will interest themselves and draw public attention to the various phases of the Planning Committee's activities. We should welcome public criticism or public suggestions. We want this planning work to represent not only the scientific approach to the problem but also to mirror the minds of those people who think in India and who care for India's future.

7. The Importance of Planning[1]

Bombay
30th June 1940

Dear Friend,

The fourth sessions of the National Planning Committee concluded today. During these sessions the Committee considered further reports from sub-committees and passed resolutions in regard to them. These resolutions will be communicated to you in due course. The Honourable General Secretary, Professor K.T. Shah, is writing to you about these sessions and sending you information in regard to it, and about our future programme.

I have only little to add to what he may be writing to you. We are now gradually approaching the end of our labours, although a very great deal of hard work has got to be done before we finish. It is already apparent that the work of the Planning Committee is of the most essential importance, and the vast world changes that are going on today have increased this importance. Very soon we in this country will have to face many vital problems of reorganisation and national planning. This work that all of us have been doing in the Planning Committee will then bear fruit, and, meanwhile, it will bear fruit in the minds of large numbers of our people. Unless the public mind is brought to bear on these problems, not in their separateness but in their mutual reaction to each other, we shall not be ready to deal with these problems when the time comes.

1. Circular to the chairmen, secretaries and members of the sub-committees of the National Planning Committee. Purshotamdas Thakurdas Papers, N.M.M.L.

We have completed the consideration of about 20 reports. A few more remain, and this will be taken up at our next sessions. This next sessions, which will be held in the last week of August of this year, will chiefly devote itself to the consideration of general policy which should govern the drafting of the N.P.C. report.

It is essential that every sub-committee which has not reported so far must send in its report at the earliest possible moment. Secondly, those that have sent in interim reports should send their full reports. Thirdly, those who have already prepared their full reports and submitted them should get these reports finally revised for publication.

All this should be done at the latest by the last week of August, when we meet next. I trust that all members of the N.P.C. and of the sub-committees will cooperate in this task during its final stages, so that we may be able to put before the public, in the shape of our many reports, something that is worthy of the great problem with which we have been charged and worthy of India.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. The Task Ahead[1]

The work of the National Planning Committee will be of enormous use to the statesmen of the future who will have the shaping of a new and free India. Therefore, we are proceeding with this task with all earnestness and perseverance regardless of external events and the mighty happenings that are transforming the world.

Indeed, these very revolutionary changes that are coming all over the world make it incumbent on us to proceed with our task. Some of our members were of opinion that under present conditions we should postpone our activities but the great majority were convinced that we should not and we have continued and shall continue. The great lesson to be learnt from the happenings in the world today is that the present order in the world, political, economic and social, is all awry, and requires complete reshaping. India will have to face this problem with all its fundamental implications very soon and if we are not ready for it,

1. Statement to the press, 30 June 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 1 July 1940.

we shall miss great chances that circumstances and history will offer to us. Therefore, it is even more important today, than it was yesterday, for us to pursue our task and to complete it in such a measure as we can under the present circumstances. The task of the National Planning Committee is, in effect, never completed, for it goes on with the life and progress of the nation. But we shall complete drawing up this initial and inadequate picture of a planned society in India and we have no doubt that whatever changes may be made in it in future, this edifice will serve as a secure foundation to build upon.

9. To Abul Kalam Azad[1]

Bombay
July 1, 1940

Dear Mr. President,

I write to inform you that the fourth sessions of the National Planning Committee concluded yesterday. During these sessions we considered the reports of several additional sub-committees and passed resolutions on them. The present position is that we have considered reports, final or interim, of over twenty sub-committees. Seven sub-committees have still to report to us and some reports which have only partly been considered will have to be more fully considered later. Among the reports that still require consideration are those on crop planning, public health, technical education, trade and women's role in planned economy.

Our work has grown more and more intricate and comprehensive as we have proceeded with it. There is much still to be done but we are gradually approaching the end of our labours. We have to finish the sub-committee stage before very long and then to proceed to the drafting of the report of the National Planning Committee. This task will be a heavy and difficult one.

Our present programme is to have another session of the Planning Committee in the last week of August next. During the sessions we shall deal with some more sub-committees' reports and then lay down the broad principles on which the report of the Planning Committee should be based. Many of these principles have already been laid down in the resolutions so far adopted by the National Planning Committee in the course of our consideration of the sub-committees' reports. The report

1. A.I.C.C. File No. 23/1940-42, pp. 38-39, N.M.M.L.

of the National Planning Committee is likely to be a big document and it will require great care in its drafting. It will have to be preceded by a careful collation of our previous decisions and then an attempt to put forward a picture of planned activity in India. This drafting of the final report is likely to take two to three months. This means that it will not be ready for final consideration before the end of November. After that this draft report will have to be circulated among the members and we shall later have to meet to consider it formally and to adopt it. So far as I can see this final consideration cannot take place before the middle of December. At the earliest, therefore, the report cannot be passed before the end of December. It will then require revision to give it its final shape before it is presented to you. If this programme is adhered to, our report should be ready for presentation to you sometime in January next, but it is difficult to fix a definite time-table.

I sent you a letter at the end of our third session in May last requesting you to be good enough to extend the time for the presentation of our report. I did not receive any reply to it but I presumed that you were agreeable to the proposal I had made. I would beg of you now to extend the time further to the extent suggested above.

After our report is presented to you and considered by the Working Committee, it will have to be printed for public circulation. Should you so desire it, it may be printed at a somewhat earlier stage to facilitate its consideration by the Working Committee. We feel that all our sub-committees' reports should also be printed at some stage or other, as they have been presented to us, together with our resolutions on these reports. This volume of literature will be bulky and may run over several thousand pages. But I have no doubt that it will be of considerable value. The final decisions will have to be taken by the Working Committee. But it will certainly be worth while to place all the reports before the public to enable them to profit by the large amount of information that has been gathered together, and by the attempt made by us to coordinate it and bring it into a single picture of planned activity.

As I pointed out to you in my last letter, we have been considerably handicapped by our lack of sufficient funds. We are however carrying on our work in as economical a manner as possible. We are likely to have difficulties in the future and certainly we shall not have enough funds for the publication of the reports. This question does not arise immediately but I am keeping you informed of our position. Not much help is likely to be forthcoming in future from the provincial governments or states cooperating with us. Indeed many of these provincial governments have informed us that they cannot send us any contributions in the future.

We realise that the extreme gravity of the international and national situation must fill your mind as well as the minds of the members of the Working Committee. It was even proposed to us by some of our members that we should postpone our work till this crisis was over. But a great majority of our members were strongly of opinion that our work must be carried on, so long as this is possible, and indeed that the international situation made it all the more incumbent on us to proceed with this work and to bring it to a successful conclusion. The problems we are facing in the Planning Committee are vital problems for India and it may well be that we shall have to solve them in the near future. This present work of the Planning Committee must of necessity help greatly in the future consideration of these problems as well as in their solution. We have, therefore, proceeded with our work and intend to continue to do so.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. To V.K.R.V. Rao[1]

Allahabad
July 10, 1940

My dear Rao,[2]
You will remember the talk we had in Srinagar. You were good enough to tell me that you had some little time at your disposal now and could help me in our Planning Committee work. I am now going to take advantage of your offer.

You must have received the two little books—red book 1 and red book 2, issued by the N.P.C. These books give the resolutions so far passed by the N.P.C. as well as other relevant matter. A third little book, red book 3, is being issued shortly giving our recent resolutions. So far we have considered in a way the interim or final reports of about 20 sub-committees and passed resolutions on them. Seven or eight sub-committees still remain to be dealt with. Out of these two or three are unimportant or, at any rate, have no particular bearing on the larger issues. The

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. (b. 1908); economist; Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University, 1957-60; director, Institute of Economic Growth, 1960-63; Union Minister for Shipping, 1967-69 and for Education, 1969-71; director, Institute for Social and Economic Change, 1971-77.

resolutions we have passed so far give a fairly good indication of the way we are working and of the kind of picture we have in our minds. This picture is in outline only and parts of it are necessarily blurred. In regard to some important matters of policy, we have been deliberately somewhat vague or non-committal.

In the ordinary course we should complete the consideration of the remaining sub-committees' reports, and then go on to consider our own draft report. This draft will have to be based on the resolutions passed by us on all the sub-committees' reports as well as such independent resolutions that we passed. It was thought desirable for us to lay down certain general principles which should govern our draft.

It is proposed to hold our next sessions in the last week of August. Ordinarily we will have to continue with the sub-committees' reports then. To some extent we will of course do so. But I am anxious that the writing of the draft should not be delayed and that the next sessions should lay down these general principles. Even if some sub-committees' reports stand over, the drafting can begin as this is likely to take a good deal of time. But this cannot even begin unless these general principles are decided upon. Some of these, as I have stated above, have been decided upon. But others remain. Therefore it is my intention to ask the N.P.C. to consider these general principles at their next meeting and then to appoint a small sub-committee, probably consisting of three persons—the General Secretary, the Chairman and one other member—to prepare the draft.

I should like you to go through the resolutions in the three red books and keeping them in view, note down what further general decisions we should take which would enable us to proceed with the draft. That is to say, I should like you to put down such further questions of policy and principle as we should decide at our next stage. In putting down these questions, please indicate what in your opinion the decisions should be.

I should also like you to write a brief note on the general picture of national planning in India which you would recommend.

You are no doubt aware of the conditions under which we have been working. We are a mixed body representing a variety of opinions, often hostile to each other. It has been no easy matter to arrive at any conclusion sometimes. On the whole I think we have succeeded remarkably and done a useful job of work. There are many contradictions in what we have done, much overlapping, but still the general drift is fairly clear and is in the right direction. These decisions do not represent wholly what I would like them to be, nor do they represent anyone else's viewpoint completely. What I am anxious about is that we

should collect all information through the sub-committees and a number of informed reports on various sub-committees. Then to put forward our own report trying to collate these and draw up a single picture. I do not mind at all if there are minutes of dissent and the like. We shall at least have done something which will help the public as well as those in authority to consider these many problems together in an organic way. We would have laid the foundations of future planning and the next step will be easier and swifter whenever the time comes for it.

I hope therefore that you will be able to draw up a list of general principles as well as specific matters which should be decided by us at the next stage, and also write a note on planned economy as a whole as it should be. I should like to have this by the middle of next month.

I do not know how the Cottage Industries Sub-Committee is carrying on. I hope that this question will be dealt with not in the region of pure theory but of practice, taking into consideration the strong sentiments in favour of cottage industries in India. It seems to me that most of the argument centres round fine points of theory of philosophical approach. In actual practice the points of difference are narrowed down. I see no harm in these points of difference being dealt with in separate notes, though of course every attempt should be made to arrive at a common understanding in regard to most matters.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

11. To P.N. Katju[1]

Lucknow
August 13, 1940

My dear Pyare,[2]

I received your letter today and I have read through your letter to *The Hindustan Times*. You can always write to me or send a note to me on any particular subject which you think is of importance and is of topical interest. But you must realise what you may want done is not always possible under the present circumstances, just as a hundred things that we want done cannot be done. It is no good getting depressed about

1. National Planning Committee File No. 135/1940, N.M.M.L.
2. (b. 1901); chemist; member, Rajya Sabha, 1962-67.

it. The whole structure of the government is such that it is impossible to move it on the right lines.

So far as the Planning Committee is concerned, it does not even try to think of what the government is going to do today because we cannot influence the government and we try to forget it. We plan for the future. In regard to sulphur I think it was pointed out to us that sulphur can be manufactured even today as you have suggested and this fact was noted. In addition it was suggested that further research would be desirable. Research does not mean that certain things that cannot be done now should not be done, as it often means in a government decision. But when planning one must have full data about the available raw materials etc.

I am sending your *Hindustan Times* letter to the secretary of our Chemical Sub-Committee.

I went to see Bappi[3] today. I am very sorry that she has had to put up with this long illness. I hope she will improve by her stay here.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

3. Swarup Katju, younger sister of Kamala Nehru; wife of P.N. Katju.

12. To K.T. Shah[1]

Wardha
August 21, 1940

My dear Shah,
News from the U.P. indicates that my colleagues are being arrested daily.[2] It is becoming more and more difficult for me to keep away from the U.P. when important developments are taking place. I do not see how I can hold out in Bombay for another fortnight or so. I can go back from here and then return to Bombay on the 30th. That will not be very satisfactory and I do not know if I shall be able to return at all. Alternatively I can go to Bombay from here, spend a couple of days there, discuss matters with you, and then go back to the U.P., not returning for the N.P.C. meeting. I am inclined to do the latter.

1. National Planning Committee File No. 135/1940, N.M.M.L.
2. In July and August 1940, there were many arrests and convictions of political workers all over India. In the United Provinces, Z.A. Ahmed, Balkrishna Sharma, Ram Manohar Lohia, Jugal Kishore and Sri Krishna Datt Paliwal were among those arrested.

I have been thinking whether it is worth while postponing the N.P.C. I think it is best to continue with it. You need not take up the general principles at the meeting in my absence. But you could deal with the various sub-committees' reports.

I am writing this to you just to let you know how my mind is thinking. But everything is uncertain.

I enclose a letter which might be dealt with in your office.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

13. The War and Planning[1]

August 30, 1940

The work of the National Planning Committee has unfortunately synchronised with a developing crisis abroad and in India. For the past year the war in Europe has dominated events and men's minds. It has, inevitably, had far-reaching repercussions in India, and it would appear that grave developments are likely in the near future in India and outside. Such developments may come in the way somewhat of the activities of the N.P.C., but there is no reason why we should not endeavour to carry on with our work, to the extent we can, even if untoward happenings take place. We shall, however, have to adapt ourselves to them.

2. We have done in the N.P.C. and in our numerous sub-committees a great deal of solid work so far. It is true that much still remains to be done, yet it is also true that the final and most important stage is in view now, and we stand on its threshold. This stage consists in bringing together the conclusions of the various sub-committees and drafting our own report. Some sub-committees have not yet completed their labours; the reports of some others have so far only been partially considered by us. Ordinarily, this sub-committee stage should be completed before we enter the next stage. But if we wait for the few remaining sub-committees to finish their work, our other work will be unnecessarily delayed. I suggest therefore that we should now begin to think of the drafting of our final report. This will be heavy and

1. Chairman's note on the fifth session of the National Planning Committee, National Planning Committee File No. 135/1940, N.M.M.L.

difficult work involving the preparation of a preliminary draft, which may be considered by a small drafting committee; the circulation of this draft to the members of the N.P.C. and then the careful consideration of it by the N.P.C. in full sessions. These various processes are likely to take six months.

3. Meanwhile, of course, the remaining sub-committees will be asked to finish their labours, and all sub-committees will finally revise their reports and prepare them for publication. Before the N.P.C.'s final report is considered, we shall have the advantage of having all this voluminous material before us.

4. The report of the N.P.C. will naturally be based on the decisions so far taken, or to be taken, by the Committee. We have already got a body of decisions which indicate the direction in which we have to travel and the kind of society which will exist under a planned system. The picture is still vague and there are many gaps, which the N.P.C. will no doubt fill from time to time.

5. We are seeking to draw up a picture of a new pattern of organised society which will be able to solve the many problems which afflict us, and help in rapidly raising the material and cultural standards of the Indian people. We are thinking in terms of making these rapid changes through peaceful and democratic means. Some people may think that these assumptions are hardly justified in a world in the grip of a devastating war, and our own country on the eve of far-reaching conflicts. It is beyond our province to consider these essentially political matters, but we cannot ignore them as they affect vitally every scheme of planning. The future is dark and uncertain and the immediate prospect for the world is one of uttermost destruction. What will emerge out of this mad orgy of hatred and violence, no man can say. It is not outside the bounds of possibility that this war may go on and on, spreading to more and more countries, till it becomes almost impossible to have a formal and effective peace. The disease may become too deep-rooted and widespread to be controlled; there may be none left who can control it. The war itself may peter out ultimately leaving a trail of anarchy and horrible destruction and starvation behind it.

6. All this may happen and more, and India and every country in the world will be powerfully affected by it. Even if the war ends more normally, the post-war problems will be overpowering. We have seen that even so-called democratic states engaged in the war have adopted, under stress of circumstances, a totalitarian economy with strict state control of production, transport and distribution—in fact of almost all national activities. War has compelled planning, though this planning is for the specific purpose of destruction. When the war ends, this

planned economy and state control cannot be given up and there appears to be no possibility of a reversion to pre-war capitalism. Any such attempt at reversion would mean unemployment on a prodigious scale as the demobilised millions go back to civil life and war-time industries stop functioning. No state or government can possibly face this problem in the pre-war way.

7. The coming of the war itself, and the *inter-bellum* period 1918 to 1939, demonstrated that the economic structure was no longer capable of solving the major problems of the day. An ever-growing unemployment became a permanent feature of the national life of even rich and prosperous countries like Britain and the United States of America. There appeared to be no solution for it within the framework of the existing economy. The feeling of insecurity grew within large numbers of people. War and war industries have temporarily absorbed most of these unemployed, and yet it is astonishing that in spite of millions being under arms and millions more being employed in war industries, still there is a substantial core of unemployment in Britain. In any event, it is a curious economy which requires a major war to solve the unemployment problem.

8. If pre-war conditions were bad and the economic structure was cracking up, it is patent that the war and after will give a death-blow to that structure. It may be that during the war itself revolutionary social and economic changes will take place in Britain and other countries. Certainly just after the war this must inevitably happen. The vast expenditure on the war and on the work of destruction is already lowering standards of life greatly in Britain. The burden will become intolerable in all countries and these astronomical war debts can never be paid by any country. It may even happen that the whole system of money economy will undergo a radical change. The British ruling classes have resisted social change longer than almost any country. But the last few years, and the conduct of the war itself, have shown how inefficient and incompetent they have grown. They and the economy of which they are the products no longer fit in with the modern world in peace or in war.

9. If these changes are likely or almost inevitable in a country like Britain, what will happen in India? Obviously the problems of poverty, unemployment, low standards of living are far more serious here. Some people thought that the war may bring a temporary prosperity to Indian industry and to the agricultural producers. This may well have taken place, though this would have been no solution of any major problem. As a matter of fact the hopes of our industrialists and of the mercantile

community have not materialised and there is widespread disappointment. Even as compared to the war of 1914-18, developments in India have been slow in these directions. Political considerations apparently come in the way and British vested interests disapprove of the growth of Indian industry. Recently there has been much talk of the establishment of an automobile factory in India, as also of an aeroplane factory. It appeared that both these would materialise soon. But even the stress and difficulty of the war has not essentially altered the outlook of the British Government towards India, and all manner of obstructions are continually being raised to any real progress in this country. At an early stage of the N.P.C.'s work we made it clear that any system of planning must presume full liberty to plan, that is a completely free national state, both politically and economically. Recent events have justified even more this approach of the N.P.C. to planning.

10. As we have proceeded with our work, it has become abundantly clear that any real planning requires coordination between all sectors of national life. This, in its turn, requires the control of the community in all these various sectors. There has been much discussion as to the extent of this control, but a measure of control is inevitable. We have agreed to full state ownership and control in regard to many basic industries and services; in regard to others we have said that there may be either state ownership or state control, such control, however, being rigid. Yet in other cases we have envisaged a varying degree of control. In regard to land, while we have not ruled out private enterprise in the shape of peasant proprietorship, we have decided that the objective should be the introduction of the cooperative principle to the largest possible extent and the organisation of land collectives and cooperatives.

11. Thus, whatever the avenue of approach has been, we have been led to a rapid increase in the socialisation of national activities and state control. Our general objective, which emerges from this, is one of a socialistic planned structure run by the community for the benefit of the community. Private enterprise has certainly not been ruled out but it has to be strictly controlled and coordinated to the general plan. The whole motive of the plan must be a social and cooperative one and not a competitive one based on private profit.

12. These general conclusions, which seem to emerge from our discussions and decisions, are confirmed and justified by a consideration of the world situation, a reference to which has been made earlier in this note. It is evident that there is no other solution of the Indian or the world problem except on this basis. No social or economic structure which does not provide work and security to the people, can endure. In India we have too long thought in terms of the upper

groups and ignored the vast numbers of our peasantry. This can no longer be done, and this forgotten creature, the Indian peasant, who has borne so many grievous burdens for centuries, must find relief and security and advancement in our plan.

13. Our plan and our final report must therefore be based on this social outlook, and all the decisions we have so far taken, and are going to take on the reports of sub-committees, should be strung together and linked by this objective of socializing our national life in all its many sectors. I suggest therefore that, if the Committee agrees, this general direction might be given for the drafting of the report. That report will be necessarily bound by all our specific decisions, but many gaps will have to be filled and this general direction is therefore necessary. It may be desirable to appoint a small committee of three to prepare the preliminary draft which, when ready, should be circulated to all the members, who should be given ample time to consider it and send their suggestions in writing, if they so desire. Later the N.P.C. can consider this draft carefully.

14. It is possible that circumstances over which I have no control may prevent my active association with the work of the N.P.C. for a while. If such should happen, it should not be interpreted as meaning that the work of the N.P.C. is suspended or postponed. Much of what I have indicated above can continue to be done—the remaining sub-committees should revise their reports and prepare them for publication; our own final report should be drafted. All this is hard and important work which will take time. All this can be done. If I can join in it, in any way, I shall gladly do so. In any event I hope to take part in it at the later and final stage when we have to consider and pass our report.

15. I should like to express my deep gratitude to all my colleagues of the Planning Committee and of our many sub-committees for their unfailing kindness and consideration to me. Professor K.T. Shah, of course, has been the pivot round which all our work has revolved, and he will continue to shoulder the burden till this great work is done. To the members of our staff, I should also like to express my gratitude and appreciation.

14. The Purpose of Planning[1]

The octopus of war grips and strangles the world and the energy of mankind is more and more directed to destroying what man has built up with infinite patience and labour. Yet it is clear that war by itself cannot solve any problem. It is by conscious, constructive and planned effort alone that national and international problems can be solved. In India many people thought, with reason, that it was premature to plan, so long as we did not have the power to give effect to our planning. The political and economic freedom of India was a prerequisite to any planning, and till this was achieved our national and international policy would continue to be governed, as heretofore, in the interests of the City of London and other vested interests. And yet we started, wisely I think, a National Planning Committee and we are trying, even in these days of world conflict and war, to draw up a picture of planned society in the free India of the future.

Our immediate problem is to attack the appalling poverty and unemployment of India and to raise the standards of our people. That means vastly greater production which must be allied to juster and more equitable distribution, so that the increased wealth may spread out among the people. That means a rapid growth of industry, scientific agriculture and the social services, all coordinated together, under more or less state control, and directed towards the betterment of the people as a whole. The resources of India are vast and if wisely used should yield rich results in the near future.

We do not believe in a rigid autarchy, but we do want to make India self-sufficient in regard to her needs as far as this is possible. We want to develop international trade, importing articles which we cannot easily produce and exporting such articles as the rest of the world wants from us. We do not propose to submit to the economic imperialism of any other country or to impose our own on others. We believe that the nations of the world can cooperate together in building up a world economy which is advantageous for all and in this work we shall gladly cooperate. But this economy cannot be based on the individual profit motive, nor can it subsist within the framework of imperialist system. It means a new world order, both politically and economically, and free nations cooperating together for their own as well as the larger good.

1. 4 October 1940. Message sent for the International Edition of the *Textile Journal* edited by Francis Hickman.

15. The Content of Social Welfare[1]

What exactly is social welfare? The well-being of society, I take it. If so, it includes almost everything that one can think of—spiritual, cultural, political, economic and social. It covers thus the entire field of human activity and relationships. And yet, this wide and all-embracing sense is seldom applied to it, and we use the words in a far more restricted sense. The social worker, often enough, considers himself or herself as working in a field which is strictly separated from political action or economic theory. He or she will try to bring relief to suffering humanity, will fight disease and slum conditions, deal with unemployment, prostitution and the like. He may also seek to bring about some changes in the law in order to remedy present-day injustice. But he will seldom go down to the roots of the problem, for he accepts the general structure of society as it is and seeks only to tone down its glaring injustices.

The lady who visits the slums occasionally to relieve her conscience by the performance of good and charitable deeds is a type we need not consider. The less we have of this patronizing and condescending approach to the problem the better. But there are large numbers of earnest men and women who devote themselves to the service of their fellow creatures in the somewhat narrow way conceived above. They do good work, and to whatever extent they may benefit others, they certainly benefit themselves by the discipline and training that this service gives them.

Yet, it seems to me, that all this good work is largely wasted, because it deals with the surface of the problem only. Social evils have a history and a background, roots in our past, and intimate connections with the economic structure under which we live. Many of them are indeed the direct products of that economic system, just as many others are of religious superstition and harmful custom. Any scientific consideration of the problem of social welfare must, therefore, inevitably go down to these roots and seek out the causes. It must have the courage to look deep down into the well of truth and to proclaim fearlessly what it finds there. If it avoids politics and economics, and all that goes by the name of religion, for fear of treading on dangerous ground, then it moves on the surface only and can neither command much respect, nor achieve results.

1. *The Hindustan Times*, 20 October 1940.

For nearly two years now I have been associated with the National Planning Committee, and the conviction has grown upon me that it is not possible to solve any major problem separately by itself; they all hang together and they depend greatly on the economic structure. To social problems, in the limited sense, this applies with equal force. Recently, the Planning Committee considered the report of their Sub-Committee on Women's Role in Planned Economy. This sub-committee, more than any other, had to deal with social problems and it tackled them in all earnestness and with great ability. In doing so it was all the time coming up against political conditions and even more so economic aspects and religious injunctions, or just prejudices with the force of custom.

It is not easy to say which is more difficult to deal with—economic vested interests or religious vested interests. Both these series of vested interests want to maintain the *status quo* and are opponents of change. The path of the real reformer is thus a difficult one.

Before we seek any particular reform, we must be clear what our general objective is and what kind of society we are aiming at. It is obvious that if we have a social structure which assures work and security to all adults, proper education for the young, a widespread distribution of the necessities and amenities of life, and a measure of individual freedom for self-development, this, in itself, will solve many of our social problems. Crime will decrease rapidly and the criminal type will become an extreme rarity, prostitution will be infinitely less and there will be far better adjustments of human relations. If this background and basis are not provided, then the roots of evil remain.

The problem, therefore, has to be attacked on all fronts and possibly the greatest difficulty will be along the so-called religious front. Religion as such need not be touched, but there are so many rules and regulations which are presumed to have religious sanctions that any attempt to vary them is likely to meet with the solid and passionate opposition of the votaries of organized religion. Inheritance, marriage, divorce are all supposed to be parts of the personal law of various communities and this personal law is supposed to be part of religion. It is obvious that no change can be imposed from the top. It will thus become the duty of the government of the day to try to educate public opinion so as to make it accept the changes proposed. It should be clearly laid down, in order to avoid suspicion, that any change of this type will only apply to a community when that community itself accepts it. This will give rise to difficulties and a lack of uniformity but any other course will lead to greater difficulty and ill will, and laws passed may become dead letters so far as their application is concerned.

It seems to me that a uniform civil code for the whole of India is essential. Yet I realize that this cannot be imposed on unwilling people. It should, therefore, be made optional to begin with, and individuals and groups may voluntarily accept it and come within its scope. The state should meanwhile carry on propaganda in its favour.

One urgent need is the extension of the Civil Marriage Act to cover marriages between any two persons, to whatever religion they may belong, without any renunciation of religion, as at present. This will of necessity be optional.

Another desirable step is to have records kept of all marriages. This will be useful in many ways and it will gradually make people think in terms of civil marriages. The sacramental forms of marriage should certainly continue for all who want them, but it will be desirable later to have a civil registration also which the state will recognize.

Divorce laws, especially for the Hindus, are a crying need, and so indeed are so many other changes. We want changes which apply to both men and women, we want changes also especially applicable to women, who have suffered for ages past under a double burden. Let us accept the democratic principle of equal rights and equal obligations as between man and man, and man and woman, and frame our laws and social structure accordingly.

5

LARGE-SCALE AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

1. The Demands of the Workers[1]

The political crisis and the approaching struggle inevitably absorb our attention. But we may not therefore forget the economic turmoil and conflicts that are taking place all over India, for these are the resultants of the same objective conditions which have brought about the political crisis.

The war in Europe has upset much and while, on the one hand, it has given opportunities for profit-making to a few, it has brought the burden of increased prices on many. It is right that the agriculturists who have suffered so long and so grievously should take advantage of higher prices. But it is essential that workers should not suffer, especially when the war has brought a measure of prosperity to certain industries. Hence the demand for dearness allowance on behalf of industrial workers and lower-paid salaried employees.

This demand, in essence, is thoroughly justified and public opinion must support it. Indeed the demand has been recognised in England and elsewhere. The economic struggle that is going on in various parts of India today is based essentially on this demand for an adequate dearness allowance. It ill becomes employers to refuse it and to rely on their resources to crush the workers' movement.

Where the principle is admitted and only the amount is in dispute, it is proper that the matter be referred to conciliation or arbitration. The refusal of certain employers to submit to this is itself a confession of the weakness of their case and is an affront to public opinion.

The great textile strike in Bombay[2] has rightly drawn public attention and sympathy and the attitude of the employers has seemed most unreasonable. Such an attitude, even though temporarily successful, must inevitably lead to bitterness and continued conflict. It is totally out of keeping with the changing conditions of today.

Another vital strike has long been going on in the factories of the Imperial Tobacco Company in India, at Saharanpur, Monghyr, Bangalore and Calcutta. This has a peculiar significance, for here a relatively small number of workers are facing a very powerful foreign trust which has built up a monopoly in India. Such monopolies are always dangerous, more so when they are foreign.

1. Statement to the press, Allahabad, 10 April 1940. *National Herald*, 11 April 1940.
2. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 352.

In spite of the great odds, the cigarette factory workers have carried on bravely and peacefully for nearly two months. Today is the fifty-sixth day of the strike and everyone has appreciated the discipline and nonviolence of the strikers. I understand that the strikers have expressed their willingness to accept certain terms suggested by the district authorities, but the owners have so far not agreed.

The Council of the U.P.P.C.C. have already expressed their full sympathy with the Saharanpur strikers and have given them such help as they can.[3] They have further recommended to the people of the province to avoid purchasing the products of the Imperial Tobacco Company. The time has come when attention should be paid to this recommendation, and if the company continues to act in an intransigent manner, the full force of the Provincial Congress should be used to this end.

3. The resolution was passed on 9 March 1940.

2. Boycott of Imperial Tobacco Company[1]

Only two or three days ago I drew public attention to the strike in the cigarette factories of the Imperial Tobacco Company at Saharanpur, Monghyr, Bangalore and Calcutta. Grave news now comes to us. Many of our colleagues have been arrested and a lathi charge has severely injured a large number. Section 144 and the Criminal Amendment Act have been applied. It is time now that our sympathy for the workers should take concrete form and that the public be asked to refrain from buying any of the products of the Imperial Tobacco Company. I hope Congress committees and Congressmen will attend to this. The P.C.C. will no doubt issue further and detailed directions.

1. Statement to the press, 13 April 1940. *National Herald*, 14 April 1940.

3. The Sugar Muddle[1]

The winter of 1936-37 witnessed a crisis in the sugar industry in the U.P. and Bihar. There was what is called over-production of sugarcane. The factories could not or would not buy it up and much of it was left in the fields or burnt. Prices of sugar fell tremendously and there was widespread consternation in the countryside. After the great depression of 1930, when the prices of wheat fell, large numbers of our peasants in these provinces turned to sugarcane which then yielded a much better price. The protective duties imposed upon sugar helped the industry to grow rapidly and all over the U.P. and Bihar factories sprung up by the score. Even faster than the factories the cultivation of sugarcane increased. Soon after, when there was an abundance of raw material, the factory owners could afford to push down prices, and they did so. This process went on and reached its culmination in 1936-37.

With the coming into office of the Congress ministries, one of the first problems that their industries departments had to tackle was this problem of the sugar industry. They realized that they could not possibly afford a repetition of what had happened in 1936-37, and in any event it was their business to protect and improve the lot of the sugarcane producer who was being crushed by the turn circumstances had taken. The two provincial governments, after full consultation with the people concerned in the industry, introduced legislation whereby a measure of state control was introduced. The price of sugarcane was fixed by the government itself, while the price of sugar was controlled by a syndicate, membership of which was compulsory for all manufacturers. These measures prevented cut-throat competition among manufacturers and protected, to some extent, the cane growers. Conditions improved and the price of sugarcane went up. This process was partly helped by the fact that the area under sugarcane cultivation had been reduced owing to the disaster of the previous year and also to floods in some places. There was a proposal to organize the sales also on behalf of the syndicate. Although this was approved by the governments, this did not take shape.

1. *National Herald*, 12 July 1940.

The syndicate, taking advantage of the shortage in sugarcane, raised the price of sugar considerably. This matter was later considered by the governments in consultation with the representatives of the manufacturers and a sliding scale for the price of sugarcane in relation to the price of sugar was fixed. In the 1939-40 season the production of sugarcane had increased; nevertheless the coming of the European war induced the manufacturers to continue to raise the price of sugar. This resulted, according to the sliding scale, in a rise of the price of sugarcane also. The war, however, did not have any appreciable effect on the consumption of sugar or on any export abroad, with the result that a large stock of sugar was left undisposed of in the hands of the manufacturers. Meanwhile the great rise in the price of sugarcane induced the peasantry to increase the area of sugarcane cultivation very greatly. The result of this is that, while on the one hand a vast quantity of sugarcane is being produced, on the other hand huge stocks of sugar remain and a great part of the sugarcane might not be required by the factories. This will inevitably lead to a tremendous fall in the price of sugarcane and the peasantry will face disaster. Much of their sugarcane might find no market at all and have to be simply wasted or burnt up. The position, indeed, is likely to be more acute than it was in 1936-37. At any time this would have been a dangerous situation to face. At this particular time of war and change and an unsettling of people's minds, there is grave danger ahead.

Obviously this state of affairs required state intervention and control to an even greater degree than before in order to prevent the development of chaotic conditions. But curiously enough the present Provincial Governments of the U.P. and Bihar have moved the other way and have announced the withdrawal of recognition from the syndicate. What this withdrawal exactly means I do not know. Apparently it means the removal of such restrictions as existed before and the introduction of cut-throat competition between the manufacturers.

It was apparently thought that such competition would automatically lead to a new level of prices and would encourage sales. To some extent this might be so, but the other results which are sure to follow are dangerous in the extreme. We shall have a repetition, on a bigger scale, of the crisis of 1936-37, the collapse of sugarcane prices and the consequent ruin of the peasantry engaged in the sugarcane cultivation, and also probably the collapse of large numbers of smaller factories which cannot compete with a few big ones. It will thus mean the development of monopoly on a big scale in the sugar industry to the detriment of the peasantry as well as of large numbers of the smaller manufacturers. Monopolies in private hands are always dangerous from the point of view of the state, the consumer and the producer of raw

materials. They are peculiarly dangerous in the sugar industry which affects intimately the peasantry of Bihar and the U.P. In considering this problem, this vital human element can never be ignored, and certainly a state can only ignore it at its peril. That way lies agrarian upheaval on a vast scale.

It is clear to me that the sugar industry is pre-eminently meant to be controlled wholly by the state. It is also clear that in regard to this industry the various provincial governments must arrive at an understanding to prevent mutual competition. It would be disastrous if some provinces where there is no state regulation or protection of the interests of the cane growers began competing with the other provinces where this protection was given. This does not mean that the sugar industry should be the monopoly of any one or two provinces, but that wherever it can flourish economically and due to favourable natural conditions, it should be subjected to the same rules and regulations and protection of the grower as in the U.P. and Bihar. This all-India regulation and co-ordination is bound to come some time or other. If it is delayed, the price paid for this will be chaos in the industry and the misery of millions of our peasants.

Whether complete state control of the industry is possible immediately or not, I do not know. But it seems to me excessively unwise for the existing control to be lessened and for matters to be allowed to drift according to the discredited theory of *laissez-faire*. What is necessary is far stricter control to be introduced in regard to the price of sugar as well as the price of sugarcane and for some sales organization to be built up on behalf of the syndicate. In any event the growth of private monopoly must not be tolerated.

We are faced today with very grave national and international problems. In spite of this, I have thought it worth while to draw attention to this approaching crisis in the sugar industry, because it is no small matter for millions of people to be brought to the verge of ruin and for a great industry to go to pieces. If this happens, it will not only have economic consequences of the first order but grave political consequences, and no person, whether he thinks in terms of the industry or the state, can ignore these consequences.

4. To B.M. Birla[1]

Allahabad
July 21, 1940

Dear Brij Mohanji,[2]
Thank you for your long letter of the 18th July[3] and the copy of your letter to the Government of India. These two letters have helped me to understand a little more the present situation in the sugar industry. This is obviously bad, and the worst feature of it seems to be the competition between different provinces. I have no doubt that ultimately similar rules and regulations will have to be laid down for all the provinces, otherwise cut-throat competition will produce disastrous results everywhere. For the present some provincial governments may refuse to agree, but they will inevitably have to agree some time or other.

The situation as it has existed for some time past has been highly undesirable. The syndicate did not function as it should have functioned. I do not see, however, how a real improvement can be brought about by a complete loosening of control. This *laissez-faire* attitude of the government may be advantageous for a short while in getting rid of accumulated stocks, but it must produce other undesirable reactions. The way to deal with it therefore was a variation of that control and possibly a stricter control, including control of sales. In the modern world *laissez-faire* does not solve any problem, it only aggravates the situation.

The matter is too complicated and intricate for me to give a definite opinion about the recent steps that have been taken. But whatever these steps might be, they must be coordinated under government auspices, and they must bear in mind the reaction on the peasantry. Otherwise any scheme, however logically sound, is bound to fail.

I am grateful to you for having sent me these papers which help me to understand the situation better.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Brij Mohan Birla (b. 1904); son of G.D. Birla; chairman, Hindustan Motors.
3. He had provided a comprehensive assessment of the sugar situation and had written that while the other states were sympathetic toward U.P. and Bihar, they saw no reason why they should be dependent upon them for their sugar requirement when they themselves could grow cane quite economically.

5. To Rajendra Prasad[1]

Allahabad
August 4, 1940

My dear Rajendra Babu,
I enclose a note I have received from Raja Jwala Prasad[2] on the present condition of the sugar industry.

The subject is a complicated one and the fact that we cannot influence the government directly makes it still more difficult for us to deal with it. It is likely that the provincial governments will have some decisions soon.

Briefly put, my own views are :

1. Only by planning carefully on an all-India basis can the present crisis be got over satisfactorily. This means planning of cane production, sugar production, sales etc.

2. The sugar industry has made enormous profits in the past and therefore it should bear the burden to a large extent of a bad period which is partly due to its own improvidence in not building up reserve funds and partly to the huge profits that were taken out. I realise that much of these profits were re-invested in fresh plants. That was a very risky thing to do. It is unfair under the circumstances for the industrialists to want to cast the burden on the consumers or the cane-growers.

3. At the same time it is obvious that a big crisis may break up the industry completely and this must be avoided.

4. All-India planning necessarily requires not only some general all-India rules but also state control in cooperation with representatives of the industry and the cane-growers. Absence of state control means cut-throat competition, chaos and disaster. Such state control, it is true, under present conditions will be exercised by a state which is irresponsible. But any rules that we may lay down will necessarily have to ignore this fact.

5. If all-India rules or planning is out of the question, there should at least be joint planning in the U.P. and Bihar as hitherto. Unfortunately this did not go far enough and even the rules that were laid down were not observed. There have been serious complaints of individual

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Raja Jwala Prasad, the pro-Vice-Chancellor of Banaras Hindu University, had written proposing that excess sugar be distributed at a low price to those who could not pay more.

industrialists not abiding by the rules and thereby making illegitimate profits.

6. There is bound to be considerable over-production of sugar during the next season and there is already a large stock, estimated at four hundred thousand tons, which is three times the normal carry over. To stop cane-crushing by factories during the current season to any large extent would be disastrous for the cane-grower. I think that the factories will have to be encouraged to continue crushing almost as before. It may, however, be possible to reduce somewhat this crushing and encourage the peasants to turn some of their sugarcane into *gur*. I understand that this can only be done satisfactorily in the early part of the season, otherwise the cane is not good enough for the purpose. Therefore a clear decision must be arrived at by experts as to the quantity that should be allotted to *gur* production. This should be evenly distributed so as not to cause undue loss to particular individuals. I do not, however, expect the greater part of over-production to be converted into *gur*. Only some part of it will go that way. The rest must be consumed by the factories.

7. The price paid for sugarcane during the last season rose unduly, chiefly because of the desire of the factory owners to get high prices for sugar. The sliding scale resulted in the cane price going up also. I suppose both the price of sugar and the cane price will have to be reduced. But neither should be reduced unduly, especially the latter. What the exact figures are likely to be, I cannot say. That is a matter for expert computation.

8. A similar problem had to be faced by President Roosevelt's administration in America in regard to over-production of certain commodities. The New Deal provided for this. It was not considered desirable to reduce prices and it was found that at this price level if 70 or 80 per cent or thereabouts of the commodities were sold, this brought a sufficient return to the factory owners and, at any rate, prevented loss. The balance of over-production was taken over for free distribution by ration cards among people who were too poor to buy. This distribution did not affect the buying public which continued to be the same. At the same time it gave a much needed article to those who could not afford it. It was considered undesirable to have two prices for the same article. I was recently discussing this matter with Ambalal Sarabhai and he strongly advocated this New Deal for the sugar industry in India.

9. Ambalal alternatively suggested that the government should make themselves responsible for the industry at least during this coming season and should see to it that the factory owners just get their running

expenses and nothing more. If this was done there was every chance of the All India Excise Duty being removed.

10. Under any circumstances it seems desirable not to apply this All India Excise Duty during this season at least.

11. I do not know what the commitments are about the Indian export of sugar. I understand that the Government of India have agreed that no Indian sugar should be exported. Why this should be so, I do not know, nor do I know what India got in exchange for this. I do not see why India should not export when and where it can.

I would suggest to you to consult, especially among the industrialists, Brij Mohan Birla, Lala Shriram[3] of Delhi and Ambalal Sarabhai. Each of these has a separate viewpoint, to some extent, in conflict with the others. Of course representatives of the cane-growers must be consulted and Katju and Mahmud who have dealt with this matter and are intimately acquainted with it.

I have just seen a press report about the new decision of the U.P. and Bihar Governments.[4]

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. (1884-1964); industrialist.
4. On 4 August 1940, the governments of Bihar and United Provinces decided to restore statutory recognition of the Indian Sugar Syndicate and to set up a sugar commission to regulate the production, price, sale and distribution of sugar.

6. The Handicrafts of Kashmir[1]

For hundreds of years, Kashmir has not only been famous for her natural beauty but also for the skill of her craftsmen and artisans. In spite of this fame, however, these crafts withered away and cheap foreign machine-made goods took the place of the beautiful hand work of the Kashmiri workers. Some crafts continued in a small way for the benefit of tourists and the like, but there was no longer any nation-wide demand.

1. Extracts from a letter to the All India Spinners' Association, Kashmir. *The Hindustan Times*, 20 August 1940.

There was still some fine wood work, silver work and papier-mache, but the pride of Kashmir — the beautiful weaving and embroidery which produced the famous shawls and other woollen textiles—sickened almost to death.

The great national revival in India which began in 1920 had for one of its chief planks the encouragement of handicrafts and cottage industries, more especially those of hand spinning and hand weaving. Dying crafts woke up all over India, and the skilled fingers of her craftsmen and artisans, that had remained idle for so long, began to ply again and produce articles of beauty. The powerful wave of national revival reached Kashmir also and her dying crafts woke up. In the whole of India a demand arose for Kashmiri articles, and the market for them was no longer restricted to the tourists.

In this great work of putting new life into our crafts and cottage industries in Kashmir, as in the rest of India, the All India Spinners' Association has played a great part. The Kashmir branch of this Association is known all over India and the demand for its products can hardly be met, although production increases continuously.

I was glad, therefore, to visit the principal production centre and showroom of the Kashmir branch at Pampur, near Srinagar, and to see for myself how this work was carried on. I was impressed by what I saw and by the general efficiency that prevailed there.

The A.I.S.A., like every competent concern, must be run efficiently and on business lines. But it is no mere business concern and no individual profits by its dealings. It came into existence in answer to a national demand, and it can never forget this national outlook. All its activities must be governed by this. It was because of this that a system of minimum wage was introduced in all its branches so that every worker should have a living wage. This was not good business from a narrow profit-making point of view, for it raised the price of the manufactured articles. Nevertheless, it was essential if the objective of the A.I.S.A. is to hold. An attempt must, therefore, be continuously made to raise the wages of the craftsmen and workers.

This applies especially to Kashmir where wages are absurdly low, both relatively to the fine skilled work done and absolutely. I trust that this important aspect will always be borne in mind. I understand that something has already been done in this respect. More is needed as soon as this is possible.

It is the function of the A.I.S.A. to gain the goodwill of its workers and the public generally. The enterprise, though not cooperative in the technical sense, is essentially based on the cooperation of the workers and the public. It may easily be extended later on a cooperative basis; I

hope this will take place. Even now possibly some beginnings can be made on a small scale.

Kashmir is a wonderful place to do this work. Skilled human material is abundant and its reputation is world-wide. There is no reason whatsoever why Kashmir should not become a hive of industry and her present poverty-stricken aspect changed to one of plenty, and smiling happy faces take the place of the misery that one sees everywhere. That is, of course, a large question, involving fundamental political and economic issues. But the work that is being done by the A.I.S.A. in Kashmir helps in this change for the better in howsoever small a way, and deserves every encouragement from the public and the state government.

The A.I.S.A. should not confine its activities to the purely business side of production and sale. It must take interest in the human side of its workers and all those with whom it comes into contact in Kashmir. It could help them in many ways by doing village uplift work wherever its workers live. Literacy, sanitation, village organization, medical relief, the organization of small cooperatives, are the types of work that might be undertaken. This will give the proper background to its main function and connect it organically with the life of the people. I know that something of this kind has been attempted already. This might be extended.

During my recent visit to Liddarwat, I came into intimate touch with many *Gujar* families living in their primitive shelters in the higher valleys, and sometimes having no shelter at all. It seemed to me that something should be done urgently to help them. I do not know whether the Kashmir branch of the A.I.S.A. can help in the matter. It would please me greatly if it could do so. I wish every success to the Kashmir branch of the A.I.S.A.

7. In Gorakhpur[1]

Our vast province offers a variety of problems which are sometimes common to the whole province and sometimes peculiar to some areas. Gorakhpur district has a number of special problems affecting it. It is an enormous area, with a vast population. From many points of view, including that of population, it is about one-hundredth part of India. Probably the peasantry in this district are the poorest in our province.

1. *The Hindustan Times*, 13 October 1940.

For some time past two problems have specially affected Gorakhpur and its enormous population has been much excited by them. One of these is the position of scores of thousands of peasants who have suddenly been reduced to a state of utter insecurity. These peasants have been tilling their lands, sometimes for generations, but their names were not recorded in the *patwari's* papers. They paid a rent which was mutually agreed upon, but which was not recorded. Unfortunately, the new Tenancy Bill[2] did not say anything about such tenants. The result has been that the very purpose of the Tenancy Bill, that is to give security of tenure and a relief from the burden of too high rent, has been defeated in Gorakhpur, and possibly elsewhere. An effort was made by the Congress government to remedy this by a new inquiry. The matter affected, first of all, Maharajganj tehsil where a new settlement was being made. Shri Shibbanlal Saxena took enormous pains to get proper records made in this new settlement and to the extent of twenty or thirty thousand tenants he succeeded. But a vast number still remained. Since the resignation of the Congress government, the attitude of the district officials has changed completely and they appear to have supported the zamindars in regard to these unrecorded tenants. The land occupied by these tenants, which was a kind of fictitious *sir* land, has been treated as *sir* and tenants have been ejected in thousands. In many cases records have been made without the rent being fixed and so an opportunity has been given for a very unfair enhancement of the real rent paid so far, which is wholly against the spirit of the Tenancy Act. This has created a tremendous commotion in Maharajganj tehsil where scores of thousands of tenant families are affected and are being ejected. In many cases the tenants who have continued to till the land have been ejected when the harvest was due. It is said that the big zamindars gained the favour of the district officials by contributions to the war loan and recovered by this process of ejectment many times more than what they had paid to the war loan. Thus this is a very paying and profitable business for them.

But meanwhile vast numbers of the peasantry of Maharajganj are on the verge of despair and this human factor is dominating the scene. This same process is now taking place in Padrauna tehsil where also a new settlement is being made.

It is perfectly clear that this kind of thing cannot be allowed to continue or accepted as a final settlement. It is going to have the most serious consequences and it will be quite impossible for the tenants to bear this additional burden or to be expected to pay their rent, or, in

2. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 171.

some cases, petty holders of land their revenue. What they will do under the circumstances is a very serious matter for us to determine. But I am quite clear that they cannot submit to this gross injustice which will break them up. As for the new settlement that is being made, if it is based on the considerations referred to above, it will be just scrap paper which will have to be destroyed.

The second major question in Gorakhpur district is that of the sugar industry. This may be divided up into two parts—the position of the industry as a whole and the effect on the cane-growers specially, that is, a vast body of peasants. Gorakhpur is full of sugar mills and its fertile lands are covered with sugarcane cultivation.

Some time back, I issued a statement to the press drawing attention to the gravity of the situation in the sugar industry and the very serious consequences that might follow if a wise course was not pursued. It appeared then that matters were being left to chance and no effort was going to be made to plan and regulate. That was the way of unwisdom, an invitation to trouble. Since then the governments concerned have reverted to a policy of control and regulation. So far so good, but obviously everything depends on the nature of the steps taken and of the kind of control and regulation.

We all want the sugar industry in the U.P. and Bihar to survive and prosper, not only in the national interest, but also in the interest of vast numbers of cultivators who grow sugarcane. Anything that injures this industry will lead to untold misery in the countryside and all manner of upsets. If the cane-growers cannot sell their sugarcane crops, or cannot sell it to advantage, they will not be in a position to pay their rent or revenue, and forcible attempts to recover them will lead to conflict and agrarian trouble on a big scale. If this stage is reached, rents will have to be remitted.

If all these possible consequences are borne in mind, then it becomes clear that it is essential that this year's cane crop must be disposed of advantageously to the peasantry. That is the crux of the problem, although it is not the only aspect of it.

The cane-growers have been told to make *gur*. That is right, in so far as it goes, but it does not take us very far. If *gur* is made in large quantities, the price of *gur* is likely to fall and the money income will be small. Still, this must be encouraged.

The vast proportion of the sugarcane grown can only find an outlet through the factories. Here last year's huge surplus comes in the way. Nevertheless, arrangements must be made to prevent the sugarcane from remaining unused or from rotting away in the fields. Surplus or no surplus, it has got to be bought up, and bought up at a fair price.

This process cannot be carried out without balancing the economy of the sugar factories. They need not and should not look forward to profits this year; indeed, they should be prepared to suffer some loss. But the capacity to suffer loss is, after all, limited. Beyond that limit, it may break and end that factory. This is where the government comes in. By wise control and regulation, relief from governmental burdens, fixation of a minimum price under which the sugarcane should not be allowed to fall, help in disposing of the surplus of last year's stock, the government can tide over the crisis, without any substantial injury to the cane-growers or the factories.

The average sugar factory owner has not got a very bright record. He was intent on huge dividends and large profits, though often these profits were employed in extending the factory. The sugar industry grew up rapidly in the U.P. and Bihar without any planning or foresight and for a short while it prospered exceedingly and supplied almost the whole Indian demand. Other provinces then came into the field, without such regulation as had been imposed in the U.P. and Bihar, and began to come in the way of the U.P. and Bihar industry. No one can say that the sugar industry must be the monopoly of the U.P. and Bihar. Yet it is obvious that the right course is to have the same measure of control and regulation in the other provinces and states as in the U.P. and Bihar. Also that all growth of this industry anywhere in India must be carefully thought out and planned and not left to chance when there is already supposed to be over-production. An all-India planning and control are essential.

The present crisis is partly due to the fact that factory owners raised the price of sugar unduly soon after the war began in the expectation that the war would lead to an increased demand. They were mistaken and the war did not encourage movement of goods, except such as were intimately related to the prosecution of the war itself. The rate paid to the cane-growers went up with the price of sugar, and large stocks of sugar, manufactured at this rate, were left over.

The immediate problem is how to get rid of this surplus. As I have said, it would be wrong and dangerous to reduce production during the next season substantially because of this surplus. It would also be wrong to reduce the price of sugarcane below a certain minimum limit. If either of these courses is adopted, distress and trouble on a large scale will follow.

In the United States of America a similar problem arose in regard to various commodities in the early thirties, soon after Roosevelt became President. He tried to solve it by adopting various measures known as the New Deal. He did not wholly solve the problem, but he tided over

the crisis. I think we can learn from this New Deal and we can apply it with advantage to the sugar industry.

If sugar can be exported abroad, this would relieve the burden greatly. It was not easy to export last year's stocks as their cost price was high. But next season's sugar will be priced much lower and it should not be difficult to find a market for it abroad. If contracts were entered into now for next season's produce, at a reasonable price, it would be easy for the factories to work at full pressure and consume nearly all the sugarcane produced. This is a matter in which the government can help greatly, if it so chooses.

I should like to mention a third matter which is relatively not so important, but which is causing considerable excitement among the workers in the sugar factories in Gorakhpur. There was a strike in these factories about seven months ago. This was settled on the basis of no victimization and the factory owners and the District Magistrate of Gorakhpur pledged themselves to carry out this settlement. Shri Shibbanlal Saxena and others, on behalf of the workers, agreed to the settlement on this express condition. It appears, however, that in fact there has been a great deal of victimization and long lists of names were shown to me. In some cases, I am told, the workers were formally taken back, but many of them were dismissed soon after for some other alleged offence. This seems to me to be very unfair, after the straight pledge that was given. I hope the pledge will be kept and the workers will be reinstated.

6

INDIA AND CHINA

1. To Purshotamdas Thakurdas[1]

Allahabad
April 6, 1940

My dear Sir Purshotamdas,
Thank you for your letter of April 2nd. I realise the difficulties in the way of increasing our trade contacts with China at the present moment. Still I feel that our manufacturers and merchants might be more enterprising. However, I shall allow the matter to rest there till any further development takes place, or till I hear from the Chinese authorities.

I hope to meet you in Bombay when the N.P.C. meeting takes place on the 21st April.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

2. To Chu Chia-hwa[1]

Bombay
April 20, 1940

Dear Dr. Chu,
Thank you for your letter of the 11th November.[2] It is extraordinary that this should have only reached me four days ago, that is five months after you wrote it. I do not know why letters to and from China take such a great deal of time. It is difficult to keep up contacts when answers are delayed for months. In regard to several letters that I have sent to China in recent months, I have found that they take a very long time in getting through even when they are sent by air.

I am happy however to have heard from you and have noted your suggestions for closer Sino-Indian cooperation. As you know, I entirely agree with all the proposals that you have made. There may be some difficulty under present conditions to give effect to them. But I am prepared to do my best.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. He had suggested that India and China exchange professors, students, publications, information and textiles.

The Buddhist mission[3] that you refer to visited India some months back and I was very happy to meet Rev. Tai Hsu, the leader of the mission, and his colleagues. This mission got a fine réception wherever they went in India and helped greatly in bringing China and India closer.

The war in Europe is having strong repercussions in India and I fear that this will come in the way of our doing much that we want to do. Apart from this, the situation in India is verging towards a crisis and I do not know when events may take a turn for the worse.

Some months back, the All India Women's Conference decided to send a mission to China. They wrote to China about this and also informed the Chinese Consul-General in Calcutta. They have had no reply yet and I fear it may be difficult for them to undertake a mission now for some time.

We are following with the deepest interest the situation in China and all our sympathy and goodwill are with you. I cannot forget the cordiality and hospitality which met me everywhere in China.[4] I am convinced that under your great leader, Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, China will win through, and that India and China will draw closer to one another.

With my deep regards and good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 557 & 651.
4. Jawaharlal had visited China in 1939. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 73-114.

3. To Chu Chia-hwa[1]

Wardha
May 16, 1940

Dear Dr. Chu,

As Mr. Chen, the Chinese Vice-Consul in Bombay, is returning to China, I am sending this letter through him. In recent months it has been difficult to carry on correspondence with people in China. There have been very great delays and sometimes letters have not reached at all.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

Probably the difficulties in the way of this correspondence will increase. I am taking this opportunity, therefore, to send you these few lines, to greet you and the great organisation that you represent. I wrote to you some time back acknowledging your letter and told you that we were perfectly willing to give effect to the various suggestions that you had made. But of course it must be realised that not much can be done under the war conditions of today. The situation in India also is very complex and difficult. Therefore, though we may not be able to keep such intimate contacts with China as we want, we shall always try to remain in touch and do what we can. Even if in the days to come we do not remain in frequent touch with each other I wish you to realise that we shall be thinking of you and of the friendship and cooperation of China and India. The world is changing rapidly and all of us have to face troubles and difficulties. But whatever the outcome of this may be, this friendship will, I trust, endure.

I shall be grateful to you if you will convey my deep regards and greetings to the Generalissimo.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To Madame Chiang Kai-shek[1]

Allahabad
July 11, 1940

Dear Madame Chiang,

Your letter of April 29th[2] reached me in a far valley of Kashmir. I had stolen a few days from my work to go to this old homeland of mine. They were just a few days, barely two weeks, but during this brief period I managed to wander a lot and even climb a glacier. In Kashmir I was not far from Chinese territory and my thoughts often went to China and what was happening there. There was Tibet, not far from us, and Chinese Turkistan. But mighty mountains stood as barriers between us.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. She had proposed that Indian and Chinese manufacturers come to a "business-like" agreement and that economic missions be exchanged.

I have read your letter carefully and I hope that ultimately some permanent improvement will take place in the economic contacts between China and India. You can rest assured that so far as we are concerned we shall work to that end with all our might. But little can be expected during these days of semi-world war. What will emerge out of all this mess, it is difficult to say. But whatever happens I earnestly trust that India and China will hold together to their mutual advantage and the world's good.

British policy has been ominous lately so far as China is concerned and there is obviously the political motive to come to some terms with Japan. The Indo-Japanese trade talks have disturbed us, and even the Indian industrialists greatly, for they involve injury not only to Chinese but also to Indian interests.[3] We have given expression to our opinion in this matter. You must remember that on our side these talks are carried on by representatives of the British Government, and we have at present little say in the matter. But the time will come when we shall have a great deal to say.

We follow with deep interest the developments in China. Sometimes we can get Chungking on the radio and this brings China very near to us.

I hope you and the Generalissimo will look after yourselves well, for both of you mean much not only to China but to the whole of Asia.

With regards and all good wishes to you,

Very sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *ante*, section 1, item 34.

5. The Closing of the Burma-China Road[1]

The news about China is ominous. We were told recently that the British Government had agreed to close the Burma-China Road during the monsoons. We are now informed that this government are engaged in a peace move in the Far East.

1. Statement to the press, Lucknow, 16 July 1940. *The Bombay Chronicle*, 17 July 1940.

Peace is preferable to war. But one is forcibly reminded of Sir Walter Runciman's mission and attempts to secure peace in Czechoslovakia two years ago, which resulted in the betrayal and enslavement of that country.

England may be in a perilous condition today, and it is easy to understand that she does not want further entanglements. But betrayal of China will not bring her relief. It will have far-reaching consequences affecting American opinion as well as Indian opinion.

The policy of appeasement of an aggressor has proved to be disastrous in the past; it will not succeed now. It will expose still further the pretension that Britain fights for democracy, and confirm us in our resolve not to be a party to this. India and China are drawn close to one another, and they will hold together, for their interests are one.

6. To Madame Sun Yat-sen[1]

Allahabad
July 20, 1940

My dear Madame Sun,
Dr. Atal has arrived, and he has given me your kind messages and the beautiful photographs that you sent. I appreciate these very much and I was happy to have news of you.

The recent developments in regard to China have been distressing. We have been watching them carefully and so far as Indian opinion is concerned, I need not assure you that it is entirely with the people of China. We have made it perfectly clear. Events move rapidly in the world and no one knows what the next few months might bring. But whatever it may be, I hope that the people of India and the people of China will hold fast to their principles and ideals. I feel that in spite of the horror of the present day, we shall emerge as free peoples in a free world some time or other.

I wrote to you some time back that a women's delegation from India might go to China. There has been some delay in this, but now Madame Chiang has invited them to go in October next. I cannot say what will happen between now and October and whether this delegation will be able to go or not, but I hope still that it may be possible for it to go. I

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

should like nothing better than to see contacts developing between the women of India and China.

With my deep regards to you and all good wishes,

Yours very sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. To Cheng Yin-fun[1]

September 10, 1940

Dear Mr. Cheng Yin-fun,[2]

Thank you for your letter of August 21st.[3] I was happy to have news from you and of China. Indeed China is very much in our thoughts and more and more people believe that China and India must pull together. We are having our own troubles here and we are on the verge of critical days. I am afraid British statesmanship is following here, as in China, a path of extreme unwisdom. Yet through all this error and tragedy, I trust that ultimately freedom will emerge.

I wish I could send you newspapers from here but it is difficult to do so under present war restrictions.

With all good wishes to you and to your cause, I am,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. (b. 1902); director, China Branch, International Peace Campaign and Free World Association, 1938-47; Secretary-General, Central Executive Committee, Kuomintang, 1949-50.
3. He had written that Jawaharlal's article *India, China and England* had received wide publicity in China, and that he was sending clippings from Chinese newspapers which had reprinted the article. For the text of the article, see *ante*, section 1, item 46.

8. Aerial Bombardment of China[1]

I have received the following cablegram from Mr. Yin Pao-yu,[2] Executive Secretary of the Chinese section of the International Peace Campaign :

> Greetings. Sympathy innocent sufferers and protest wanton aerial bombardment civilians in Europe and China. Chinese IPC invites world wide demonstration against bombardment innocent civilians mass meetings simultaneously October fifteenth throughout cities world. Concrete measures relief victims and prevention continuance savage practice. Your response cooperation India requested for success demonstration. Best wishes success in name justice humanity.

We in India are at present wrapped up in a grave crisis and we prepare resolutely to face the perils of the future. That crisis is not of India only but of the world. We have emphasised again the non-violent basis of our movement. And yet we are apt to take rather casually this quintessence of violence, brutality and inhumanity which aerial bombardment of cities is making us familiar with. A daily dose of horror dulls even sensitive minds. It is right therefore that our comrades in China should draw our attention to this savage practice which is reducing many a famous and historic city to ruin and exterminating in this process innocent men, women and children.

I commend this appeal from our friends and comrades in China to the Indian people, especially those who live in cities and I hope that they will join in protest and condemnation of this most inhuman and brutal practice. Aerial bombardment of civilians is bad whether it takes place in London, Berlin or Chungking. Of these three cities probably Chungking has suffered most of all. But though its houses lie in ruins burying the corpses of many of its citizens, the spirit of China shines forth still, unhurt, confident and resolute.

The world sinks daily and reaches new levels of degradation. I hope that the voice of India will be raised against this, and will join other voices the world over in condemnation of a practice which is the negation of all humanity and civilisation.

1. Statement to the press, 4 October 1940, J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. This seems to have been censored.
2. (b. 1908); acting director, China Branch, International Peace Campaign and Free World Association from 1940.

9. A New Road to China[1]

Recently there has been much controversy about the Yunan-Burma Road. The building of this road was a big achievement for the Chinese Government. So much depended upon it that they devoted all their energies, in the middle of a devastating war, to build the road and the railway which would give them access to Burma and thereby to the wider world. The road was built and the railway, from all accounts, is also nearly ready.

Suddenly the fortunes of war in Europe underwent a swift change and France fell. Immediately Japan succeeded in getting the road to China from Indo-China closed. Soon after the British Government continued its policy of appeasement to Japan by closing the Burma Road for three months. That act of appeasement did not bring satisfactory results to England, for immediately after it Englishmen were arrested and humiliated in Japan.

But appeasement of one country often leads to irritation of another. When this other country is the United States of America, the results are far-reaching. England could not afford to displease America and when the three months were over, the Burma Road was reopened.

This Burma Road has been helpful to China in her war. But it has had a far greater significance so far as we were concerned. It has brought China and India closer to one another. China for the first time for some generations began to look towards her western and south-western neighbours. Her outlook which had been governed so long by the treaty ports was changed by circumstances, and the hand of destiny began to link together again the fate of India and China. Burma, the old time *Suvarnabhumi*, was the golden link which joined China to India. So for us in India and for the people of China, this Yunan-Burma Road had great significance and it opened out long vistas of mutual contact and cooperation.

The question has often arisen why there should also not be a more direct route between China and India. The high mountains intervened and separated us. But the mountains are no longer barriers to the intercourse of human beings and the intellect of man has devised methods to overcome even these great sentinels of the north-east frontier of India.

We learn that it is proposed to develop a new route between China and India *via* Sadiya in Assam. The idea is to build a road on the

1. Allahabad, 28 October 1940. *National Herald*, 31 October 1940.

Chinese side connecting the railhead in eastern Assam with it. Also to have an air service to Sadiya and possibly beyond, to Calcutta. This would not only shorten the journey very greatly, it would also reduce the cost of transport for goods. Chittagong would be the natural port for this traffic, though perhaps Calcutta might also be used for this purpose.

If such a route was developed, there can be no doubt of the great advantages to Chittagong, Calcutta and Bengal. A large part of the huge traffic to China would begin to flow through Bengal.

In the event, ultimately, of a railway line being built up to Sadiya from the Chinese side it would result in connecting China with the Indian railway system and thus in the future possibly with the European-Asiatic railway system.

But apart from the commercial and other material advantages which such a route would bring to India, our interest in its development would be great for cultural and psychological reasons. India and China would then be in direct and intimate contact. The future points that way; the moving finger has written, and such contact and friendship must develop.

We welcome therefore this proposal to have a direct air and land route between China and India *via* Sadiya in Assam and we hope that it will bear early fruit.

10. A Distinguished Visitor[1]

The Eastern Group Conference[2] in Delhi has collected together a host of people of greater or less degree. Few of us are interested in this gathering or its objectives. Nor do we know much about the delegates who have come from various parts of the Empire of Britain. But one group of delegates is known to us and is very welcome in India. These are the delegates from our neighbour Ceylon.

In the revolution that is encompassing the world and is likely to bring about vast changes, it is desirable for us to come into touch with our

1. 28 October 1940. *National Herald*, 5 November 1940.
2. See *ante*, section 1, item 91.

friends in Ceylon. We hope that their visit here will lead to the removal of many misunderstandings.

A very distinguished visitor, not connected with the Eastern Group Conference, will also be soon coming to India. He is from China and he is a leading statesman and a noted scholar of that ancient land. His name is Tai Chi-tao. He is a Minister of the Government of the Republic of China and is the President of the Examination Yuan, which is an important group of departments of the government.

President Tai Chi-tao is due to arrive in Calcutta by air from Rangoon on or about November 3 and he intends to spend about six weeks in India. We can assure him, on behalf of the Indian people, of a very warm welcome for many reasons. He comes as a representative of a great people and of a country struggling with amazing heroism for her freedom. That in itself would make him welcome here. He comes as an eminent scholar, deeply interested in the cultural contacts between India and China during the past ages. We understand that he is particularly desirous of visiting the historical places connected with the Buddhist faith in India as well as other cultural centres of this vast country. He comes also on a mission of goodwill to this country and as a symbol of the growing friendship between India and China.

That friendship is very precious to us not only because of the thousands of golden links that have bound us in the past, but because of the future that beckons to both of us. The present is full of difficulty for all of us and none may avoid this sorrow and travail. But the future that is taking shape in death and disaster, will be a future in which India and China are bound to play a great part. This will be so not just because of the huge collections of human beings which inhabit these two countries, amounting to two-fifths or possibly nearly half of the entire population of the world. There is something much more than the weight of numbers involved in this, although numbers may not be ignored.

India and China have represented throughout the ages two distinct and deep-rooted civilisations and cultures, each very different from the other and yet with numerous common features. Like all ancient countries they have gathered round them all manner of debris in the form of old custom and tradition which hinder growth, but underneath this mess of useless material, there lies the pure gold that has kept them going for all these ages. Not all the degradation and the misfortunes that have befallen both India and China have melted this golden core which made them great in the past and which even today gives stature to them. In regard to China, as of India, it may well be said in the words of the poet Iqbal :

Yunan-o-Misr-o-Roma sab
mit gaye jahan se
ab tak magar hai baqi nam-o-
nishan hamara.
Kuchh bat hai ki hasti mitti
nahin hamari
Sadiyon raha hai dushman
daur-e-zaman hamara.[3]

For many years now, and more especially for the last three years and more, China has been going through the ordeal of fire. How can we measure the immeasurable suffering of the Chinese people invaded and attacked by an imperialist aggressor, bombed in their cities night after night and made to face all the horrors of modern war by a first-rate power? London has suffered greatly from bombing during the last two or three months. But what of Chungking that has had to face this bombing for years now, and yet lives. We cannot measure this suffering, nor can we measure the determination and epic courage which has faced these disasters and sufferings unmoved and unbent. In the magnificent story of the Chinese people from the dawn of history to today there are many glorious periods and fine deeds. But surely the past three years will stand out even in that great record.

These years have been years of swift transition from the past to the present and preparation for the future that is to come. The dross and the debris are being burnt away in the fire of a nation's suffering and the pure metal comes out. We in India have had our own share of trials and tribulations and are likely to have much more of it in the near future. So nations, who are slothful and who have sunk into subjection, are made again; so China and India are being rejuvenated.

Both of them have a great part to play in the future; so let both hold together and learn from each other. We welcome again President Tai Chi-tao to this ancient land and trust that his visit will bear rich fruit in bringing the two peoples nearer to each other.

3. Ancient Greece and Egypt and Rome have all vanished from the face of the earth. But our name and civilization still live on. There is something in us that makes our being indestructible, although for centuries the trends of the world have been against us.

NATIONAL HERALD

1. To Sri Prakasa[1]

Allahabad
July 9, 1940

My dear Prakasa,
... We have arrived at a stage when I do believe that with sufficient finances we can pull through. On the other hand the political situation marches to some kind of zero hour. The last resolution of the Working Committee and the situation itself are bringing matters to a head.[2] I think that the next three weeks or so should decide one way or the other. If it means continuing conflict, that conflict will be intensified. That will have its own effects on a paper like the *Herald*.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. See *ante*, section 1, item 37.

2. To K. Rama Rao[1]

Allahabad
July 9, 1940

My dear Rama Rao,
I have just returned to Allahabad after an absence of nearly a month. During this period I have been completely cut off from the affairs of the *Herald* and have seldom seen a copy of it. I was so overburdened with other work and worry that I could do little for the *Herald*. Some news came to me of various difficulties and more especially of the very generous way in which the staff was cooperating to lessen these difficulties. I should like to express my deep appreciation to you, to Tholal[2] and to all members of the editorial staff as well as the staff of other departments for the way they have offered their whole-hearted cooperation at considerable sacrifice to themselves. Newspapers which can command this service and sacrifice from those who run it cannot go down.

1. National Herald Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Senior Assistant Editor of the *National Herald*.

We are very far from having got over our difficulties and there are serious obstacles to surmount. But there is a silver lining and it is possible that things may take a turn for the better before very long. I hope to go to Lucknow in the course of the next few days to meet you all.

The political situation seems to be coming to a head and the next three weeks will probably see a decision one way or the other. Present conditions cannot continue unchanged. Probably the Government of India will take some action in the way of reforming the government, which will put an end to any possibility of compromise on this issue. That inevitably will lead to greater conflict between the Congress and the government.

In Delhi yesterday I gave a long interview to *The Hindustan Times'* representative about the Working Committee resolution.[3] I wish I could have sent this to you separately but the interview was dictated. I do not know if the A.P. has sent any part of it out. I asked him to give it to the A.P. also. But the interview was long. I think it will be worth while for you to reproduce this full interview from *The Hindustan Times* stating it is from the *Times*.

I have not written for the *Herald* for a long time. I have not been in the mood to write, nor have I had the time. Possibly I shall write something in the course of the next few days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *ante*, section 1, item 37.

3. To Raghunandan Saran[1]

Allahabad
July 18, 1940

My dear Nandan,

I am very sorry that you could not attend the directors' meeting. I hope you are better now and your mother is also recovering.

I gave you a letter for Jamnalalji's daughter. This was enclosed in the envelope I gave you. I hope you have sent this on to Jamnalalji.

We went carefully into the affairs of the *Herald* at Lucknow. The position though serious is undoubtedly better than it has been for some

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

time. I found a very good spirit prevailing among all the members of the staff—editorial, managerial and the press. They have all undergone considerable sacrifices and are bent on making a success of the *Herald*. This is really more important than the purely financial side and I feel very much heartened by it. There is a definite tendency for the circulation to go up and for more advertisements to come in. I expect that in a couple of months or so the circulation may reach ten thousand in spite of the reduction in pages. This itself means an addition to our income. But of course the main income must come from advertisements. I feel sure that an organized attempt to get the advertisements will lead to good results.

Meanwhile the position is that our monthly deficit on current expenses is between 1,500 and 2,000. It is hoped that this will come down by about a thousand within two or three months. This is not a true figure as at present the staff is taking very much reduced salaries and some not taking any salary at all. To get at the true figure about 1,500 should be added. But, at any rate, for another two months we shall carry on at the reduced figures. This does not include of course instalments. With luck, at the end of about three months from now our current loss should be less than 2,000 including everything and possibly even less.

We have had to meet an additional burden as we have started paying our staff every fortnight. This is more satisfactory from every point of view. But it means that we have to find a fortnight's expenses earlier.

Generally speaking, our debts apart, our position is good and we ought to be paying our way within six months. We really require a lakh of rupees to pay off a good portion of our debts and instalments and to cover deficits in the next few months. Even if we could get fifty thousand we could go a very long way. The best way to get this is to get a lump sum of 25 thousand or 30 thousand rupees and monthly contributions of between 4 and 5 thousand for six months. Katju has promised to give a thousand a month for the next six months.

I am sorry you could not agree to become managing director. I realise your difficulties, but we must have a change. We shall consider this matter again next month.

We met Gulabchand and had a talk with him. I do not know much about him and so we decided to leave the matter entirely to you to fix up with him. He is a man of energy, but apparently he has had nothing to do with newspapers so far. Anyway, it would be worth while trying him. But care should be taken that he does not come into conflict with the present running of the *Herald*. Sinha, functioning as manager, is doing fairly well and there is perfect coordination between the editorial and the managerial.

About Dharam Yash Dev I wrote to Kripalani and have had no answer yet. I think he will be useful but where exactly would you fit him in?

I am going to Bombay on the 22nd morning and from there to Poona. I shall have a talk with Jamnalalji and others.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. To K. Rama Rao[1]

Wardha
August 23, 1940

Dear Rama Rao,

I have noticed in the *Herald* long letters protesting against the use of Urdu words in the All India Radio broadcasts. Considerable prominence is being given to them. I understand there was some editorial comment also on the subject. I did not myself see this. But the letters that I have read seem to me completely misconceived. While some objections can be taken here and there to a word, the actual objections raised to many words were perfectly ridiculous. The subject of language is a very difficult one, especially when an attempt is made to evolve a common language out of two different literary forms. But an attempt has to be made or else we continue to maintain these separate forms and thus begin to influence our daily life also. As a matter of fact the All India Radio has made many attempts to use the commoner words. They have consulted Maulana Azad on the subject also and possibly others. I have no doubt that they continue to use difficult words occasionally which could be replaced by better and simpler words. Opinions on this subject are bound to differ. But it is absurd to carry on any intensive propaganda on this subject as is being done by some people who write to the *Herald*. The question should be considered impartially and scientifically. I find that a demand has arisen that there should be two broadcasts—one in Urdu and one in Hindi. This is not only absurd but harmful. I should like you, therefore, to speak to the members of the editorial staff on this subject so that a proper balance may be preserved and the *Herald* should not be accused of participating in an agitation

1. National Herald Papers, N.M.M.L.

which has a communal tinge about it. Public opinion need not be suppressed but both sides of the question should be represented and you should not take sides. In any event this is not a matter deserving prominence.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. To M.N. Tholal[1]

September 10, 1940

My dear Tholal,
Your letter of September 7th which I showed to Maulana Azad. So far as the general principles are concerned, as laid down by you in your leading articles and other notes, there is no difference of opinion. I think also that there has been a strong tendency in the A.I.R. broadcasts to use rather difficult Persianised words. I think an attempt has been made in the recent past to improve in this direction. Bokhari has been consulting Maulana Azad among others about the use of many words. It is quite extraordinarily difficult to solve this question to the satisfaction of even impartial judges. The literary forms of Urdu and Hindi have diverged more and more. Still we have to develop the common spoken and later even a written language, though literary forms may still continue to be different.

I have not followed this controversy closely but I remember reading a letter in the *Herald* in which objection was taken to the use of certain words, many of which seemed to me common enough, and I have never read Persian, much less Arabic words. I suppose we have to go through this transitional period.

Personally, I think a living language should always throw open its doors to foreign words which can be assimilated. I see no harm whatever in Hindustani deliberately trying to assimilate English and French words, instead of producing archaic translations in Persian or Sanskrit.

Apart from the merits of the question, it has to be remembered that the prevailing atmosphere, especially in regard to language, is full of suspicion, and even a right approach sometimes leads to unfortunate

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

consequences. Hence the need to be careful lest we produce a reaction which is the reverse of what we want.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Two Years of Storm and Stress[1]

Two years, an infant's age, and the *Herald* is but an infant as years go, but two years of storm and stress and the bitterness of frustration and war. All of us who have gone through this period of horror are aged today, whatever our years and the *Herald* has grown old too with the rest of us.

Two years ago, when the *Herald* was born, I was in Europe watching the betrayal of Czechoslovakia and the agony of Spain. Later I saw the bombs fall in China and in India travail of spirit and conflict and doubts in this mad and uncertain world. The *Herald* launched out hazardously on its stormy course and was tossed hither and thither. And more and more its fate was wrapped up with the larger happenings that govern our future. Today the *Herald* and we stand together on the edge of chance, ready once again to hazard our bark on the stormy seas which lead to an unknown future. But we are stout of heart and used to difficulty, and we face the dangers ahead with joy and confidence.

And so all good wishes to the *Herald* and may it always remain a true soldier in freedom's cause.

1. Message on the completion of two years by the *National Herald*. *National Herald*, 10 September 1940.

7. On the Government Order[1]

In view of the Order dated October 26, 1940 issued by the Government of India under rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules, a number of

1. Note for the editorial and managerial departments of the *National Herald*, Allahabad, 27 October 1940. National Herald Papers, N.M.M.L.

Directors of the Associated Journals Ltd. met in Allahabad on October 27, 1940 to consider the situation. The following Directors were present: Jawaharlal Nehru (Chairman), Kailas Nath Katju, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Mohanlal Nehru and Raghunandan Saran.

2. It was decided that, in spite of the Government Order, the *National Herald* should be continued, but that certain changes be made. A note to this effect on behalf of the Directors should appear in the *Herald* in the issue dated October 29, 1940. A copy of this note is attached. This note should be given in the editorial column just under the Government Order.

3. In each subsequent issue of *Herald*, the Government Order should be reproduced in the editorial column. Below this should appear the following note daily :

> As the above Order of the Government of India prohibits newspapers from giving expression to India's attitude to the war and to many vital aspects of Congress policy, the Directors of the Associated Journals Limited have decided to discontinue leading articles and other editorial matter in the *National Herald*. They regret also that they will be unable to give important news in regard to Congress activities.

4. No leading articles or other editorial matter should appear until further notice.

5. Any message received from the censors or others, in the nature of war propaganda, should not be published. It is sometimes difficult to distinguish the presentation of news from propaganda. This cannot be helped. News has to be accepted and published even if this is presented in a one-sided and propagandist way. Speeches of the Viceroy or a governor, even if they are propagandist, should ordinarily be given, as they have news and a public value.

6. War loan advertisements must not be published.

7. Special articles on particular topics—Indian or foreign—should be published.

8. A special feature should be made of articles reproduced from the foreign press. These may deal in an objective way with the war also.

9. Any contravention of the Government Order mentioned above should be avoided.

10. The managerial and press departments should also keep in line with the above directions especially in regard to printing anything as job work.

11. In view of the changing situation and possibility of rapid developments, it is desirable that the editor should consult, whenever he considers necessary, the available directors, or the chairman if he can be reached.

Jawaharlal Nehru
Chairman

This is to appear in the *Dak* and morning edition of the *Herald* dated 29th October 1940. It should be given in the editorial column. The Government Order referred to should be given above it.

> The Directors of the Associated Journals Limited have given their careful consideration to the situation created by the directions issued by the Chief Censor at Delhi and the local censors to editors and publishers of newspapers, and, in particular, to the Order dated October 26, 1940 issued by the Government of India under rule 41 of the Defence of India Rules. This Order is a comprehensive invasion of the elementary and well-established rights of newspapers and a prohibition from giving publicity to facts and occurrences, as well as to opinions widely held in the country. The Directors have followed a policy of giving full publicity to all well-authenticated facts in the *National Herald*, regardless of their implications, as they have believed that it is the duty of a newspaper to give news fully and frankly to the public. In the editorial columns, the *Herald* has adhered to the policy of the Indian National Congress. The Directors as well as the editorial staff of the *Herald*, having faith in this policy, have endeavoured to serve the nation's cause by doing everything in their power to advance it through the columns of the *Herald*.
>
> The censorship regulations and the new Order of the Government of India, which has the force of law, make it impossible for the *Herald*, as for any other newspaper, to continue giving important news, in which the public is deeply interested, or to interpret the course of events or the mind of the people, without coming into conflict with the law as now framed. Such news does not relate to military movements, or any like matters, which may affect the fortunes of a campaign. To a censorship of any such news, the *Herald* has willingly agreed. But the new Order endeavours to suppress news and expressions of public or individual opinion in regard to war, and this may well be extended to include all news and opinions which the government of the day does not approve of. It is no doubt meant to include many vital Congress activities. No

independent newspaper or press can carry on its service of the public under such conditions, and it may well become a means of deluding the public by the suppression of vital information.

The Directors, after giving the most earnest thought to the new situation that has been created, have come to the conclusion that they should still endeavour to continue to serve the public through the *Herald*, although the opportunities of such service are strictly limited now. They are sure that the numerous readers of the *Herald*, and the vast number of sympathisers with the *Herald*, will appreciate their difficulties and will help them in overcoming them, in so far as this is possible.

As the *Herald* is prohibited from expressing its opinion regarding war policy in relation to India, and may not even discuss Congress policy, there will be no leading articles or other editorial matter in future. Special articles on particular topics will, however, appear from time to time. The *Herald* will give, as far as possible, a factual account of the war. Messages received from the censor's office or through other sources, meant as war propaganda, will not be published. War loan advertisements will also not be published.

The Directors crave the indulgence of the readers of the *Herald* and of the public, and seek their help and cooperation in this time of grave crisis when the fundamental and elementary liberties of the people are sought to be crushed. They hope and trust that with the goodwill of the public, whose cause it has endeavoured to serve, the *Herald* will continue its labours and its service in the cause of India's freedom.

8

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

1. To the Editor, Hindusthan Standard[1]

Allahabad
March 4, 1940

Dear Sir,
I have your letter of February 24th. I am sorry I am unable to send you special articles at present, as I am overburdened with work.

I should like to tell you, however, that I learnt with regret and amazement of the order served upon your newspaper by the Government of Bengal. I think this order, asking you to submit all editorial matter to the censor before publication, was highly objectionable and I am glad you did not submit to it. No self-respecting newspaper can accept such a pre-censorship of articles. This is a matter of importance not only to you but to the newspaper press in general in India as well as to the public at large.

I have today sent a long letter dealing with this and other questions, relating to the liberty of the press, to the President of the Journalists Association of India,[2] who had addressed an enquiry to me. I have asked him to release this letter to the press for publication and I trust that you will get it soon.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. Tushar Kanti Ghosh (b. 1899); founder of *Jugantar*, *Allahabad Patrika* and *Amrita*; Director, United News of India; editor, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

2. To Tushar Kanti Ghosh[1]

Allahabad
March 4, 1940

Dear Friend,
Your telegram reached me late as it missed me in Patna.

I am certainly of opinion that it was unfortunate and unwise for the B.P.C.C. Executive to pass a resolution boycotting the *Jugantar* newspaper.[2] I am not personally aware of the articles or other matters that

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L. Published in *The Hindustan Times*, 12 March 1940.
2. The resolution was passed on 27 February 1940.

have been appearing in the *Jugantar* and can say nothing about them. But I am a strong believer in the freedom of the press and consider that the fullest latitude should be given to it to express opinions and criticise policies. This of course does not mean that any newspaper or individual should indulge in malicious attacks on anyone, or should indulge in the low type of journalism which has been a feature of some of our communal organs. But it is my firm belief that public life should be built up on the foundation of a free and independent press. I therefore regret greatly the attempt to boycott the *Jugantar*.

I should like to add that the recent order of the Bengal Government on the *Hindusthan Standard* to submit all editorial matter for censorship before publication, seems to me an amazing misuse of official authority. If this kind of thing is to be permitted, there will be a complete end of independent editorial writing in newspapers. Their leading articles will not be theirs, but the censor's, and nobody wants to read what the censor thinks about a particular matter. A government has every right to express its own opinion and to place it before the public directly as coming from it. But the indirect way of giving publicity to its own opinions through the editorial columns of newspapers, or of suppressing criticisms of its own actions, is something that has always been considered vitally wrong to the working of a newspaper. It is far better for a newspaper not to have any editorial matter than to submit to this degradation or surrender of its soul. I am glad that the *Hindusthan Standard* preferred this course and stopped giving editorial matter. Every journalist and newspaper man in India, as well as every person who is interested in the vital question of having a free press, must condemn the action taken by the Bengal Government in this matter.

I understand that the Bengal Government has also tried to suppress newspapers by asking securities from them. A recent case has been brought to my notice of the demand of the Bengal Government of security from the *Rozana Hind*, a nationalist Urdu daily of Calcutta. A security was taken from this paper and now again further securities have been demanded both from the *Daily Hind* and the *Weekly Hind*. Apparently one of the offences of these papers was to publish a bulletin issued by the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee. It may be that the Bengal Government does not agree with or disapproves of the views of the U.P.P.C.C. but I can say with confidence that this P.C.C. has issued no bulletin or pamphlet which any person can call, in the slightest degree, irresponsible. The U.P.P.C.C. speaks and writes with dignity and deals with problems impersonally. In regard to the communal problem especially it has always maintained a high level and has never sunk to the level of just controversy and criticism. If even the bulletins of the

U.P.P.C.C. are enough to upset the Bengal Government and to induce it to demand security from newspapers publishing them, it does not speak well for the Bengal Government.

Famous nationalist newspapers which have established their position are, to a large extent, able to look after themselves. Anything that happens to them draws public attention and public support. Smaller and less known papers often have to suffer from government interference because they are not so well-known. It is dangerous, however, to allow even the smallest and the weakest of our journals to fall a victim to official interference and suppression. For this habit grows with use and gradually the public mind gets accustomed to the misuse of its powers by the government. Therefore it is necessary for the Journalists Association, as well as for all newspapers, not to allow even such cases relating to the lesser known papers to go by default. If they are at all anxious to retain the liberty of the press, they must be vigilant guardians of this liberty and must resist every encroachment from wherever it might come. This is not a matter of political views or opinions. The moment we acquiesce in an attack on a newspaper with which we happen to disagree, we have surrendered in principle, and when the attack comes on us we have no power left to resist it.

The freedom of the press does not consist in our permitting such things as we like to appear. Even a tyrant is agreeable to this type of freedom. Civil liberty and freedom of the press consist in our permitting what we do not like, in our putting up with criticisms of ourselves, in our allowing public expression of views which seem to us even to be injurious to our cause itself. For it is always a dangerous thing to seek a temporary advantage at the cost of the larger good or of the final objective. If we set wrong standards and adopt wrong means, even in the belief that we are furthering a right cause, that cause itself will be affected and prejudiced by those standards and those means. The end in view will itself be governed partly by these standards and means and may ultimately become something entirely different from what we had envisaged.

If our aim is democracy and freedom, then we must keep that in view always in our work and our activities. If this work and activity is carried on in a way which is opposed to democracy and freedom, then surely the end will not be democracy and freedom but something different.

It is true that it is easy to lay down high principles which are logical and which sound well. It is more difficult to put them into practice. For life is not very logical and the standard of human behaviour is not as high as we should like it to be. We live in a jungle where, often

enough, predatory individuals and nations roam about at will and seek to injure society. Crises arise, like wars or struggles for national freedom, or class struggles which upset the normal course of events. It becomes very difficult then to adhere, in their entirety, to the high principles we lay down which presume a certain standard of human behaviour. During these crises or revolutionary times, it becomes necessary to reconsider, to some extent, the ordinary freedom of the individual or the group. Even so, it is a dangerous thing and likely to have bad consequences unless the greatest vigilance is exercised. Otherwise we succumb to the very evil we fight against.

When we talk of democracy and freedom as well as of civil liberties, we must always remember that they involve responsibility and discipline. Without discipline and responsibility in the individual or group, there is likely to be no true freedom. In the change-over from a state of subjection and denial of liberties to a free state, a certain tendency towards licence is perhaps inevitable. This is regrettable but it is not difficult to understand, for it is the reaction from long continued suppression. To some extent this should be tolerated, for to suppress it is to emphasize the very complex that produces it. Nevertheless we have all to be on our guard to prevent freedom from degenerating into licence and irresponsibility and indiscipline.

In India we have a magnificent record of tolerance. No country in the world, excepting China, has this record. While Europe and other countries were deluged in blood in wars of religion and in the attempt to suppress this opinion or that, India and China, with the assurance of millennia of culture behind them, opened their doors wide to ideas and religions from abroad. This tremendous background of toleration and culture is a precious inheritance for us.

Today passions are roused on other issues which affect us vitally. It is right that we should feel deeply about these issues, for on their outcome depends the future of our country and of the world. It is right that we should put all our strength in the advancement of the cause that we hold dear. But it is not right that we should give up or tone down the very principles which have been the glory of Indian civilisation in the past and which are, in a somewhat different sense, the foundations of democratic freedom. Above all we should try to combine freedom and civil liberty with discipline and responsibility.

As this letter of mine to you may be of interest to newspapers and the public, I would suggest to you to issue it to the press for publication.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. How India is Defended[1]

We have such a thing as the Defence of India Act and gradually it is spreading its tentacles. It is interesting to note how this Act functions and to understand the conception of the defence of India in the minds of our rulers.

Some time ago the Special Branch of the U.P. Police swooped down on the bookshop in Allahabad of Messrs Kitabistan and seized and carried off 1,779 copies of various books, several of them published by Kitabistan. These books dealt with socialism or Russia and three of them were by that well-known writer Ralph Fox, who died as a volunteer in the Spanish War.

On inquiry being made, the District Magistrate of Allahabad stated that some of the books that had come from London "were seized as contraband literature the import of which is prohibited under the Government of India notification No. 61 dated the 10th of September, 1932." The reason given was interesting. Obviously the books were not banned. Indeed they could not have been banned by that notification as they had not been written in 1932. What was banned then was a certain type of literature which was called "contraband literature." What this contraband literature is I do not know, nor have I come across any official specification of it. But from the type of books seized recently, apparently books dealing with socialism and Russia are considered contraband.

It is a remarkable phenomenon to ban a whole branch of literature, without any regard to the merits or demerits of books, simply because the subjects are not to the liking of the authorities. In practice a still more remarkable result is achieved, for the limbs of the law, who have to interpret and carry out the directions of the government, are usually entirely ignorant of all branches of literature and whose acquaintance with the empire of books is limited to a few thrillers and detective stories. It is bad enough to have any kind of censorship, but to have one's mental diet regulated by ignorant policemen and other ignoramuses is a refinement of torture for those who do not take pride in being "low-brows".

Another interesting point to be noted is that the notification is dated 1932, when the last Civil Disobedience movement was in full swing. We are back again from the point of view of government repression and

1. *National Herald*, 26 April 1940.

suppression of civil liberties to those palmy days. But how came these contraband books to be introduced into India? They came openly through the post or as parcels and successfully passed the customs barriers, in spite of the government notification. They were offered for sale and were in fact sold publicly by a hundred bookshops. Was the notification in abeyance all this time and has it since been revived? Or has some bright new person been put in charge recently of contraband literature and his ideas on the subject are more extensive and far-reaching than his predecessor's?

The District Magistrate of Allahabad further states that certain other books, which had been published by Kitabistan, contain matter which is prohibited by the U.P. Government notification dated January 19, 1940. This notification applies the Defence of India Rules and prohibits the printing or publishing of "any matter contained in any document the bringing of which into British India is for the time being prohibited under Section 19 of the Sea Customs Act, 1878."

What has been prohibited under Section 19 of the Sea Customs Act, I do not know. Certainly the framers of that Act of 1878 knew nothing of Soviet Russia and probably gave no thought to socialism or communism. We know, however, how this Act has been misused in the past by the government to stop books and periodicals from coming in. That was bad enough. But now its scope has been widened to cover all printing, publication, reproduction and sale of any book or periodical. Not, be it noted, of any book banned or specified, but a book belonging to a vague class which the government does not like or sometimes which the local policeman does not approve of.

These are extraordinary happenings, and in spite of the grave issues that confront the country, I should like to draw public attention to them. They are not only a very serious infringement of civil liberty, but they strike at the root of one of the most valued possessions and rights of human beings. As a politician I object to this kind of thing, as a democrat I protest vigorously, but as an author my whole soul rises in revolt against this invasion of the realms of thought by ignorant and tyrannical wielders of authority.

If socialism and Russia are contraband subjects then I am contraband too for I write frequently about them. Kitabistan have suffered a heavy loss by the seizure of many of their books by the police. They are my publishers also and they had better beware of publishing more of my stuff. For I propose to continue writing and speaking about socialism, and trying my utmost to have a socialist order established in India. I want some sanity in government and economic affairs, a little intelligence, social justice, and freedom for myself and my people.

4. The Newspaper Man, the Censor and the Public[1]

The life of a newspaper man is not an easy one. Trials and dangers beset him and he must walk warily. It is his business and his duty to give the news of the day as fully and truthfully as he can, and to comment upon it frankly and outspokenly but without malice for anyone. But his frankness and truthfulness will not save him if he oversteps the bounds of the law of libel. Nor will he escape if he comes anywhere within the purview of the other laws dealing especially with the press.

In India a popular newspaper must inevitably be a critic of official ways, and irresponsible officialdom does not like criticism. Whether the official in India has any conscience or not we do not know, but he has tender toes, and he has the power to punish those who may happen to tread on them. It is always a problem for a newspaper man how to deal with the civilian authorities of India, who, like the king, are not supposed to err.

This problem becomes infinitely more difficult when war comes and there is a marriage of convenience between the soldier and the I.C.S. man. The I.C.S. mentality is difficult to deal with, the military mentality is worse, a combination of the two is most difficult of all.

War inevitably brings certain restrictions. Troop movements, military dispositions and like arrangements have to be shrouded in mystery lest this information might help the enemy. Every journalist appreciates this and governs himself accordingly. But governments are not content with this and they claim the right to suppress all manner of other news and criticism, not realising that there is danger in this even from their own point of view. In England an attempt to introduce this hush-hush policy raised an outcry recently and the executive had to retrace its steps.

But France is the most flagrant example of the dangers of suppressing news and criticism. Before the fall of France, an authoritarian regime imposed a rigorous and all—embracing censorship, thereby not only suppressing legitimate criticism which might have helped, but also keeping the people almost entirely ignorant of developments. Nervous tension increased, wild rumours flew about and, when the shock of truth came, there was a total and amazing collapse.

These lessons, I suppose, like all other lessons, are of no use to the British authorities in India. And yet it is just where authoritarianism

1. *National Herald*, 24 October 1940.

prevails that these lessons must be learnt for there are no popular checks there, and the public easily believes everything that is said against the government. The wildest rumours find credence. That is after all the concern of the government and is not our responsibility. But as public men or journalists we cannot divest ourselves entirely of responsibility. We want the truth to be known, and we believe that though this might hurt occasionally, it is always safer and better in the long run.

The war censorship has been strict in India and, so far as the war is concerned, it has been accepted, though the manner of its application has been objected to and criticised. But this war censorship, and indeed the Defence of India Act, have been stretched to cover many other activities and a progressive suppression of news, other than the war news, has taken place. This has now suddenly jumped up to a pre-censorship of all news relating to Shri Vinoba's satyagraha or subsequent developments. And now comes the new Ordinance[2] embracing everything that the wit of man can think of, and either prohibiting its publication or making it liable to pre-censorship.

This has clearly nothing to do with the war, although it might casually mention the war. It deals with 'the public safety' and 'the maintenance of public order'—phrases which are dear to the British authorities in India and whose meaning we know to our cost. It includes satyagraha of course, but it embraces also every kind of public activity which might not be to the liking of our British rulers. This means the killing of all independent expression of news or views. That is a serious matter for the public; it is a still more serious matter for the journalist and the purveyor of news. Ultimately the authorities will find that it recoils upon them in a way they have not foreseen.

The journalist owes a responsibility to the public. He may not forget that he is in a sense a trustee and he must not abuse his trust. But when everything, or almost everything is pre-censored, where does he come in? Is he to function just as a mouthpiece of the censor or of the government of the day? It would be better for a government gazette to be issued giving only the news that the government wants the public to know, and not to give this news the disarming and deluding garb of a so-called independent newspaper.

I suppose we cannot convince the government of our viewpoint, not only about satyagraha but also about most other matters. We function in different spheres and think differently. Our objectives differ. But with the public we have a more intimate relationship and it distresses us to think that we might become the unfortunate agents for

2. See *ante*, section 1, item 95.

deluding this public. Ordinarily a journal would be responsible for the news it gives. That news today may be such that we are in no way responsible for it, for it has passed through the sieve of the censor. And yet the public may consider it the correct news or the news that we would have given in the ordinary course. We know for a fact that this misapprehension has been created in the mind of the public in regard to events connected with Shri Vinoba's satyagraha.

A straight way of dealing with this situation is to state clearly before each item of news, which has passed through the censor's hands, that it has been censored. But the censor is a shy person. He does not like to have his name mentioned or to appear before the public. He prefers to function in secret, seeking no reward for his labours from an ungenerous public. And so we are told that no mention of the censor should be made, no mention even of any suggestion or order from him, lest the public might be put out.

It is necessary therefore for the public to be warned. Let them remember that the long shadow of the censor darkens all the pages of Indian newspapers. Let them not think that the news we give is full or conveys a correct impression of any event. We shall try of course to do our duty by the public to the best of our ability. But the handcuffs and iron chains of censorship are on our wrists and feet. Let the public remember.

9

GENERAL

1. To V. K. Krishna Menon[1]

March 13, 1940

My dear Krishna,
I write briefly to acknowledge three of your letters dated January 24th, February 9th and February 10th. Your letter of January 24th contains a copy of your note in regard to the constituent assembly. I shall consider this carefully but I do not myself see how it will be possible to take the steps indicated at this stage.

In spite of my preoccupations, I have read a good part of Pritt's new book.[2] Some of the things he says seem to me a bit laboured but the latter part of the book throws a flood of light on many things which were not clear before. I have not finished the book yet. I am grateful to Pritt for having sent it to me. Will you tell him how much I have appreciated it.

In spite of Bhandari's messages which you conveyed to me regularly, news from Indira is not satisfactory. She is not making any marked progress apparently and is thoroughly fed up with everything. I have written to Bhandari about it. I am quite helpless in the matter and cannot intervene in any way.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. *Must the War Spread?* See also *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 329.

2. To Michael Carritt[1]

Allahabad
March 23, 1940

Dear Carritt,
Thank you for your letter. I have not yet received your new monthly *Inside the Empire*, which came out appropriately on the 26th of January. I am looking forward to it and I shall certainly try to send you a few lines for it.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

The war in Europe makes it difficult to keep up contacts and even the news that comes is terribly lop-sided. The censor is always there. But perhaps the worst development of all is the way people are swept away by the passions of the moment and cannot easily consider any question dispassionately. As far as I can make out something of this kind is happening in England and in India also we have to face the same reaction though it is on a different plane. Events are leading us almost inevitably to further crisis and conflict and I do not know what the outcome will be.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. To Edward Thompson[1]

Allahabad
March 23, 1940

Dear Edward,

I have your letter of February 8th.[2]

It is exceedingly difficult to advise you about a visit to India. Indeed, it is presumptuous to advise anyone in this incalculable world. It is not merely the Mahatma who is incalculable but events also. Here in India, these events drift slowly but surely towards greater crisis and conflict, and I cannot say what the next two or three months will bring us. I would love to meet you again of course and I do think that there is plenty of scope for agricultural experts here. The present governments, central or provincial, are not going to do anything of note in regard to agriculture or anything else, and it is not easy for private enterprise to do much. What I am interested in however is to prepare the ground

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. He had written that he would like to visit India to meet various people."... would it be possible for two of us, one of us an agricultural expert, to see men and women who are 'key' persons? Not the ordinary University wind bag, but people of intelligence and individuality, who have given thought to what Indian agriculture needs? I should want to go into that basic education business also. This time I should not waste 5 minutes on politics. It is no use anyway, with Mahatmaji so incalculable."

for future activity when we have the chance to go ahead. We have tackled the Planning Committee's work with this objective. We have had and are having considerable difficulties. Are we to fit in our future plan of action on the existing economic structure or on something entirely different? It seems that we cannot go very far under existing conditions and we must therefore plan differently.

Much of course will depend on the agricultural expert and what his general outlook in regard to such problems is. If he wants just to tinker with the problem and improve it superficially only, then he will not do too much good. But if he is prepared and is competent to go deeper down, then he will be very useful. It should certainly be possible for him to meet a number of people, outside the University circle, who are keen and interested in agricultural progress. I can offer myself as one such person who is not a university wind bag and who possesses, I hope, intelligence and individuality.

Basic education has made considerable progress. I feel that this is the most solid and substantial and worthwhile achievement of the Congress governments. The more I watch it grow, the more I am impressed by it. It is still in the nature of an experiment but that experiment has abundantly justified itself during these few months or year. Many variations may have to be made but fundamentally the principles underlying it will I think hold. The Muslim League of course curses it as it curses everything which it is too stupid to understand. But it has taken root and even the present provincial governments, with all their ill will to the Congress, cannot easily uproot it. In different provinces, differing methods have been adopted. In the U.P. perhaps more attention has been paid to quantity rather than quality, which is a risky business. Still the results have been good. We have in this province now 6,000 basic schools or rather primary classes. The whole scheme depends ultimately on the training of competent teachers. The present lot of teachers have been selected from the old District Board and Municipal teachers, and have been given a hurried course. This was found to be not quite enough and the period is being increased now. Still they have done some good work.

Here in Allahabad, and many other places there are training colleges for graduates, who in their turn train teachers for the primary schools. These teachers have refresher courses from time to time.

One very noticeable feature of these schools is the fact that children like them tremendously. On no account are they prepared to go back to the old type of schools. Also children are encouraged in every way to develop their creative faculties. An attempt is made to give an artistic background to their education. Various crafts are used as the central

medium of instruction, but more and more it is found by practice that spinning is the easiest, cheapest and the most liked by the children.

If you come here, I should very much like you to study this basic scheme in various provinces where it is working. Some months back a Government of India expert, who has recently come from England, went to inspect these schools. He was full of dislike for the scheme to begin with, but was converted to it to a large extent. Burmese educationists have come here and have become enthusiastic about it and want to introduce it in Burma. One of the leading government educational officers in the U.P., a Muslim, had to take it up under the Congress government. He was not at all keen about it. Today he is possibly one of the most enthusiastic advocates of basic education in India.

Apart from the type and method of education, the school structures that are being evolved are full of interest. Previously a primary school building cost Rs. 5,000/- or so and had dark and cheerless rooms. It was no doubt a pukka brick affair. Now the new village school is started by opening one class in a very attractive-looking bamboo structure which is fairly substantial and which costs about Rs. 30/- to make. Additions are made to this as fresh classes are added and the average primary school costs altogether about a hundred to a hundred and fifty rupees.

You will notice that I am myself becoming quite enthusiastic about this basic scheme of education. Among so many depressing things in India, this at least is something that cheers one up.

Indira's progress in Switzerland has not been as rapid as I had hoped it would be, still she is making progress. As soon as she is well enough, I hope she will come back to India. There is no point in her staying on in Europe.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

4. To Syed Mahmud[1]

March 27, 1940

My dear Mahmud,

I have received your letter of the 23rd.[2] I am sorry you have been unwell and I am shocked to learn of the attitude of the local Muslim League in regard to the funeral of your mother-in-law. This is scandalous and I can well understand how your wife must be hurt by it. We are all hurt at the trend of events and the way the Muslim League is deliberately not only trying to sabotage the whole conception of Indian freedom, but also poisoning personal life and lowering the standard of public life. Yet I think that, bad as this is, it will bring about a natural reaction. Anyway we have to observe our own standards of behaviour.

We were all fairly well after Ramgarh, though tired. I was glad to spend a day visiting Bodh Gaya, Nalanda and Rajgir.

Tomorrow I am going into a volunteer camp on the outskirts of Allahabad. I shall stay there for about ten days. But I shall be in touch with Anand Bhawan.

With love,

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. He had written: "Here Muslim League people canvassed that nobody should take part in the burial of my mother-in-law as mine was a Congress family.... This is your country....Amongst the Mussalmans this is the greatest form of insult conceivable."

5. C.F. Andrews[1]

I have learnt with the deepest grief of Charlie Andrews' death.[2] Though his long illness had somewhat prepared us for this, nevertheless

1. Statement to the press, Allahabad, 5 April 1940. *The Hindustan Times*. 6 April 1940.
2. On 4 April 1940.

it has come as a great shock and it is hard to believe that this vital personality, overflowing with friendship and goodwill, is no more. The mention of his name brings up large numbers of pictures to one's mind, of numerous fields of activity where he laboured to relieve suffering and oppression, always with amazing zeal and intensity of purpose. Indians spread out in far corners of the world, knew him as a friend who never said no to their appeal. He rushed about across oceans from continent to continent, whenever a call came to him from the Indians overseas. Wherever there was a flood or a famine or an earthquake in India, there was Charlie Andrews with his never-failing smile and enthusiasm which could not be damped by adverse circumstances. He made India his second home and gave to her the best that was in him and India can never forget him or his tremendous services to her. To those who had the privilege of his personal friendship, it is terribly sad to think that they will not see again his smiling face.

6. To Edward Thompson[1]

Allahabad
April 7, 1940

Dear Edward,
I have your letter of March 7th. I am glad to learn that you will be coming to India in October or earlier. Where you will find me then, or whether I shall be accessible or not, I do not know. But anyhow India will be here and so will be the Ganga.

Your idea of making a film on the Ganga is fascinating. I am passing it on to the more intelligent Ranjit, but being somewhat imaginative myself I want to say something about it. Ranjit is unfortunately unwell and in bed. But I mentioned this to him and he was quite excited about it. Immediately ideas poured into his head and what I write below has apparently come from him.

As the Ganga is history, the historical aspect should be brought out. The Ganga is intimately linked up with tradition, mythology, art, culture and history. You find her cropping up everywhere. To deal with the subject adequately would be a tremendous task but in any event the history and traditional aspect cannot be neglected. The superstitious side need not be stressed. Still, in order to understand Indian mythology

1. *A Bunch of Old Letters*, (Bombay, 1960), pp. 438-440.

and art, the mythological origins of the Ganga might be referred to, that is, Ganga falling on the matted head of Shiva, the matted head apparently representing the Himalaya mountains. This, I suppose, could best be done by reproducing some of the well-known sculptures depicting it. There are many such.

Then certain famous historical scenes ought to be shown, for instance, the coming of the Aryans and their reaching the Ganga for the first time and their joy at seeing this majestic river. There are two famous lines of Sir Mohammad Iqbal in his song: *Sare Jahan se Achchha, Hindostan Hamara.*[2] These refer to the coming of the Aryans. It would be worth while bringing in these lines into the picture. These are:

Ai ab-e-rod-e Ganga wah din hai yad tujh ko
Utara tere kinare jab karavan hamara.[3]

In these days of Pakistan agitation, it is interesting to note what one of the leaders of the Muslim League said about this.

Then there are so many battles that have taken place round about the Ganga. The Greek invasion during the time of Chandra Gupta Maurya was stopped somewhere near the Ganga, possibly not far from Allahabad. It would be an excellent picture to show life in Chandra Gupta's time. Kannauj was a great city then, famous for its wares and especially its swords and steel weapons. References to Kannauj swords occur in accounts of Sohrab and Rustam, as well as, I think, in the *Shahnama*[4] describing Alexander's invasion.

Earlier than this the Ramayana and Mahabharata stories can be woven in. Later Ashoka's period with his great capital, Pataliputra, on the Ganga.

Indian literature is full of the Ganga and you find her name mentioned in songs in Burma and Indo-China and elsewhere. In Harsha's time the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, describes the *Kumbha Mela* at Allahabad, which was even then an ancient festival. There are of course innumerable historical incidents that can be dealt with. The Gangetic valley, and more particularly the *Doaba*, that is the area between the Ganga and the Jamuna, is full of history and tradition and song. If you take the Jamuna, that very beautiful and gracious river, you get the whole of the Krishna legend round about Muttra and Brindavan and of the sweet songs in *Braj Bhasha*.

2. My country, this Hindustan, is the best in the world.
3. Oh! Waters of Ganga, do you remember the day when our caravans landed by your banks.
4. A Persian epic by Firdausi.

It is difficult to suggest a definite time for this survey. During winter the Ganga shrinks and is not much to look at in many places. The rainy season would be the proper time. But the big *melas* take place mostly during the winter. The biggest of them is the Allahabad *Kumbha* which takes place once in 12 years. You are fortunate that this *Kumbha* is taking place next year in January and February.

I do not know if you can reach Gangotri, the source of the Ganga. It is a difficult journey and may take you a fortnight from the railhead. Most of this journey will have to be done on horseback, as there are no cart roads. Possibly you might reduce it to a week if you ride hard. I have not been there myself, but two years ago, I followed the Ganga in the Garhwal mountains for a considerable distance and later flew to Badrinath by plane and saw the Ganga from the skies.

Hardwar and the neighbourhood, where the Ganga emerges from the hills, is of course important.

There is no particular difficulty about staying. Usually there are inspection houses or dak bungalows. In a place like Patna there are third-rate hotels also. But it is easy to make arrangements with friends.

I have just spent over a week in camping near the Jamuna and am becoming more and more attached to this river.

I hope you will not use the name 'Ganges'. I dislike it. 'Ganga' sounds infinitely better. I wonder how our forebears managed to change this good name into Ganges. A friend has suggested an explanation which sounds feasible. Ganges, he says, is a corruption of Gangaji.

Nan and Ranjit and I, all stay together in Anand Bhawan. So the address is the same. Nan is at present in Bombay.

Indira is progressing, but I wish the pace was faster. She is terribly keen on returning to India soon and I myself think that she should do so after another three months or so. But the doctors, I suppose, will have the last word.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

7. To Anne V. Paston[1]

April 8, 1940

Dear Friend,
Thank you for your letter of March 2nd which I have read with interest. You need not have worried yourself as to how to address me because the less formalities we have in such matters the better it is. 'Comrade' is as good a word as any and I do not see why the word should be a monopoly of orthodox Communists.

I have myself been very much influenced by the books of Karl Marx. They have helped me greatly to understand past history and current events. But I find difficulty in accepting many of the subsequent Communist developments. I feel that the fundamental outlook of Marx and his scientific method are invaluable. But there has been far too great a tendency latterly among Communists to consider that any means are good enough to secure the objective aimed at. I think this is a dangerous policy because the means themselves often change the objectives.

I am very glad to have your friendly letter of sympathy. I quite agree with you that our problems are essentially similar wherever we might live and the ultimate solution will affect us all.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

8. To J. Vijayatunga[1]

Allahabad
April 8, 1940

Dear Vijayatunga,[2]
Your letter of the 28th March. I am sorry I did not have a chance of having a talk with you at Ramgarh. Everything was upset by the storm and the rain.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Sinhalese journalist settled in India.

I am returning to you the three copies of *Horizon* which you gave me. I am afraid I can find no time for writing any articles for it at present. I should like to do so later on if I can manage it.

The three questions you put are curiously worded and I can hardly reply to them briefly. Indeed the way they are framed indicate a superficial knowledge of Indian problems and a somewhat doctrinal way of looking at them. A country progresses organically in many directions and if progress is prevented in any one important direction it pulls back others. It is wrong to say that economic problems cannot be tackled unless Swaraj comes. Much can be done even under present conditions. But it would be right to say that no effective or fundamental tackling of these problems can be done till there is political freedom. This will remove one great obstacle. But much depends then on the content of that freedom.

I think it is incorrect to say that India's economic condition is hopelessly rotten. India is backward, which is a very different thing. India's capitalism is fairly stable and growing. Agrarian conditions are certainly much more critical. But such conditions have a way of persisting for long periods.

(2) I did not know that Gandhiji stood for the inevitability of gradualness in the usual sense of the word. Political and even economic changes can certainly be brought about suddenly. But human changes are inevitably more gradual and unless human changes take place no ultimate political or economic change has a firm enough foundation. To desire a quick change is one thing, but to have the capacity to bring it about is another. In India it seems to me quite a possibility that a change might be in the direction of greater reaction and that an indigenous type of fascism might arise and control the situation. We have seen in Europe during the last few years the victory of reaction in most places in spite of organized and ideologically conscious leftists and advanced groups. In India the classes out of whom fascism emerges are relatively stronger than in many countries in Europe and any attempt to push them aside completely might lead to disaster.

Your third question is vague and I do not quite know what you are driving at. My own belief is that Indian civilisation and the fabric of her social life is far from delicate. Indeed it is tougher than almost any similar phenomenon elsewhere. It will stand many shakings up without going to pieces. It is true that modern conditions are weakening it and will ultimately displace it, though even then I think it will retain a good bit of its old background.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To Jane Seymour Blomfield[1]

April 8, 1940

Dear Friend,
Thank you for your letter of February 15th[2] and for your sympathy and good wishes. I have read with great interest the quotation from a Russian author's letter to you. It is significant and I can well understand it. It is good to realise that there are so many people in different parts of the world aiming at a new order. Our problems are, after all, all linked up together and probably the solution will come for all of us.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. She had written that more and more responsible people were looking to a free India with her great leaders, to lift her vast masses into life and light.

10. To Traverse Clement[1]

April 24, 1940

Dear Comrade Clement,
Your letter of February 26th reached me yesterday,[2] April 23rd, that is 8 weeks after it was sent. Your National Convention must be over now and I am sorry that the delay in your letter reaching me has prevented me from sending our good wishes to you.

We, who stand for the independence of India, think of this independence in the larger context of world freedom and social justice. We welcome, therefore, all those abroad who are working to secure these ends. Personally, as a socialist, I am convinced that the new order that we seek can only be founded on the principles of socialism.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Traverse Clement, the secretary of the National Convention (held from 6 to 8 April 1940) of the Socialist Party of the United States, had written that the delegates would be extremely pleased to receive Jawaharlal's "comradely greetings."

11. To Richard J. Walsh[1]

April 27, 1940

Dear Mr. Walsh,

I sent you a brief letter yesterday in reply to your letter of March 4th. I did not deal in this with some of the points raised by you in your letter to Krishna Menon. I cannot fully deal with them till I see the actual corrected and abridged book that you have prepared. But I should like to make some observations in regard to what you have suggested.

1. As I wrote to you last year, it is not an easy matter for me to abridge the book considerably. It is of course possible to delete certain parts which had some importance at the time of writing but have no such importance now. Some other matter could also be profitably left out. Indeed I would have done so anyhow even apart from the question of abridgement. But the way I would have looked upon it was to make the book more compact and concise and not just to abridge it. However, at your suggestion, I agreed to a fairly considerable abridgement in principle. I have no idea yet how this has worked out in practice and how far it affects the organic character of the book. As far as is possible, I should accept such abridgement as you suggest.

I find that in spite of your desire to reduce the book to 1/3rd, you have not succeeded in reducing it by more than 1/4th. If you have partly failed in your endeavour, it is unlikely that I shall succeed in cutting it down still further. The value of the book, I suppose, is partly the detail that it gives sometimes as well as the psychological background of happenings in India. This value might grow less if the book became more factual with the details and musings left out.

2. I do not know how you have dealt with the part containing the agricultural situation in the United Provinces. Generally speaking I should say that this part, though dealing with what might be called a minor political detail, is important as it lays stress on the fundamental agrarian problem of India.

3. Most of the names and personalities discussed in the book are not known to American readers. And yet their elimination might take life out of the book. This would apply also to a discussion of the Indian Liberals, though probably there is some repetition in this.

4. The book tries to give a picture of how I thought and developed and what effect events produced upon me. It is a record of what I was

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

at the time. It is immaterial, therefore, as to what I might have become later and am now. I do not think that I have changed my opinions fundamentally since the book was written. But, even if I had done so, it would not affect the book itself, except that a final chapter might indicate a new approach or a slightly different viewpoint. I have not the book by me now, but I do not think that any references to Germany or Russia would require any vital change.

5. I should imagine that the epilogue should remain as it is though the postscript might be absorbed in the additional chapter that I write.[2] The epilogue has a certain importance and expresses my mood at the time of writing. I cannot capture that or repeat it in a chapter that is added. It seems to me that the best way to deal with the additional chapter is as a kind of an addendum, not affecting the book as previously written, but containing a brief survey of these past years and the effect they have had on me. From this point of view it might be worthwhile to keep the postscript also.

6. The preface can be rewritten if so desired.

7. It might be possible to add one or two appendices. For instance, a statement, made by the Congress in September last in regard to the war crisis, is important and might be given.

8. It will be a good idea to give a glossary of Indian terms. If you require any help in this, you can send me a list of the terms and their English equivalents will be given. The index should certainly be prepared at your end.

You will realise no doubt that postal communications now are exceedingly slow. In the case of a book or a manuscript, it is hardly possible to say how long it will take to reach. It may take months. I am merely pointing it out to you. I do not know how to get over the difficulty.

There is some slight chance of Mr. Krishna Menon going to America. If he goes there, this will facilitate your work greatly, as you can discuss the book with him in all its aspects.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See *ante*, section 1, item 86.

12. To Agatha Harrison[1]

Bombay
May, 4, 1940

Dear Agatha,
Your letter of the 19th April has reached me here in Bombay. I quite agree with what you say about Indu. She is going through a very difficult period of her life. None of us can be of very much help to her. She will have to find her way out herself. All we can do, and that is very little, is to enable her to find herself. I have been terribly afraid of interfering in any way and thus adding to the difficulties of the situation. When she wrote to me that she was very anxious to come to India, I was put in a difficulty. To discourage her seemed to me wrong, to encourage her was also not very desirable. I was convinced in my mind that she had really no desire to come to India, but her affection for me and a wish to be of some help to me were forcing her to want a return to India. This was not a sufficient reason and it would have led to an intensification of the conflict within her. In a sense this conflict would have taken the shape of what she considered to be her duty, overriding her own clear wishes. I do not want her to have that conflict. She should come back to India not because of me but because of herself when she feels that way. I wish she could realise this and put away any sense of obligation from her. That in itself would relieve the tension in her mind.

Recent international developments have raised new questions and I cabled to Bhandari accordingly. I hope he has been able to go to Leysin. There is obviously a possibility of Indu not being able to stay on in Switzerland. What she should do then, it is for her and the doctors to decide. Many of our friends here grow excited and ask me to arrange for her immediate return to India. I am going to do no such thing.

About what I said in Rangoon soon after the war was declared, I am afraid I cannot easily get a copy.[2] It was a press interview and, as it happened, the interview was mutilated by the censor and only a part of it appeared in the press in India. Possibly a still smaller part went across to England. It was this mutilated edition of it that possibly gave wrong impressions. I kept nothing in writing about this interview with me. It was dictated. Possibly the Rangoon papers gave it in full.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, p. 119.

Repeating it from memory, I said something to the following effect:

I began by saying that it would be improper for me to anticipate the decision of the Working Committee which was going to meet soon. In this vital matter, India should speak with one voice. Our general policy, however, had been repeatedly laid down by the Congress and the question now was how to apply it in the particular circumstances of the case. It was clear that the Congress was entirely opposed to aggression by one nation over another and it had condemned previous acts of aggression in Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain and Czechoslovakia. The Congress therefore equally condemned the brutal aggression of Germany on Poland. Our sympathies must necessarily be with the victims of aggression and we hoped that the forces which stood for democracy and freedom would triumph. What India did was a matter for the Indian people to decide and we could not accept anyone else's decision in this respect. We were not out to bargain or to seek to take advantage of England's difficulty but whatever we must do would have to be in consonance with India's freedom and dignity.

What I said then was something to the above effect. There was and has been no question of my changing my attitude in the slightest after that interview was given. Subsequent events have led to a clarification of that attitude as the issues became clearer. As a matter of fact within three days of this interview I drafted the Working Committee resolution of September 14th which dealt with the matter much more fully. I had those identical ideas in my head at the time the interview was given in Rangoon.

If you can find a cutting of that interview, please remember that it had been mutilated and was not given in full. Even so, it appeared differently in different newspapers in India. For instance, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* gave a longer report than *The Statesman*.

I am here in Bombay in connection with the National Planning Committee. I am likely to remain here for another ten days.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

13. To Edward Thompson[1]

Allahabad
May 22, 1940

Dear Edward,
Your letter of May 2nd together with Spalding's letter. I am forwarding the letter to Gandhiji to him. I am also enclosing a copy of the hurried reply I have sent to Spalding.[2]

It is difficult to write when the world we have known seems to be disintegrating and dissolving. I am much troubled and distressed and more so because I feel how very helpless I am.

I am just going to the Frontier to see Abdul Ghaffar Khan and some other friends. From there I shall steal four or five days to have a peep at Kashmir. I do want to have this look at it before the onrush of events makes it impossible. It seems rather futile for the likes of you and me to discuss high problems as if we could influence them to any large extent.

It must be hard in England now and the strain from day to day must be terrible.

The prospect here is also most depressing. Still it is no good giving in and one must carry on.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. See *ante*, section 1, item 25.

14. The Role of Students in Politics[1]

In the address you have just presented it was said that Kashmiris are the most intelligent race of mankind in the world. Though it is admitted that the Kashmiris are an intelligent race, they cannot be more intelligent by drum beating their intelligence. I wonder if they deserve to be called the most intelligent race of mankind. During my tour of the world my experience is that every nation thinks that they are the only

1. Address to the Kashmir Students' Federation, Srinagar, 4 June 1940. *The Hindustan Times*, 6 June 1940.

deserving sons of God, while all others are barbarians. The Americans call their country as God's Own Country and the Japanese also profess their relationship to the skies. Similarly the English and the French think that they are the most cultured people all over the world. I think that those people who cannot attain freedom have no right to call themselves intelligent. While Kashmiris have good brains they are very backward in certain respects. It is not only the intellectual progress that counts, but progress should be all round to make them integrated human beings.

It is an admitted fact that during the last 20 years' struggle in our country the intellectual people have not taken sufficient part and the burden of it fell on the poor and ignorant peasants. Nobody is going to judge you from your intellectual capacity but you will be judged by your actions.

Questions are asked what part the students should play in the country. While you are students you are required to mould your brain in the right direction and get prepared for the huge task that awaits you. Again students ask whether or not they should take part in politics. In normal conditions my reply should have been in the negative, but India is now passing through abnormal conditions. Students in European countries do not ask such questions at present when they are confronted with revolutions. Students in India can also decide what part they can and have to play when they have to face a similar situation. The first duty of the students is to prepare themselves for the struggle ahead. The ideal before the students should be that they are members of the Republic of Youth and they should refuse to be shut up in water-tight compartments. They should keep religion out of politics. The last but not the least duty of the students is to wear khadi, the symbol of India's freedom.

15. To J.R.D. Tata[1]

Bombay
June 26, 1940

My dear Jehangir,[2]

I am looking forward to meeting you and Thelly on Friday evening. The world is changing very rapidly, too rapidly, and India will be inevitably

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Jehangir Ratanji Dadabhoy Tata (b. 1904); son of R.D. Tata; Chairman, Tata Industries Pvt. Ltd and Tata Iron & Steel Co. Ltd; Chairman, Air India International, 1948-78.

affected by these changes. Nan, I am sorry to say, is not well and I am not sure if she will be able to come.

I am writing to you now, however, about another matter. I write at the instance of my colleague in the Planning Committee, Professor Megh Nad Saha, F.R.S., who, I understand, has sent, or is sending, an application to the Board of Trustees of the Tata Charities for a grant to the Calcutta University for the construction and maintenance of a cyclotron. It is not my usual practice to intervene in such matters, but I have gladly agreed to write to you as I am convinced that the development of the use of the cyclotron in India is of great importance. It is important from the point of view of research work in pure science and medicine, which is the basis of applied science. It is very important already for its applications in the field of medical relief.

The cyclotron is an apparatus invented by Prof. E.O. Lawrence[3] of California in 1932. It is a very powerful atom and nuclear smasher. With its help it is possible to transmute 'elements', by converting one atom to another, and to produce new types of atoms not found in nature. From the point of view of medical research and relief, its most remarkable property is to make ordinary atoms, like those of sodium and phosphorus, radio-active like radium. Many forms of food, as well as of course of medicine, can thus be made radio-active, and can then be used for the great benefit of the human organism.

I have gone into this matter to some extent and I feel sure that the cyclotron is going to play an important part in medical research in future. Already a wholly new science of "Molecular Biology" has sprung as a result of the cyclotron. The Rockefeller Foundation attach importance to the cyclotron and have given large grants for it in America, where there are already 30 cyclotrons.

India has no cyclotron so far although there is no lack of competent men and institutions here which can work it. From the point of view of both science and medicine, I can think of no more worthwhile development in India than the introduction of the cyclotron here for research ete.

Prof. M.N. Saha is peculiarly fitted for this task, not only because of his outstanding ability as a scientist and physicist but because of his past intimate contacts with Prof. E.O. Lawrence, the inventor of the cyclotron and Nobel Prize winner. One of Prof. Saha's pupils is at present working at a cyclotron under Prof. Lawrence in America.

Calcutta has certain advantages as it has two medical research institutions of high repute there—the School of Tropical Medicine and the

3. (1901-1958); awarded the Nobel Prize for Physics, 1939.

All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health. The directors of both these institutes, Colonel R.N. Chopra[4] and Dr. J.B. Grant have encouraged and supported Prof. M.N. Saha in his desire to get a cyclotron for the Calcutta University, as they are sure that their institutions will be greatly benefited by it.

All the preliminary work has been done already and Prof. Saha has obtained from Prof. Lawrence blueprints and full details of the apparatus. Prof. Lawrence is taking a personal interest in the proposed installation of a cyclotron in India. The cost of setting up a cyclotron in India is estimated to be Rs. 120,000, and the annual recurring expenditure required is Rs. 6,000. An endowment fund for this recurring expenditure has been calculated to be Rs. 150,000.

I think this is a most deserving object of help and the Tata Charities will be doing a very good turn to science and medicine in India if they can assist it.

Prof. M.N. Saha is here for a few days more in connection with the National Planning Committee and it might be worth while for someone to interview him and get further particulars, if these are considered necessary.

At Dr. Saha's request I am also writing[5] to Sir Ardeshir Dalal.[6]

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Ram Nath Chopra; medical scientist; Director, School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, 1935-41; President, All India Science Congress, 1948.
5. Letter dated 26 June 1940. Not printed.
6. Ardeshir Rustomji Dalal (1884-1949); industrialist; President, Indian Science Congress Association, 1941; member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1944-46.

16. To Eslanda Goode Robeson[1]

Allahabad
July 10, 1940

Dear Essie Robeson,[2]
Your letter of April 10th has reached me today, that is almost exactly three months after it was sent. These war-time delays do not encourage

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Wife of Paul Robeson, singer and actor.

correspondence. But it was delightful to hear from you again and I am grateful to you for sending me a sheaf of newspaper clippings. It is always interesting to read news about happenings which concern one, as it is doled out in other countries. It is rather like looking through one of those curious mirrors which distort everything.

I am happy to have news about you and Paul and young Pauli. I read the reviews of 'John Henry' and wished that I could have seen it.

I have not received yet the copy of the records of the song, 'Ballad For Americans'. I am looking forward to it very much.

Events are moving so fast everywhere that it is difficult to keep pace with them. In India also very much is happening and will happen. It is no good writing about all this because by the time you get a letter the news might be quite stale. Anyhow, for those of us who have to shoulder some responsibility for big decisions, it is not an easy time.

Last month I stole a fortnight and ran up to Kashmir. It was not much of a holiday because even there there were big crowds, meetings and the like. But it was a wonderful experience to go back there after many years and to see this land of enchanting beauty. I felt intoxicated by the sheer beauty of the place. The valley was lovely enough but I was keen to go higher up and so we made a little trip to a big glacier. Our few days ended all too soon and I had to come back to the hot summer of the Indian plains with the temperature at 114-115° in the shade. I wish you could go to Kashmir sometime. It is a really wonderful place. For me it has a particular appeal as my people came from there long long ago. It is really a part almost of Central Asia. Nearby is our Frontier Province where the village dancing reminded one forcibly of Cossack dancing. The people are quite unusually good-looking and the children are very bonny. But their poverty is something appalling. Even some of the nomadic tribes we came across were fine specimens of humanity, especially the women.

My daughter is caught up in Switzerland. She was there in a sanatorium making progress. Now it is not possible for her to go out apparently till the war ends and no one knows when that will be. I cannot even correspond with her. Only cables can be sent.

I hope you will have a good time in Mexico and Guatemala. Your mental energy is something amazing and I envy you the various new courses you are taking up at Columbia.[3]

With all good wishes to you and to Paul and Pauli.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. She had written that she was taking courses on elementary Russian, writing for films and the radio and play writing.

17. To W.E.B. Du Bois[1]

Allahabad
July 12, 1940

Dear Dr. Du Bois,[2]
It was a pleasure to have your letter of the 15th April. Before replying to you I waited for the copy of *Phylon* that you sent. This reached me a couple of days ago. I should very much like to write something for *Phylon* because I am greatly interested in the future of the American Negroes. But we are living in strange times at present and it is difficult to make any promise. Communications have become very slow and often letters do not reach at all. Very probably there will be a progressive deterioration in this in the near future. I am myself so tied up with many activities and responsibilities that I find it difficult to write. It may be that I might become physically incapacitated from writing before long. But if it is at all possible, I shall try to send you something for *Phylon*.

Many years ago, when I was a student in England, I came across one of your books, and I still remember the powerful impression it created on me. It has therefore been a pleasure to get into personal touch with you.

May I send you all my good wishes for the work you are doing and for the advancement of the Negroes of America.

Very sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868-1963); American educationist and writer; Editor-in-Chief, *Encyclopedia of the Negro*, 1933-45; Head of the Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, 1934-44; Editor, *Phylon*, 1940-44; leader of the 20th century black protest movement; advocate of pan-Africanism.

18. To Margaret W. Patterson[1]

Allahabad
July 13, 1940

Dear Mrs. Patterson,[2]
I received your letter some time back and read it with appreciation.[3] I can assure you that we do not ignore the aspect of the question that you have presented. But there are many other aspects also and it is a complicated world we live in. We try to hold fast to certain ideals and not to be swept away by momentary passion. We try also to think of Indian freedom in the context of world freedom.

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Wife of R.P. Patterson, American jurist and Secretary of War, 1945-47.
3. She had written: "Of course there are things you want to change in India.... Can you say truly that these English have forced conditions on India which are worse than she might have had under your own rule?... You might now be in the position of Czechoslovakia or China... You have great influence with millions of people. When you advise them to put obstacles and worries in the way of harried England you may be misguiding them."

19. To Florence Garvin[1]

July 13, 1940

Dear Miss Garvin,
Thank you for your letter which I read with interest. The problems of today overlap each other and cannot be treated separately. They all hang together and I suppose we shall either all go down together or survive and make progress together.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

20. Mohan Lal Kashmiri[1]

Many years ago—it is so long ago that I have forgotten where and when it was, in England or in India—I came across two battered volumes, heavy with age, as I was indulging in the pleasant pastime of browsing in a bookshop. They had been published in the early forties of the nineteenth century in England and the title attracted me. They were the *Memoirs and Journal of Mohan Lal Kashmerian*. The title was attractive and even more so the picture of a remarkably handsome young man which was given as a frontispiece. Who was this very attractive young Indian, I wondered, hailing from my old homeland of Kashmir, who had ventured so far, and, what is more, written about his travels in the English language, so long ago? I had never heard of him. I was filled with excitement, as of a new discovery, and concluding my bargain with the keeper of the bookshop, hastened away with these volumes.

I read them and my interest and excitement grew. Here was a person full of the spirit of adventure, to whom adventure came in full measure before he was out of his boyhood. He did not shrink from it, but welcomed it, and wrote about it, so that others might share it a little with him. Danger and difficulty were his constant companions, and disasters sometimes overwhelmed his party. But he never seems to have lost his resourcefulness and his quick mind and soft tongue were equal to any occasion. He had an amazing aptitude for the ways and intrigues of diplomacy, and it is astonishing how he could win over even hardened opponents to his side. The British Power profited by Mohan Lal's ability fully. Often, as Mohan Lal admits sorrowfully, he gave definite pledges on behalf of the British authority, which were not subsequently kept.

In a free India a man like Mohan Lal would have risen to the topmost rungs of the political ladder. Under early British rule, whatever he might be or whatever he might do he could not rise higher than the position of a *Mir Munshi* or at most a Deputy Collector. After his first exciting fifteen years or so, his life seems to have become dull and empty. There was apparently no place or activity suitable for him in India, and he must have lived largely in the past when he was the honoured guest of the Rulers of Asia and Europe, or when he was a central figure in

1. Allahabad, 13 July 1940. Foreword to *Life and Work of Mohan Lal Kashmiri 1812-1877* by Hari Ram Gupta, published in 1943.

a stirring drama of life and death. Probably this very prominence that came to him early in life became an obstacle in later years. His superior British officers were jealous of his ability and of his contacts with sovereigns and others, who were beyond their reach. Mohan Lal's later years are pathetic and depressing. Accustoming himself to an expensive standard of living, he was continually in debt and sending appeals to the British authorities for help or compensation for the moneys spent by him during the Kabul campaigns. These appeals were rejected.

When I first read Mohan Lal's *Journal and Memoirs*, I was eager to know more about him. I managed to obtain his life of Dost Mohammed, but this did not help me much. I enquired from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, who is a repository of all manner of curious information and knowledge. Sir Tej Bahadur knew of Mohan Lal and his family but he could not enlighten me much. I was delighted to learn, therefore, from Dr. S.K. Datta that one of his students had undertaken to write a life of Mohan Lal. Shri Hari Ram Gupta has evidently taken great pains over this work and he has done something that was worth doing.

This book enables us to know something about a fascinating person. It gives us intimate and revealing glimpses of the early days of British rule in north India, of the Punjab under Maharaja Ranjit Singh, of the British campaigns through Sind and in Afghanistan, of the disasters in Kabul, and of the prevailing conditions in Central Asia in the thirties of the nineteenth century. These glimpses are not flattering to the British.

For a student of history and of economic and social conditions, this book has importance. There is one thing, however, that I miss in it. There is very little about Mohan Lal as a man or about his personal life. That he was an adventurer there is no doubt, but he was something much more, and even his adventures have a high quality. Welcoming risk and danger, and facing death often enough, he was yet a lover of pleasure and the soft ways of life—a politician and scholar, with something of the poet and the artist in him, which peeps out continually from his *Memoirs and Travels*. In the middle of a narrative of political happenings and economic data, he begins to admire the charm of nature, or to describe the beauty of the women he saw in the market-place or drawing water from a village well.

I should like to know more about this unusual and attractive and much married man. I should like to know what happened to his daughter who was sent to England for her education. Perhaps now that attention is being directed to Mohan Lal by this book, more information will be forthcoming from various sources.



WITH ABDUL GHAFFAR KHAN, KASHMIR, JUNE 1940



AT CONGRESS WORKING COMMITTEE MEETING, BOMBAY, AUGUST 1940

21. Kashmir[1]

Yea, in my mind these mountains rise,
Their perils dyed with evening's rose;
And still my ghost sits at my eyes
And thirsts for their untroubled snows.

Nearly six years ago I quoted these lines from Walter de la Mare as I sat in prison writing the story of my life and thinking of my last visit to Kashmir. In prison or outside, Kashmir haunted me, and, though many years had passed since I had set eyes on its valleys and mountains, I carried the impress of them on the tablets of my mind. I yearned to visit them again, and struggled against this yearning. Was I to leave my work that took all my time, play truant to it, to satisfy the hunger of my eyes and the desire of my heart?

But days passed and months and years, and life is short, and a fear gripped me with this passing of time. Age may have its advantages, and the Chinese, above all other people, have praised them. It gives, or should give, stability and equilibrium to the mind, a sense of poise, an appearance of wisdom, even a keener appreciation of beauty in all its forms. But age is stiff and crabbed and unimpressionable and reacts slowly to outside stimuli. It cannot be moulded easily; its emotional reactions are limited. It looks to comfort and security more than to the fine frenzy of enthusiasm. While it gives its sober and reasoned appreciation to the beauty of nature and art, it does not mirror this beauty in its eyes or feel it in its heart. It makes all the difference in the world whether one visits Italy, not fascist Italy, but the Italy of song and music and beautiful art, of Leonardo and Raphael and Michaelangelo, of Dante and Petrarch, in one's youth or in later years. Besides, what can age do to a mountain except sit and gaze in silent wonder?

So with the passing of time and the slow but irresistible coming of age over me, I began to grow afraid lest I might no longer be capable of experiencing that emotional reaction to the beauty of Kashmir when at last I went there again.

Friends in Kashmir invited me repeatedly to go there. Sheikh Abdullah pressed me again and again, and everyone who was of Kashmir reminded me that I too was a son of this noble land and owed a duty to it. I smiled at their insistence, for the urge within me was far greater than

1. Published in the *National Herald* in six parts between 24-31 July 1940. Reprinted as foreword in *Kashmir: Eden of the East* by S.N. Dhar, pp. 1-27.

any that they could have placed before me. Last year I made up my mind to go and, if it was possible, to take Gandhiji with me. But at the last moment fate willed otherwise and I hurried by air to the other end of India and across the sea to Lanka, and on my return I flew to China.

Meanwhile events marched on with amazing speed. War came in Europe and began to spread its tentacles to India. New problems arose, new difficulties, and I noticed with alarm that I was being caught more and more in the clutches of these events. Would the possibility of my visiting Kashmir again recede into the far distance? My mind rebelled against this fate, and even as the future of France hung in the balance, I went to the Frontier Province and on from there to Kashmir.

I took the route *via* Abbottabad and the Jhelum Valley, a pleasant route with the panorama of the valley slowly unfolding in all its charm and beauty. But perhaps it would have been better if I had gone *via* Jammu and over the Pir Panjal. This is dull going most of the way, but as one crosses the mountain and goes through a long tunnel the sight that meets the eye is overpowering in its magic beauty. Out of the darkness one comes into the light, and there, far below, lies the vale of Kashmir, like some wonderland of our dreams, encircled by high mountains that guard it jealously from intrusion.

I did not go this way, and my approach was more sober and the change was slower. But my mind was filled with the excitement of my return and it pleased me to be welcomed everywhere as a brother and a comrade, who, in spite of long absence, was still of Kashmir and was coming back to his old homeland. With joy I saw the reality of the pictures in my mind which I had treasured for long years. I emerged from the mountains and the narrow valley, down which the Jhelum roared and tumbled in youthful abandon, and the vale itself spread out before me. There were the famous poplars, slim and graceful sentinels, beckoning a welcome to you. There was the lordly *chenar* in all its majesty, with centuries of growth behind it. And there were the beautiful women and bonny children of Kashmir working in the fields.

We approached Srinagar, and there was cordial welcome and friendly faces greeted me everywhere. Up the river we went in a stately barge with numerous *shikaras* following, and the riverside steps and houses filled with cheering men and women and children. I was moved, as I have seldom been, by this affection that was showered upon me, and I became tongue-tied by the emotions that surged within me as the panorama of Srinagar passed by. Hari Parvat was in the background, and Shankaracharya or Takht-e-Suleiman loomed in the distance. I was in Kashmir.

I spent twelve days in Kashmir, and during this brief period we went some way up the Amarnath Valley and also up the Liddar Valley to the Kolahoi glacier. We visited the ancient temple at Martand and sat under the venerable *chenar* trees of Brijbehara, which had grown and spread during four hundred years of human history. We loitered in the Moghal gardens and lived for a while in their scented past. We drank the delightful water of Chasme Shahi and swam about in the Dal Lake. We saw the lovely handiwork of the gifted artisans of Kashmir. We attended numerous public functions, delivered speeches, and met people of all kinds.

I tried to give my mind to the activity of the moment, and perhaps, in a measure, succeeded. But my mind was largely elsewhere, and I went through my engagements and the day's programme, and functioned on the public stage, like one who is absorbed in some other undertaking or is on a secret errand whose object he cannot disclose. The loveliness of the land enthralled me and cast an enchantment all about me. I wandered about like one possessed and drunk with beauty, and the intoxication of it filled my mind.

Like some supremely beautiful woman, whose beauty is almost impersonal and above human desire, such was Kashmir in all its feminine beauty of river and valley and lake and graceful trees. And then another aspect of this magic beauty would come to view, a masculine one, of hard mountains and precipices, and snow-capped peaks and glaciers, and cruel and fierce torrents rushing down to the valleys below. It had a hundred faces and innumerable aspects, ever-changing, sometimes smiling, sometimes sad and full of sorrow. The mist would creep up from the Dal Lake and, like a transparent veil, give glimpses of what was behind. The clouds would throw out their arms to embrace a mountain-top, or creep down stealthily like children at play. I watched this ever-changing spectacle, and sometimes the sheer loveliness of it was overpowering and I felt almost faint. As I gazed at it, it seemed to me dream-like and unreal, like the hopes and desires that fill us and so seldom find fulfilment. It was like the face of the beloved that one sees in a dream and that fades away on awakening.

When I went to China I marvelled at the artistry and exquisite craftsmanship of the Chinese people. India has long been famous for her artisans and craftsmen, but China seemed to me to be definitely superior in this respect. In Kashmir I had the feeling that here was something which could equal China. How beautiful are the articles made by the deft fingers of Kashmir's workers! To look at them was a pleasure, to handle them a delight.

Kashmir has been famous for its shawls for hundreds of years. Yet in spite of this fame the making of these fine shawls languished and shoddy articles from Western factories took their place. That was the fate also of other fine hand-made articles of Kashmir. A limited tourist trade survived, but, generally speaking, the rich people of India preferred foreign goods to these things of beauty and artistic worth that Kashmir produced.

The national movement in India, which took a new turn twenty years ago, had far-reaching results in many fields. Our insistence on hand-made products gave a new life to these products, and many a dying industry was revived. Kashmir was affected by this renaissance also, and gradually a new market for Kashmiri goods sprang up in India. The All-India Spinners' Association played a leading part in this, and their Kashmir branch became the supplier of hundreds of sales-depots all over India. Yet the pace has been slow and might well have been quicker. This growth of handicrafts has brought work to many of the skilled unemployed, and points the way to prosperity.

But wages are low, and the contrast between the loveliness of the work done and the wages paid for this skill shames one. Kashmir, even more than the rest of India, is a land of contrasts. In this land, overladen with natural beauty and rich nature's gifts, stark poverty reigns and humanity is continually struggling for the barest of subsistences. The men and women of Kashmir are good to look at and pleasant to talk to. They are intelligent and clever with their hands. They have a rich and lovely country to live in. Why, then, should they be so terribly poor?

Again and again, as I was wrapped in pleasurable contemplation of Kashmir's beauty, I came back to hard earth with a shock when I saw this appalling poverty. Why should these people remain so miserably poor, I wondered, when nature had so abundantly endowed them? I do not know what the mineral or other natural resources of Kashmir are. I should imagine that the country is rich in them, and in any event a very full survey is one of the first steps that should be taken.

But even if no additional wealth was disclosed, the existing resources are enough to raise the standard of living considerably. Provided, of course, that they are properly utilized and coordinated and a planned scheme is drawn up. Cheap power is available and many small and big industries can be started. The field for the development of cottage industries and handicrafts is enormous. Then there is the tourist traffic, for which Kashmir is an ideal country. It can well become the playground, not only of India, but of Asia.

I do not personally fancy a country depending largely on tourist traffic. Such dependence is not good, and external causes may put a sudden

end to it. But there is no reason why tourist traffic should not be developed as a part of a general scheme of all-round development. There is at present a department but its activities appear to be strictly limited and of the flat, official variety. I could not even obtain simple guide-books of Kashmir. Some of the descriptive accounts of the routes to and in Kashmir were so badly got up and printed that it was painful to refer to them. Even now, possibly the only decent guides are those written a generation or more ago. The first job that the tourist department should take up is to produce cheap and simple guides and folders with full information about the various routes up or across valleys.

Kashmir is an ideal place for youth hostels such as have grown up all over Europe and America. The whole country should be dotted with these hostels, and young people, boys and girls, should be encouraged to tramp over the hills and valleys and thus gain an intimate knowledge of the country.

I have mentioned cheap power. On my way up the Jhelum Valley, I visited again the hydro-electric power works. More than twenty years had made no difference to them or increased their utility; much of the power produced was being wasted, and much that could be produced was not produced at all. These works symbolized for me the static condition of Kashmir.

For Kashmir has been singularly static. Srinagar city may have grown and there are more houses on the outskirts. New boulevards skirt the Dal Lake, and the Maharaja likes to build palaces. His new palace, a vast affair, looked chaste and attractive, unlike the usual palaces of ruling chiefs in florid and exuberant styles. But a few boulevards and palaces do not make much difference to a city or a country, and, apart from these minor changes, the aspect of Srinagar was not greatly changed.

I wish that some great architect would take charge of the planning and rebuilding of Srinagar, that the river fronts should be attacked first of all, that slums and poor men's houses should be removed and airy dwellings and avenues take their place, a proper drainage system introduced, and so much else done to convert Srinagar into a fairy city of dream-like beauty, through which runs the Vitastha and the many canals wind their way sluggishly with the *shikaras* plying on them and the houseboats clinging to the banks. This is no fancy picture, for fairyland lies all round it; the magic is there already, but unfortunately human hands and human folly have tried to cover it here and there. Still it peeps out through slum and dirt.

But if this planning is to be resorted to, the building of palaces for a few rich must be held up and the resources of the state applied to this

great work. There can be no planning with great vested interests consuming a great part of the wealth of the state and obstructing public progress. Nor can there be any such real planning when the standard of the people is very low, and poverty consumes them, and evil customs bar the way. We shall have to think differently and act rapidly if we are to achieve substantial results in our generation.

While Kashmir appeared so static and unchanging, one change pleased me greatly. This was the introduction of Basic Education in the state schools. I visited some of these schools and saw the happy children with bright and intelligent faces at work and at play. It is for this generation that we struggle and build, and it is well that some at least among them are learning rightly the business of life and developing in their early years an integrated personality and adaptable minds and hands. I hope that Basic Education will spread throughout Kashmir and bring into its fold every little boy and little girl.

I have written that Kashmir had a static appearance. Yet there was one major and fundamental change, which I sensed as soon as I set foot on its soil. I had heard of political awakening there, of the growth of a big organization, often of troubles and conflicts, of good happenings and bad. I had taken interest in all this and read about it, and sometimes discussed it with those most concerned. So I expected to see this change.

I have enough experience of mass movements, some sense of the crowd, a way of judging rapidly and almost intuitively the strength and depth of popular movements. A big crowd may welcome me, and yet to me it might convey no sense of power or of feelings deeply stirred; it might even have an air of artificiality, of groups of sightseers out on a holiday, to have a glimpse of a well-known personality. A much smaller crowd might produce a deeper impression on me and give me a glimpse of strange currents and powerful forces beneath the surface of the life of the people.

I try to be receptive, to tune myself to the inner mood of the masses, so that I can understand it and react to it. That understanding and reaction are necessary before I can try to impose my thought and will on them. So my mental temperature varies with the environment, and for a while I allow it full rein, before I pull myself up lest I go astray. Sometimes a contrary reaction is produced in me by some untoward event, which affects me far more then because of my receptive mood.

With this experience behind me, I set myself out to understand the inner significance of the popular movement in Kashmir. People came

to me to speak in praise of it or to criticize it, and I listened to them patiently and sometimes learned something from them. But my rod of measurement cared little for the incidents that seem to excite some people. I was not out to measure individuals, though to some extent that also had to be done, but to grasp what the mass of the people felt, what moved them, what they aimed at, though vaguely and semi-consciously, what strength they had developed, what capacity for united action.

I sensed that Kashmir was astir and the masses were on the move. That had been a common experience to me in many parts of India during the past twenty years. But it was an uncommon experience on that scale in an Indian state. There could be no doubt of the widespread awakening among the people, and of a growing feeling of self-reliance and strength. In this respect, in some ways, Kashmir seemed to be in advance. It was difficult to judge of the discipline and self-imposed restraint that accompanied this new-found strength. I think there was a measure of discipline also, though perhaps not so much as in the more politically developed parts of India. Perhaps, also, that idealism, which has been so marked a feature of the Indian nationalist movement, was not present to the same degree. The political awakening had not yet brought in its train that hard experience and close thinking which we had had elsewhere. That was natural, for the Kashmir movement was comparatively young, though even in its few years of life, it had gone through many an experience which had moulded it and given it shape.

Considering the brief life of this movement, I was surprised to find how vital and widespread it was, although I saw it during a period of quiescence. It had changed the face of Kashmir during these few years, and, if properly led and controlled, it held promise of great good for the country.

In its leadership it was fortunate, for Sheikh Muhammad Abdullah was a real leader of the people, beloved of them, and with vision which looked ahead and did not lose itself in the petty conflicts of the moment. He was the founder and initiator of the movement. At first it began on communal lines and became entangled in many unfortunate occurrences. But Sheikh Abdullah pulled it out of these ruts and had the courage and statesmanship to steer it out of the narrow waters of communalism into the broad sea of nationalism. Dangers and difficulties still remain—which one of us is free from them?—and he will have to steer carefully and to overcome them.

It was a remarkable feat for any person to have brought about this political awakening among the poverty-stricken and helpless people of Kashmir. It was still more remarkable to check it from overflowing

into wrong channels, and to guide it with a strong hand along the right path. The difficulties were increased during the past three years by the growth of the communal spirit all over India, which inevitably had some effect on Kashmir also. Sheikh Abdullah performed these remarkable feats and rightly earned the title of *Sher-e-Kashmir*, by which he is popularly known. He did not, and he could not, get rid of all the ills—communal or other—that a popular movement suffers from. But the measure of his considerable success is obvious enough in Kashmir today.

This movement has so far affected Kashmir proper far more than Jammu province, which is partly allied to and affected by Punjab politics. In a sense Kashmir is a definite historical, cultural, and linguistic unit, and it was natural for a popular movement to spread there first without producing the same effect on Jammu. Kashmir proper has an overwhelmingly big proportion of Muslims in the population; there are about 95 per cent of them. If Jammu province is included, the Muslim proportion is reduced to about 75 per cent which is substantial enough.

The Hindus of Kashmir proper, chiefly Kashmiri Pandits, though only about 5 per cent, are an essential and integral part of the country, and many of their families have played a prominent part in Kashmir's history for a thousand years or more. Even today they play a significant part in the state services and administration. Essentially these Kashmiri Pandits are the middle-class intelligentsia. Intellectually they compare very favourably with any similar group in India. They do well in examinations and in the professions. A handful of them, who migrated south to other parts of northern India during the last two hundred years or so, have played an important part in public life and in the professions and services in India, out of all proportion to their small numbers.

A popular mass movement, especially in Kashmir proper with its 95 per cent Muslim population, was bound to be predominantly Muslim. Otherwise it would not be popular and would not affect the masses. It was also natural that the Hindu minority of 5 per cent should not view it with favour, both from the communal and the middle-class point of view. Certain unfortunate occurrences and communal riots in 1931 added to these fears and suspicions. The Kashmiri Pandits, though small in numbers, impelled by a desire for self-protection, started organizing themselves as a communal group. Since then the situation has certainly improved, and, though fear and suspicion remain to some extent, the feeling of hostility is much less. This has been brought about by a keener appreciation of the realities of the situation as well as by Sheikh Abdullah's consistent policy to give the popular movement a national basis. A number of Kashmiri Pandits, especially some bright young men, have definitely joined the National Conference. The great

majority, however, hold formally aloof, though in no hostile sense, and a definite attempt to have friendly and cooperative relations is visible. I am leaving out of consideration the activities or reactions of individuals, who do not make much difference when considering the various currents and group forces at play.

I imagine, though I have no definite data for this, that the development of the Congress movement and of the Khudai Khidmatgars in the North West Frontier Province had considerable influence on Kashmir during the last ten years. The two are neighbours and have many contacts, and yet the Afghans and the Kashmiris differ from each other markedly. It is surprising that such close neighbours, who have lived next to each other for nearly a thousand years, should differ so much physically, intellectually, culturally, and emotionally. But in spite of these differences there is much in common, and the political upheaval in the Frontier Province was bound to produce its reactions in Kashmir.

I was exceedingly fortunate, therefore, in having as my companion during the Kashmir visit Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who has been the cause of this political awakening in the Frontier and who symbolizes it so much in his own person. It was obvious that he was a favourite of the Kashmiris, as he has become of people in all parts of India. *Fakhr-e-Afghan*, or Badshah Khan, as he is popularly and affectionately known, was a delightful companion, though a hard taskmaster occasionally.

Both the Frontier Province and Kashmir adjoin the Punjab. Both complain that it is the communal spirit of the Punjab that creeps in and creates friction and trouble, otherwise there would be communal harmony. This complaint is especially bitter against certain sections of the Punjab press, both Muslim and Hindu owned, which spread out into these adjoining territories, which have no proper newspapers of their own. As a reaction against this press invasion from the Punjab, there is a tendency for Kashmir and the Frontier Province to hold together. These contacts are likely to grow, and I think they should grow, to the mutual advantage of both.

I addressed many great gatherings in Srinagar and outside, but I had gone to Kashmir more to learn and to understand than to teach. Two of the Srinagar meetings I addressed were held under the auspices of the National Conference, whose guest I was. Two others in Srinagar were held under the auspices of the Yuvak Sabha, the organization of the Kashmiri Pandits, and one of these meetings, held at my particular request, was specially meant for the *Panditains*.

I spoke at some length on the minority problem at the Yuvak Sabha meeting. I need not repeat what I said then, for it has been said often

enough, but I warned them not to fall into the trap into which minorities so easily fall. I spoke frankly and freely, for having been born in a Kashmiri Pandit family, I could take liberties with my own people.

While every individual and group deserved equal protection and help from the state, the idea of special safeguards for a minority group was full of peril for that group. For such safeguards led to dependence on extraneous help and weakened the group's spirit of self-reliance; the special privileges amounted, in effect, to little, but they created walls of prejudice which injured the group, and barriers which prevented growth.

Above all, they led to a narrowness of outlook and to isolation from national activities and the life-giving currents which moved the masses. At any time such safeguards and special protection were dangerous gifts to ask for or to receive. In the dynamic world of today, with vast revolutionary changes taking place before our eyes, it was folly of the first order to imagine that such safeguards or privileges could hold and protect. Only strength of mind and purpose and unity of action could give some protection.

Safeguards and special protection might, perhaps, be needed by a group which was very backward educationally and economically. They were in the nature of crutches for the lame and the halt. Why should those who were sound of mind and swift of foot require them? No one had ever accused the Kashmiri Pandits of lack of intelligence or of ability to adapt themselves to a changing environment. All that they should demand is a free and open field for talent and ability.

I pointed out to them what an outstanding part Kashmiris, both Hindu and Muslim, had played in the whole of India, although they were small in numbers. In public life, professions, services, in the states, in cultural activities, they had done remarkably well, without the least help or protection from anybody. Many of the Muslim Kashmiris are not known as Kashmiris, and so people do not appreciate this fact. But, as a matter of fact, Muslim Kashmiris are prominent in many walks of life in India. One famous name stands out above all others—that of the poet, Sir Mohammad Iqbal, who was a Sapru.

Kashmiri Pandits are more recognised in India as Kashmiris. They have done astonishingly well, although in numbers they are probably under five thousand outside Kashmir. I told my audience, with becoming modesty, that during the fifty-five years of the life of the Indian National Congress, for seven years Kashmiri Pandits had been presidents —a remarkable record for a handful of people who had migrated from Kashmir to the plains below.

The whole question of minorities and majorities in India is tied up with foreign and third-party rule. Eliminate that rule, and the basic

aspect of this question changes. That process of elimination is going on now.

So I spoke and I said much else, laying especial stress on the necessity for every group, if it was to count in the future, to throw its weight on the side of the masses, to join the national movement and draw strength and sustenance from it. No group or community which was continually shouting about itself, and demanding this and that special privilege or protection, would make much difference to the future that was being shaped. That future would be shaped without it.

The women's meeting was an extraordinary sight. It rained heavily throughout, and the meeting was held in the open. I had imagined that the meeting would be abandoned. But for hours before the time of the meeting thousands of women gathered and stood in the pouring rain, and when Badshah Khan and I got there these girls and young women and old women were standing in ankle-deep mud and water. I am partial to the women of Kashmir. They are beautiful and full of charm, and there was many a bright and intelligent face there in that eager audience. I spoke to them of women's problems, of what women had done and were doing in our national movement, of what their own kith and kin had done. And I urged them to rid themselves of the barriers of purdah, where such existed, an evil custom. The old orthodoxy must go, and the women of Kashmir, who were so eminently fitted in many ways, must play their part in the new India which we were all building together.

Wherever I went these women of Kashmir came to welcome me and to treat me as a brother or a son. It was a joy to meet them and to see the affection in their eyes. At Mattan, old Kashmiri ladies came to bless me and kiss me on the forehead, as a mother does to her son.

We spent three and a half days in Srinagar and then sought a week's respite in the higher valleys. The vale itself and the gardens and country round about Srinagar could have held me indefinitely, but I hungered for the mountains and the narrow paths over precipices and the glaciers. I wanted to crowd as much of experience and sensations as I could during these few days, to fill the storehouse of my memory with a picture gallery which I could visit at leisure when I chose to. Srinagar was also, inevitably, too full of engagements and interviews and meetings; it repeated too much the old pattern of my life. We went to Verinag and Achhbal, Anantnag or Islamabad, and Mattan or Martand. The weather was unkind and the rain pursued us, but this did not prevent crowds gathering to welcome us and often I had to say a few words to them in the pouring rain. I was tired and soaked to the skin when we

reached Pahalgam in the evening. Pahalgam had grown since I had seen it last many years ago, and was something much more now than a mere camping-ground.

The next day we went, again to the accompaniment of rain, to Chandanwari on the Amarnath road. We went on horseback and on foot. Some of our party did not like this trip because of the rain, and returned tired, bored, and exhausted. But I felt exhilarated by the beating of the rain on my face, and I loved to watch the rushing mountain torrent, whose winding course we followed. Leaving the party at Chandanwari, I went on some miles farther up with a friend. To my great regret, we could not go for lack of time, to the lovely mountain lake of Shishnag, which was the next stage on the journey to the cave of Amarnath.

We came back from Chandanwari to Pahalgam the same day, and early the next morning our caravan proceeded to Liddarwat following the course of the Liddar river. There was a midday halt at Aru, a lovely camping-ground, and then to Liddarwat and a well-earned rest. The weather had cleared and we scanned the skies hopefully and anxiously, for the next day we were to go to the Kolahoi glacier.

It turned out to be a fine, clear day, and it was well that it was so, for the going was bad, over rocks and boulders and across several small mountain streams. We reached the glacier at last and had our midday meal at its base. We then climbed up it for some distance, avoiding the pits and crevasses. We could not go far or stay long, as we had to hurry back to Liddarwat. But even that brief visit to the glacier was exhilarating and satisfied an old craving of mine.

The return journey was very tiring, and we reached our camp late in the evening. Badshah Khan was particularly exhausted, partly because he insisted on walking more than the others, who stuck to their hill ponies as much as they could. But whether he was tired or not, the pace of his walk did not slacken, his stride was no shorter, and those of us who tried to keep step with him panted in despair and were gradually left behind. To see his six feet two of Pathan manhood striding along those mountain paths was a sight which impressed itself very forcibly on me, and this is the picture of Khan Sahab that comes most often to my mind.

During this trip to the Kolahoi glacier there were a number of small accidents, and almost every member of our party had a fall from horseback or on the boulders, or on the glacier itself. I was one of the fortunate few who escaped.

The next day we decided to rest at Liddarwat; not quite, for we went on a tramp on the path which leads across the mountains to the Sind Valley. I wanted to go this way to visit Sonamarg on the other side, for

the valley where Sonamarg is situated is a miracle of beauty. But in order to get there we had to go over a high pass, which was not an easy matter at that time of the year. Our party was too big and the time at our disposal limited. This pass has the expressive name of Yamher —the ladder of death, or the ladder of Yama, the god of death. It is covered with slippery ice, which no doubt facilitates the passage to the other world.

So we gave up the idea of crossing over to the Sind Valley, but nevertheless we went a small part of the way and visited a number of *Gujar* encampments. Those *Gujars*, semi-nomads, come up to these higher valleys during the summer with their cattle, in search of grazing grounds. They build temporary shelters for themselves which could neither keep out the rain nor the cold wind. Sometimes they live under some overhanging rocks.

The *Gujars* were followed a little later in the summer by another tribe, the *Bherawalas*, who came with thousands of sheep and pushed the *Gujars* and their cattle away to higher regions. Then armies of sheep covered the whole valley and the hillside, and ultimately the *Gujars* had to take refuge almost at the foot of the glaciers, till they came down to the lower valley at the end of the summer. As we were returning from Liddarwat the next day we passed these armies of sheep on the march, going up and up in search of pasture.

We visited many of these *Gujar* shelters and, to my surprise, we were welcomed everywhere. Ordinarily these people do not take kindly to strangers, for the stranger and city dweller is to them a person who comes to exploit them. He buys their milk products cheap and sells city goods dear, and they are ever in his clutches because of debt. They are simple folk, not knowing reading or writing or arithmetic. They cannot keep accounts or check what the dealer from the city says to them. They are continually being cheated and exploited and live in extreme poverty.

But we were received in all friendship, probably because Sheikh Abdullah was with us and they had heard his name, possibly also because a good reputation had preceded us. In one of these shelters—about 30 feet by 20 feet—we enquired how many people lived there. No one knew; they could not count thus far, and, anyway, they had never bothered themselves about it. Then we proceeded on another line of enquiry. How many families lived there? There were six or seven families. We enquired from the head of each family about his wife and children. And so we arrived at a total figure of fifty-three or fifty-four for that one shelter! This was an unusually large shelter; the others we visited were smaller.

We talked to these people and they spoke to us in a mixture of Hindustani and Punjabi. They were not Kashmiris and could hardly speak the Kashmiri language. They told us of their misery and poverty and of all their other difficulties. They invited us to break bread with them, and it was, perhaps, the best bread I have ever eaten. It was *makki-ki-roti*, and there was some kind of green *sag*, or vegetable, with it.

I do not know where the *Gujars* come from, to what racial stock they belong. But they were a fine-looking people, and their women-folk had striking, clean-cut features. Their children were attractive, and Badshah Khan used to gather them and play with them, for there is nothing he likes better than to have the little children of the poor about him. I remembered seeing him on many an occasion in the Frontier Province with a group of Pathan children clustering around him. His face was lighted up with affection for them, and the little ones looked with adoration on this Badshah Khan, who was their great big friend and leader.

The women of these *Gujars* looked one straight in the face, and there was little shyness or self-consciousness about them. In one shelter I was a little surprised when one of the ladies of the house came forward and, taking my hand, bade me welcome. She invited us to come inside and share their meal of bread and vegetable, which she had been cooking. That gesture of hers and her manner were so full of grace and self-assurance that I could well have imagined that some great lady was inviting me to her noble mansion.

Our visit to the *Gujar* shelters led to a minor crisis in our camp. Badshah Khan had a habit of filling his pockets with sweets and fruits to distribute these to the poor children we met on the road. His stock soon gave out when we met scores of children in the shelters. So he invited them to come to our camp.

On our return he sent for our camp cook and demanded that he produce all the foodstuffs he had, especially rice and flour and sugar. The cook was not very enthusiastic about this, and he returned with a small supply. Badshah Khan was not to be taken in, and he insisted on more. The cook pointed out that he had to feed a large party for another two days and he could not empty his limited stock. Our hosts also did not fancy the idea of having next to nothing left with us. But Badshah Khan insisted and said that anyway our party ate too much—which was perfectly true—and it would do us all a lot of good to have to put up with limited rations or even to starve for a day. There was no denying him, and the cook had to produce much more.

The next day we returned from Liddarwat to Pahalgam. For four or five days we had been completely cut off from news of the outside world,

just when mighty decisions were being made on the battlefields of northern France.[2] We got some belated news at Pahalgam and found how very grave the situation was.

After spending the night at Pahalgam, we motored to Srinagar. On the way we visited the ancient temple of Martand, and inside those massive and eloquent ruins local friends had made arrangements for sumptuous refreshments. Then to Anantnag, or Islamabad, and a big meeting, or rather two. Another gathering at Brijbehara under the spacious *chenar* trees. The platform where I stood was erected round the most ancient and majestic of these noble trees, with a girth of 55 feet at the base. It was about four hundred years old, we were told, and the course of this long span of history passed rapidly before me as I stood under its cool shelter. What strange happenings and revolutions and human follies it had witnessed during these centuries! While men had come and gone, living their brief lives of joy and sorrow, and generation had followed generation, this king of trees had stood, surveying the human scene, unmoved and unperturbed.

Back to Srinagar. Packing and leave-taking, a party at the Amar Singh Club, where I met many old friends, and a final public meeting to bid good-bye to the people of Srinagar.

The next morning we left Srinagar and sped towards Jammu. The road left the valley and mounted up the Pir Panjal. As we went higher, the panorama spread out before us and broader vistas came into view. We stood near the mouth of the tunnel and had a last look at the valley below. There lay the vale of Kashmir, so famous in song and history, in its incomparable loveliness. A thin mist covered part of it, and a soft light toned down the hard edges of the picture. Above the clouds rose snow-capped peaks, and down from the valley below came the faint and distant sound of running water. We bade a silent farewell and, turning away with regret, entered the dark tunnel which took us to less favoured lands.

The night we spent at Kud on the Jammu road and met some friends there. The next morning to Jammu and the heat of the plains. Jammu gave us a great reception and an exhausting one, for the sun was hot in the daytime. Processions, interviews, engagements, and finally a great meeting at night. This meeting was held in an old dried-up tank with steps all round, and this amphitheatre made a perfect setting for

2. The first fortnight of June 1940 witnessed the defeat of the Allied forces in France. The French Government left Paris on 10 June and Paris fell on 14 June 1940.

a big gathering. I was particularly pleased to see thousands of women at this meeting.

Badshah Khan left us that evening for Peshawar, but Sheikh Abdullah and some other friends from Kashmir accompanied us up to Lahore. The next morning we left by automobile for Lahore, but there was business still on the way. At Sialkot there was a huge gathering, also in an old dried-up tank as in Jammu, and at Wazirabad another big public meeting.

And so to Lahore and new problems and difficulties. Here I left Sheikh Abdullah and other Kashmir friends who had been such close companions during the past fourteen days. They had overwhelmed us with their hospitality, and this companionship and comradeship had made us know and understand each other a little better.

Twelve days in Kashmir, twelve days after three-and-twenty years! Yet one vital moment is worth more than years of stagnation and vegetation, and to spend twelve days in Kashmir was good fortune indeed. But Kashmir calls back, its pull is stronger than ever, it whispers its fairy magic to the ears, and its memory disturbs the mind. How can they who have fallen under its spell release themselves from this enchantment?

22. To Surendraray Bapubhai Mehd[1]

Allahabad
August 4, 1940

Dear Mr. Mehd,

I was glad to meet you and to learn from you of how conditions stood in South Africa. I have already given to you my opinion as to what should be done. Mahatma Gandhi is the best person to advise. So far as I can see our countrymen there should never accept anything in the nature of segregation or lowering of national or racial status. Quite apart from the question of the treatment of Indians in South Africa, India stands for complete racial and national equality in the world and we are going to press for it at every stage in the future. That is one of the basic principles on which we must stand and we cannot agree, even for a temporary advantage, to give that up. If that is our world position, much more must that be so within the ambit of the British Empire. Indeed that is one of the reasons why we cannot associate ourselves with a group of nations which enforces racial injustice.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

Therefore, I hope that our countrymen in South Africa will never agree to any such humiliation of themselves and their home country. What they should do is another matter and in regard to that they must be the judges. They will realise of course that under present conditions we in India cannot give them any direct assistance. The burden of any struggle must necessarily be borne by them. At the same time our own struggle for freedom will be of great indirect help to them.

Whether they are strong enough for a struggle or not, it is for them to decide. But in any event they cannot morally submit to wrong doing. In the world of conflict today they must, like all of us, be ready to face any consequences. Those who submit to evil today will not have much of a tomorrow.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

23. To Richard J. Walsh[1]

Allahabad
August 5, 1940

Dear Mr. Walsh,

In answer to your cable I have already informed you that I hope to send you the concluding chapter for my *Autobiography* by the middle of August. I have returned to Allahabad for a few days and, though I have many other things to attend to, I shall now take this matter in hand. I cannot say exactly when I shall be able to finish the chapter as I have to put up with many interruptions in my work. But I shall try to send it as soon as possible. It will be sent by Clipper air mail.

It is unfortunate that I have not been able to see the abridged edition of the *Autobiography*. But under the circumstances this could not be helped. In one of your letters you suggested that the Epilogue and the Postscript, or perhaps the latter only, might be left out, as a new concluding chapter is being added. I do not think this would be desirable. I think both of them should be left where they are and the concluding chapter, which I intend heading *Five Years Later*, should follow them.

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

You have also suggested that some further appendices might be added. At present there are three and I think they might well remain as they have a certain importance and relevance. I suggest that two more appendices might be added. These are : the Congress Working Committee's statement[2] dated September 14th 1939 on the war crisis and an article on myself written by me anonymously two and a half years ago. The former is a very important document which explains the Congress policy. It has been given as an appendix in my new book that I sent you —*China, Spain and the War*. I do not know if you received this book. In any event I am enclosing a copy of this statement with this letter.

My anonymous article, copy of which I also enclose, is likely to interest readers. I wrote it to amuse myself and to watch other people's reactions. It remained more or less of a secret till John Gunther referred to it in his book *Inside Asia*.

As for the name of the book, I leave it to you. If possible, you can consult Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon. The title should certainly be attractive, but I do not particularly fancy anything dramatic.

I have already sent you a number of photographs from which you can choose.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 10, pp. 122-138.

24. To Amrit Kaur[1]

August 6, 1940

My dear Amrit,

One of your early letters reached me after I had replied to the later ones. It had just missed me in Allahabad.

I am now able to communicate with Indu by letter. I have not so far heard from her but she has cabled to me that she is writing. She is doing well.

I have not read Laski's essay[2] but I have got the book and I shall try to find the time to read it.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. *The danger of being a gentleman.*

I received Percival Spear's pamphlet and read it.[3] The basic idea seems to me that there should be two chambers in the Centre—one democratically elected without any special representation of different communities, the other a communal chamber where there is more or less equal representation of different communities. Some such proposal has been made previously. I think that there is much in it and it might provide the basis for an equitable arrangement. There are difficulties but they could be avoided. The proposal is not unlike the Russian constitution in theory. In Russia they have or had two Chambers at the top, one of which is called the Council of Nationalities where each nationality has the same representation as another.

What is likely to happen is that either there will be conflict between the two chambers or, what is more likely, the democratic chamber will have a dominating voice.

Events seem to be marching rapidly in India and it seems to me a matter of weeks, and possibly days, before odd things happen.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

3. *Communal harmony.*

25. To V. K. Krishna Menon[1]

Allahabad
August 9, 1940

My dear Krishna,

I have just sent you separately the additional chapter for the American edition of the *Autobiography*. This has been sent to Walsh by air mail as well as by ordinary mail. Presumably it will reach him much earlier than this letter reaches you. Nevertheless you might find out from him if he has got it, and, if not, supply him with it.

About the Drummond volume, I have already sent you a large amount of new material. This was sent in two batches—on March 25th and April 9th. Further I sent you the new book *China, Spain and the War* published by Kitabistan in March 1940. I presume you received all these,

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

though I do not remember getting any acknowledgements. All these taken together practically exhaust my writings subsequent to *Eighteen Months*. I should have imagined that this gave you more than enough material to choose from.

Since April last I have not written very much—a few odd articles and a small series on Kashmir. I am enclosing some of those for you to choose from. I am afraid I cannot write anything specially to fill in the gap of 50 pages that you mention. The next few weeks are going to be very busy ones for me and will not permit me to write anything at all. So please do not expect anything more from me. Of course if I write anything I shall send it to you.

As regards my writings on the communal question, it is perfectly true that they date. It is difficult for me to judge whether they will fit in with your book or not, as this depends on the nature of selection made. I have just been glancing through the articles reprinted in *Eighteen Months*. They are out of date certainly, and yet there is much in them that might interest people. I leave this matter entirely to your discretion. Keep anything you like or push it out.

Drummond wrote to me some time back and sent me the *Foreign Affairs* article on the *Unity of India*. He wanted me to add to it. I find great difficulty in adding to an article previously written or in changing it materially. It is easier to write a new article. So I left it at that.

I am cabling to you today on this subject of Drummond's book.[2]

It is difficult to say much about the political situation. It is patent that the British Government's declaration, made through the Viceroy, is not worthy even of being looked at.[3] In some ways it is a going back on what the Viceroy himself had hinted at. It is a clear indication that the government wishes to have nothing to do with Congress. There is only one way that we can react to it. I suppose the Working Committee will meet fairly soon. The situation seems to indicate rapid developments.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

2. Not printed.
3. See *ante*, section 1, items 56 & 58.

26. To Krishna Hutheesing[1]

Wardha
19.8.40

Darling Betty,
Thank you for the *rakhi*. It was very welcome.

So you were nervous because I went to Bombay in uniform! My dear, do not let the atmosphere of Bombay affect your nerves so. We function differently in the north. *Poor and proud business.* The going in uniform had no particular importance. What is far more important is that 800 uniformed volunteers went through their entire programme as arranged regardless of the government orders. You should have seen our procession. It was worth it. Zero hour will suddenly descend upon us one of these fine or rainy days. We might as well be prepared for it and take it in the proper spirit. It is no good grousing.

Give Kay[2] my love and tell her not to be too credulous, nor too dispirited. Yesterday was bad, today is worse, but

> We have tomorrow
> Bright before us
> Like a flame.

Or so some of us imagine, and it is good to imagine and dream or life would become too hard and barren in this hard world.

I do not know where I shall go from here. Nor do I know how long I shall have to stay here. Work in the U.P. calls and I may return there. When the mind is rushing along it is difficult to keep still or to lounge about. But I may also go to Bombay from here.

Love,

Jawahar

1. *Nehru's Letters to His Sister*, (London, 1963), pp. 63-64.
2. Wife of Robert Stimson, who was at that time editor of *The Times of India*, Bombay.

27. To Constancia de la Mora[1]

September 10, 1940

Dear Friend,[2]

Many months ago I received a postcard from you. I wanted to reply to it, but did not know where to write. Last week I was in Bombay and I saw your book—*In Place of Splendour*—in my sister's house there. I hastened to get a copy for myself and my long twenty-four hour railway journey from Bombay to Allahabad was occupied in reading it.

It was not necessary for me to read a book to remind me of the heroic and tragic events of the Spanish War. These are imprinted in my mind, and few things that I have experienced in the course of a life full of unusual happenings, have affected me so much. But to read your book was to see these pictures vividly again and to feel intensely all the courage and endurance and sorrow that lay behind them. Your book is great and one is not likely to forget the reading of it, or the brave and fine personality that glows through it. How well I remember our brief meeting in Barcelona. You were one of the first persons I met there, and so, to begin with, I judged of Republican Spain from you. That high opinion that I formed then endured and was strengthened later.

I do not know if this letter will reach you in these days of war and world upheaval. I am sending it through your publisher in London. If it reaches you, I want you to realise how many of us in India cherish the memory of the Spanish Republic, how we grieve at your misfortunes, and how we believe, in spite of all that is happening, that the Republic will come into its own again. All of us, wherever we may be, have to pass through the valley of the shadow, and the future is dark. But I hope and believe that freedom will triumph in the end and that this dark night will pass.

In any event you have all our good wishes for yourself and your country, which we have grown to love and admire.

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Constancia de la Mora served as an interpreter to Jawaharlal when he visited Spain in 1938.

28. Cable to Indira Nehru[1]

10/9/40

Delighted to learn that you are stronger. No letters are reaching. The situation here is rapidly verging on a crisis. Early resumption of old pilgrimage is likely.

Love,

Papu

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

29. To Narinder Chand[1]

September 10, 1940

Dear Friend,

I think you are right in saying that my speech[2] on the 8th was more Urdu than Hindi. Partly this was because I was speaking in a city like Allahabad, partly because I was dealing with certain difficult ideas and I spoke in the language which came most easily to me. The object of a speaker is to make his audience understand his idea and not to speak in a set language, whether that is Urdu, Hindustani or Hindi. If I speak in Delhi or Lucknow, my language is pure Urdu. If I speak in Benares or Patna or Nagpur, I try to make it as much Hindi as I can. If I speak in the villages I try to simplify my ideas and use simpler words. Hindustani should be based on the simplest words which are commonly used. But inevitably when difficult ideas have to be expressed difficult words have to be used. A language cannot be based entirely on the capacity for understanding of literate circles, because the latter's range of thought and vocabulary is limited.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Not printed.

30. To Bharati Sarabhai[1]

Allahabad
September 10, 1940

My dear Bharati,
Your letter reached me some time ago when I was in Wardha. I am just writing a few lines to you now to tell you how glad I am that you are thinking of doing something definite and constructive. What you should do must ultimately be decided by yourself according to your inclinations. The theatre obviously requires complete reform in India. In fact it hardly exists so far. But I fear that under present conditions of storm and stress, this will not fit in with what is happening. Any real movement, in order to succeed, must be in tune with the currents that are moving people.

I am going to Bombay tomorrow for the A.I.C.C. I suppose things will be moving rapidly now and I may even get an opportunity to cultivate more detachment and to do some writing.

Love,

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

31. To Hidayat Ullah Ansari[1]

September 21, 1940

My dear Hidayat Ullah,[2]
Maulana Azad and I discussed with Gandhiji the proposal to have his articles appear regularly in *Hindustan*. I was surprised to find that he had never seen *Hindustan* and that no copy of this was being sent to him. Will you please arrange immediately to send him *Hindustan* regularly and send also a number of selected past copies.

Please write him also that you will be very glad to issue his articles weekly and to make this a special feature of *Hindustan*. You would like

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. (b. 1911); editor, *Hindustan*, 1937-42, and *Qaumi Avaz* since 1945; member, Rajya Sabha, 1966-70.

to receive a copy of his articles as early as possible. When they are being sent for publication in *Harijan* a typed copy can be sent at the same time to you. He will of course choose such articles as he wants to appear in Urdu. I do not know how much space these are likely to take. Possibly they might take about three pages of *Hindustan*. Anyway I am sure that it will be very good for *Hindustan* to give these articles regularly in a good and simple translation. This will increase the circulation of the paper and give it a certain significance, especially at this time.

We mentioned to Gandhiji something about your financial difficulties and told him that you were gradually getting over them. We suggested that if it was possible for Rs. 100/- a month to be given to you for some months this will probably meet your present deficit. I suggest that you need not ask him for money but you might explain to him what your present position is in regard to circulation, finances, etc., especially indicating how many copies are going to libraries and the like.

Please do this immediately. Please also send a few specimen copies to Miss Mridula Sarabhai with a covering letter. She told me that she would try to get a number of libraries in Ahmedabad and Gujarat to take it up.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

32. To Mahatma Gandhi[1]

September 21, 1940

My dear Bapu,
There was one matter I forgot to mention to you. On the 17th of September, that is when we were in Bombay, a young boy named Rajni Patel was arrested in Bombay on landing there. I am particularly interested in this young man and I consider him a very intelligent and competent person. He was returning to India after five or six years spent abroad and was greatly looking forward to his home-coming. In particular he had been writing to me that he would come to see me immediately on arrival so that he might take up worthwhile work immediately in connection with the Congress or some connected activities. It was a

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

curious home-coming for him to be arrested on landing under the Defence of India Act. None of his people were present when he landed as the time of arrival was not known previously. In fact I heard of his arrest for the first time from the evening paper in Bombay. I tried immediately to get an interview in the police lock-up but this was refused and we were informed that no interview could be given unless special permission of the Bombay Government was taken. The next morning he was sent to Nasik Jail.

Rajni Patel comes from the village Sarsa near Anand in Gujarat. He was sent to England some five or six years back—I do not know exactly the date—for the Civil Service Examination. He prepared for this and actually went to the examination hall. As he was sitting there, however, he was asked to go out because his political opinions were not approved of by the India Office. He had been expressing these opinions at meetings and elsewhere. I remember this matter being brought up in questions in the Central Assembly at the time.

After that he continued his studies in various places and ultimately became a barrister, though he had no particular desire to practise the law. I had come into intimate contact with him during my visits to England and I found him to be very intelligent and very likeable. In fact he was exceedingly popular among all kinds of people in England, especially among English students. He associated himself with the student movement there, with youth leagues, with the Labour movement and with the India League. In fact these various activities somewhat came in the way of his studies.

When I was in England last I promised him that on his return to India we would try to utilise him for some worthwhile work. I have been in correspondence with him and in every letter he had told me how he was looking forward to working under my directions.

Sometime last November, that is after the war began, he finally left England and went to America intending to spend a month or two there and then return to India *via* China. As he was well-known in the British Youth Movement, the American Youth Movement took him up and made him tour all over the country. He spent nine or ten months in America and visited all parts of the United States as a youth representative. He appears to have been very popular there. He delivered, I suppose, rather strong speeches against British imperialism. During his visit there, he was invited to the White House to tea by Mrs. Roosevelt.

Ultimately he left America with various letters and messages for the Chinese Youth Movement. To his surprise and indignation he was not allowed to land at Hong Kong by the British authorities and was compelled to proceed to India direct. At Singapore he was not even allowed

to land for a short while as other passengers were. Probably this must have happened at Colombo also. On arrival in Bombay he was arrested on the plea that he had many books and papers with him which were objectionable. As a matter of fact the policemen told us that they had been on the lookout for him for a long time and would have arrested him anyhow.

I have no idea what the exact charge against him is or what books or papers he had with him. Returning home after a long absence, he must have got many books which must have accumulated. So far as I have read reports of speeches they have been strong but not very different from the kind of speeches many of us deliver here. He is a frank, straightforward person and not given to underhand work. He is not a Communist, though he has no doubt come into contact with Communists in England and possibly in America. His general outlook is what might be called socialist.

Just before I left Bombay, I spoke to Vallabhbhai about Rajni and also mentioned the matter to Bhulabhai. I asked them to do what they could to help him and also to get into touch with his people. Rajni Patel's father's address is: Motibhai Venibhai Patel, Sarsa, *via* Anand (Gujarat).

I have a faint notion, but I am not quite sure of this, that Rajni took part in the civil disobedience movement in the early thirties and also went to prison.

I am writing all this to you to keep you informed and in the hope that possibly you might be able to do something for him.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

33. To Rajnikant M. Patel[1]

Allahabad
September 21, 1940

My dear Rajni,
I received your letter from Hong Kong a few days ago. In Bombay I heard suddenly that you had arrived and had been arrested on landing. I tried to get into touch with you, but was informed that an interview

1. Maharashtra Government Records, File No. 3590/H/II-2.

could not be granted without the special permission of the Bombay Government. This was late in the evening of your arrival and early next day you were sent to Nasik.

I am sorry I missed meeting you. But I suppose it could not be helped under the circumstances. I have written to your father[2] about you and I have also informed Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.[3] We shall do what we can to help you in the matter. It is a somewhat curious home-coming for you, after many years. But then everything is curious nowadays. Don't worry, and, if you can, write to me.

Yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2 & 3. Not printed.

34. To V. K. Krishna Menon[1]

September 21, 1940

My dear Krishna,
It is no pleasure to write letters when it may take months and months for these letters to reach the addressee. It does not seem to make much difference to send a letter by air mail or ocean mail. They both take months. Still I am writing to you because not to write is worse.

I enclose copy of a letter I have sent to Walsh about the American edition. It seems to me that all the matters have been covered now and nothing remains to be done at this end. If you have not already signed the contract you can do so. All the matter I had to send has been sent six weeks ago. Copies of all this additional matter were sent to you also at the time. I hope you have received them. I can well imagine how confused you must be at the various developments in the Indian situation. They are confusing anyhow, and then you have to judge by such scrappy information as you may get. To add to this the Gandhian technique of action is never very easy to understand unless one has been in close contact with it. I am not going to discuss this matter here for obvious reasons. But generally speaking I am satisfied with developments. There are obvious risks and dangers but no course of action is free from them. Remember always that the language Congress uses, at

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

Gandhiji's instance, is peculiarly mild and inoffensive when it is thinking of action. There is no doubt that we are thinking of action which, howsoever limited its beginnings, is bound to grow and affect the masses. If the British Government, or the British Labour Party, or the British people choose to attach little importance to India, they can please themselves so. But they will have a rude awakening....

I had a letter from your sister some days ago. She told me that her daughter was coming to Allahabad to be interviewed by some examiners. My sister has written to her that we shall be very happy indeed to have her daughter stay with us in Allahabad.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

35. To R. S. Nimbkar[1]

September 23, 1940

My dear Nimbkar[2]
Your letter of the 19th has just come. I fear I cannot come to Bombay for the Trade Union session. We are having our Provincial Congress Committee meeting in Lucknow on that very day.

I send to the Congress, however, my comradely greetings and I trust that it will guide the trade union movement aright during this grave crisis in India and the world. I hope that the Trade Union Congress will, in particular, give its full sympathy and support to the National Congress in the struggle that is before us, and that in regard to the war it will declare that Indian resources in men and money must not be exploited against the will of the Indian people. Further, that the attitude of the British Government towards India makes it clear that there is no intention whatever of giving up the old imperialist policy of exploitation or handing over power to the Indian people.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. Raghunath Shioram Nimbkar (b. 1899); participated in the civil disobedience movement and imprisoned several times, Labour adviser, U.P. Government, 1947.

36. To Horace G. Alexander[1]

Allahabad
September 23, 1940

Dear Alexander,

I have just received your letter of the 5th August together with a cheque for £6.12.10 on account of royalties received from Allen & Unwin. Thank you.

I am afraid that the British Government has acted exceedingly foolishly and we move to a crisis in India which is likely to be prolonged.

Indira, as you know, is in Switzerland and is apparently doing well. I get no letters from her but occasional cables keep me informed.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

37. To Krishna Kripalani[1]

Allahabad
September 24, 1940

My dear Krishna,

You wrote to me a few days ago about a Bengali translation of my *Letters from a Father to His Daughter*. I told you that it had already appeared in Bengali some years back. The person who was responsible for this was Prabodh Chandra Das Gupta, Sonarong Lodge, Comilla. I am afraid this Bengali edition has not been managed at all properly and few people have heard about it.

Meanwhile I have offered the book to various provincial governments and some universities as a free gift, should they desire to use it in schools. Only the U.P. Government responded to this by making arrangements for printing and publishing it in Hindi and Urdu for their schools. The Calcutta University entered into a contract through the Oxford University Press for the English book. This annoyed me greatly as I dislike the exploiting of students by private individuals or firms

1. Krishna Kripalani Papers, N.M.M.L.

through textbooks. Anyhow, I could not get out of this contract made on my behalf by my publishers and I am now waiting for its expiry. It will not be renewed. I have made it clear however that even now I am at perfect liberty to give the book in the original or in translation to any provincial government or university free of all author's or publishers' rights.

It has amused me considerably to see how our universities as well as provincial governments prefer the old way of prescribing privately-produced books as textbooks rather than accept a free offer of producing the book themselves. However this is their lookout.

What I am writing to you about is this. If Viswabharati, or any publishing concern connected with Santiniketan, will care to take up the Bengali translation of my *Letters from a Father to His Daughter*, I would gladly let them have it free of all rights and encumbrances. This would be not only for their own use but also for the use of other schools or colleges. If they make any profit out of it it will be theirs. This little book has proved a golden mine for some publishers and for the Oxford University Press, much to my annoyance. I want to put an end to this profiteering.

The old edition in Bengali will not come in their way at all as I have made it clear to them previously. I am writing to them about this matter also. I should have very much liked to pay a visit to Santiniketan and have a glimpse of Gurudeva. But I do not know how to fit it in just now and events are moving fast. Anyhow, please convey to him my affectionate homage and tell him how much even his silent presence in Santiniketan inspires us all in these difficult days.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

38. To G. P. Hutheesing[1]

Allahabad
September 25, 1940

My dear Raja,
Could you let me know Napier's[2] full name as well as the name of his regiment.

1. Maharashtra Government Records, File No. 3590/H/II-2.
2. See *post*, item 42.

I understand that Betty intends coming to Allahabad sometime in October. I am glad to hear this as October is a good month here and the children will enjoy their stay. It would be a good thing if you could also come for some time. As you know, the times are out of joint and I do not know where I shall be and what I shall be doing.

Even if nothing very extraordinary occurs soon, as it well might, I propose to tour about a good deal in the Province. But every programme is vague and uncertain.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

39. To Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya[1]

25th September 1940

My dear Kamala,
Some time back I received your letter of 23rd May from Ottawa. Your letters are always very welcome and I was happy to get it. I have delayed in answering it, as the situation here has been very complex and I have been travelling about a great deal. I wrote to you a long letter some months ago. Evidently you had not received it when you wrote. Mails are so uncertain and take such a long time nowadays that the urge to write fades away. There is not much difference left now between air mail letters and ocean mail letters. Both take about two months between India and America.

From your letters and other accounts, which we have been following with great interest, you have had an extraordinarily interesting time in America. I have long been attracted to America and I seem to have a large number of friends there, or at any rate I get letters from people who write as friends. They go on asking me to visit America and indeed I should very much like to do so. You know that I have the wanderlust and I feel strongly in need of a journey outside India at least once a year. In 1938, I went to Europe with the full intention of visiting America also. The Czechoslovakian crisis and other developments prevented this. Last year I paid a brief visit to China, much too brief, as I had to hurry back when the present war broke in Europe.

1. Maharashtra Government Records, File No. 3590/H/II-2.

This year we have lived in a state of permanent crisis and it is not possible for me to leave India. I realise fully the advantages of going to America but there are some things which simply cannot be done. One of these things is for me to leave India at this stage.

As it happens, we seem to be on the verge of big developments. Whither they will lead us, I do not know. But anyhow I hope that the people of India will function bravely and honourably whatever happens. It is indeed impossible to forecast the future anywhere in the world.

I do not know if it will be possible for me to send letters or receive them for long. Anyhow I hope that you will write to me from time to time. How long do you expect to remain in the far West?

Rajni Patel arrived in Bombay last week and was forthwith arrested on landing and interned. I do not exactly know why this was done, though it was stated that he had objectionable books and papers in his possession. I do not know what these books and papers were. None of us had a chance of meeting him as we did not know exactly when he was due to arrive. As a matter of fact he was *persona non grata* anyhow and he was prevented from landing in Hong Kong and Singapore.

I have told the A.I.C.C. office to send their publications. I hope you will get them.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

40. To R. Ramani[1]

September 25, 1940

My dear Ramani,[2]

I am sorry I have delayed in answering your letter. But you will no doubt understand how occupied I have been.

Indira has been in Switzerland since November last. She suddenly fell ill in England in October. Although she recovered soon enough it was decided to send her to Switzerland then for a fairly lengthy cure. War developments in June last year have made it almost impossible for her to leave Switzerland. So she continues to remain there and I

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. An advocate of Kuala Lumpur; later Malayan representative at the United Nations.

do not know when she will be able to come out. She is much better now and in the ordinary course she might well have returned to India in another month's time.

There are several books about the constituent assembly. Two recent ones are: 1. Jaigopal Narang's *Constituent Assembly and Our Demand*—Minerva Book Shop, Lahore. 2. Y.G. Krishnamurti's *Constituent Assembly and Indian Federation*—New Book Company, Bombay. Both of these books have a brief foreword[3] from me. I am sorry I have not got spare copies here, otherwise I would have sent them to you. I have however got a proof copy of Krishnamurty's book without the foreword and introduction. I am sending this to you.

Neither of these books is at all exhaustive or satisfactory. But they are useful little publications.

As you will no doubt realise, we are now right on the verge of a very big crisis in India. Of course the crisis really covers the whole world.

With all good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *ante*, section 1, items 2 & 11.

41. Home-Coming[1]

Rajni Patel had been out of India for many years. Now he was returning home and he was filled with excitement at the prospect. Air mail letters and cables came from him to me from his various stopping places and in each of these he gave expression to his joy at coming back.

Rajni had gone to England five or six years ago for the Civil Service Examination. His parents had set their hearts on this. They lived in the heart of Gujarat in the village Sarsa, near Anand, which is a stronghold of the Patel clan. Because of his name, Rajni was sometimes in England taken to be a relative of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. But he was not so connected.

He prepared for the Civil Service and even got thus far as to sit in the examination room. But he was soon informed that he could not

1. *National Herald*, 29 September 1940.

appear for the examination as his views and opinions were not approved of by the authorities, presumably the India Office. So he was pushed out of the examination room, a somewhat unusual occurrence.

He took up other studies and ultimately was called to the Bar. Apart from his regular studies, he interested himself in many activities and became a popular figure in various student groups and associations. He was of the type that wins interest and approval easily. Intelligent, agreeable and pleasant, and with an ability above the normal. He was interested in socialism, in the Labour movement, in the youth movement, and of course in Indian affairs. He worked for some time with the India League in London. His very popularity came in the way, to some extent, of effective and continuous work.

At last, in November last, in the early months of the war, he left England with the intention of returning to India *via* America. Having been intimately connected with the British Youth Movement, he got into touch with the American Youth Congress and for many months his American friends would not agree to his leaving America. They made him tour extensively in the United States and he had a very favourable reception everywhere. He addressed numerous meetings and conferences organised by the Youth Congress.

At last, after nearly nine months' stay in the United States, he took ship for China, where he intended to break journey for two or three weeks. He was the bearer of greetings and various messages from American Youth to Chinese Youth. At Hong Kong, however, the British authorities refused to allow him to stay and he was sent back to his ship. At Singapore he was not even permitted to land, as other passengers were, for a brief while.

On September 17, he reached Bombay. The time of arrival of ships is not notified and so there was no one to meet him. None, that is, of his friends. But the police apparently had long waited for him and they seized him on the plea of his having objectionable books and papers. But they would have arrested him anyhow as they had long been in wait for him. They did not approve of the speeches he had delivered in America.

I learnt for the first time of his arrest from an evening paper in Bombay. I tried immediately to find out where he was and, if possible, to interview him. The police refused to tell us where he was being kept and, as for an interview, we were informed that none could be granted without the special permission of the Bombay Government. Early next morning he was sent to Nasik Jail.

So Rajni, whom I had expected for so long, had come at last. His own eager wish to be back home was fulfilled. He was home in India,

but what a strange home-coming it was! Or perhaps it was not so strange after all. For in India the way to home for those who are straight and true leads often to the gates of prison.

42. To Mahatma Gandhi[1]

Allahabad
2-10-40

My dear Bapu,
About six weeks ago, when I was in Bombay for the Planning Committee, I had a remarkable experience, which has oppressed me often since then. I should have told you about it when you were in Bombay last but the Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. filled my mind and I forgot. I did not want to write about it through the post.

I came back from the Planning Committee during the midday interval for food. I had to go back soon after and was pressed for time. Just then a young English boy turned up at my sister's flat. He was dressed in khadi—a shirt and loose pyjamas and cap. He told me that he was an officer in the army—a Second-Lieut.—and had decided to leave the army and face the consequences. He produced a copy of a document which he said he had given to his commanding officer and which had been forwarded to Army headquarters at Simla.[2] I read this and was amazed. It was a fine statement. I enclose a copy of it and you can read it for yourself.

His name was Napier. He was the great-grandson of the Napier who is said to have conquered Sind. The family since then had been intimately connected with the army. Apparently it had come down in the world. Young Napier joined as a private a few years before the war began. But because he was a bright lad, and possibly also because of his family, he got a scholarship for Sandhurst and later became a commissioned officer. He was sent with his regiment to India a month or two after the war began. He was stationed at Mhow in Central India. Evidently he did not fit in with his brother officers. He was more serious and intellectual and he felt drawn towards India, especially of the

1. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. In his note of August 1940, he had condemned the British Empire in India in stringent terms and put forth his reasons for wanting to leave the army and join the struggle for freedom and the alleviation of the misery of India's poor.

poorer classes. He avoided officers' messes and spent his time in the bazaar or elsewhere talking to paltry shopkeepers, labourers etc. He tried to pick up Hindustani. I think he gave a good part of his salary to the poor.

This was not liked by his brother officers. The C.O. spoke to him about it and they had many arguments. He began to dislike his profession, and especially service in India, more and more. He wanted to leave it but this was not possible in war time. Ultimately he gave the enclosed note to his C.O.

His regiment was transferred from Mhow to Jhansi. This gave him a day and a half or two to join up at Jhansi. He decided to burn his boats whatever the consequences and went and sold his uniform. This was done chiefly to put a definite end to his military career—also to raise some money. He did not particularly want to be sent back from India to England.

He then telephoned to Allahabad to get into touch with me and learnt —found I was in Bombay and got my address. Went straight to Bombay and to my sister's house from the station.

This was a novel situation for me and I was completely taken aback. My heart went out to this young and terribly sincere boy of 25 but I did not know what to do. By coming to Bombay he had deserted—and that too in war time. This is the gravest offence in military law and there was no doubt that he would be arrested in a day or two and court-martialled. I found from him that he was due to report at Jhansi the next morning. There was just a chance of his getting back to Jhansi in time if he took the next train which left soon after.

I wanted to have a much longer talk with Napier but already I had kept the Planning Committee waiting. If he had to go back to Jhansi by the next train then there was going to be no other chance. I felt he must go back. To be charged with desertion was to confuse the issue apart from other consequences. He had already made his position perfectly clear to the army authorities and he could face them and fight them on that issue. I could hardly conceive of his remaining in the British army after his declaration of faith. Nor could I see how he was to get out of it. Army authorities do not permit this kind of thing. What was going to happen to him I could not guess, but it seemed to be clear that he would have a very hard time. Anyway I felt that this question must not be mixed up with desertion. I advised him therefore to go back by the next train to Jhansi and to report himself to the C.O. there. I further suggested to him not to go in khadi kurta and pyjamas. He said he had shorts, etc. and he would wear them. I asked him if he had enough money. He said he had quite enough for his purpose.

He accepted my advice and said he would go back. I asked him to communicate with me, if possible, or with my sister, and to let me know what happened. We have had no news of him since. I am told now that every regiment that is sent to Jhansi, goes off soon after to Egypt. I am trying to find out now what has happened to Napier's regiment. It is quite likely that because of his views and his escape he was kept under arrest and prevented from communicating, and later sent out of India.

His face haunts me and I often wonder if I advised him rightly.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

43. To Mridula Sarabhai[1]

17/10/1940

My dear Mridu,
I got your letter in Wardha. You need not worry yourself as to what you should do. If you are released you will then look round and carry on Congress work as long as you can. The main thing is carrying on work, not just to seek prison. If prison comes, one takes it in the course of one's work without worrying about it.

I propose to get certain shares of the Associated Journals Limited (owning the *National Herald*) transferred to you. Some of the money that you gave me was first given to the *Herald* and then transferred to the U.P.P.C.C. I think these shares should be in your name.

Keep cheerful and do not worry.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Maharashtra Government intercepted letters.

44. Union of Free Nations[1]

The ideal solution of the world's problems would be a world union of free nations, big and small, each nation being completely free within its

1. Message to *The Indian* (Sinhalese weekly). *The Hindustan Times*, 25 October 1940.

own boundaries, and at the same time a social order which is not based on profit for the few but on the good of the many.

Whether this world union comes soon or late it will have to come some time, if the world is to be saved from destruction. Meanwhile, we can think of something nearer home and that is the future of many of the countries of Asia. I look forward to the day when there will be some kind of confederation or international union between some of these nations of the East—India, China, Ceylon, Burma, Afghanistan and Nepal. Such a union ought not to be an exclusive one, but rather a basis for a larger union. Manifestly all the countries mentioned have many interests in common; they are adjoining, they are not aggressive and they ought to be able to work together to their own advantage and for the good of the world.

Each will have the fullest freedom for itself. But it is clear that in the modern world, nations cannot stand singly whether they are big or small. China and India are great and big nations. They might stand by themselves. But there is no reason why even they should not draw closer to each other as they have done in recent months. Ceylon inevitably must tie herself closely, culturally and economically, with these neighbours of hers, retaining her national freedom.

I hope that more and more people in India and in Ceylon and in the other countries of the East will look to this ideal and work for it and more particularly for the development of friendship between the people of India and the people of Ceylon.

45. To Rajan Nehru[1]

Allahabad
25–10–1940

My dear Rajan,
Your letter came a little while ago but I waited for the book to arrive before answering. On my return yesterday I found the book. Thank you.

I suppose social conditions will change here also with a bang some time or other. We are tied up in so many ways. Real social change is intimately connected with the political and economic structure.

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

I had a letter from Indu two days ago after four months. It was just three months old. She was not feeling at all happy in Switzerland though physically she was progressing. I suppose all of us will be very much older by the time we have got through the present mess —if we get through.

I am afraid there is not much chance of my going to Delhi in the near future.

Love,

Yours,
Jawaharlal

46. To Rajan Nehru[1]

Allahabad
25–10–1940

My dear Rajan,
Your letter came soon after I had written to you today. Do not worry about me. I am tough and not the kind of person who has accidents. I got a knock on the head. It stunned and dazed me for a while but no real harm was caused and I am quite well now.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

47. To Brahma Prakash Sharma[1]

Allahabad
October 25, 1940

No. 7 of Dasta[2] No. 2 of the Naini Seva Dal Camp begs to report to his Nayak[3] that the report of the injury received by him recently is

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L. Jawaharlal was in the Naini Volunteer Camp with Brahma Prakash Sharma, a Congressman of Muzaffarnagar.
2. Group or batch.
3. Captain.

much exaggerated. It has already healed. He is grateful for the enquiry.

Jawaharlal Nehru

48. To Rajnikant M. Patel[1]

October 26, 1940

My dear Rajni,

I was happy to receive your letter of the 10th October and I am glad that you are more or less settled down in your present habitat. It is best to adapt oneself to these changes and to have a regular programme. This keeps one physically and mentally fit. I have found many people in prison who tend to go to pieces simply because they have no such regularity in their life there and do not exercise their minds and bodies.

I would have loved to hear from you about your experiences in America, Japan, China and Shanghai, but that must wait for possibly a longish time. I shall certainly write to you from time to time. But I fear even this may not be possible soon.

I have written to my Hindi and Urdu publishers to send you some of the translations of my books as well as some other books also. I hope they will reach you.

Indira is still in Switzerland. She is well but cannot leave the country till some major change takes place in the war situation. My sister, Mrs. Pandit has not been keeping very well. I have had no letter from Krishna for a long time but I had a brief cable about ten days ago.

I have much of course to tell you, but that also will have to wait for a more favourable occasion. Meanwhile I should like you to feel that life in detention or in jail has certain advantages if one can but avail oneself of them. It leads to some introspection and a certain development of the person. The chief thing is not to worry about outside happenings. As one cannot take part in them it is needless worrying.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

49. To Dorothy Enge[1]

October 27, 1940

Dear Dorothy Enge,

I have your letter of July 23rd with its enclosures.[2] I read the poems with interest. But I feel that you took a wrong view of the Spanish civil war. I have recently read a very interesting book about this war. It is by a Spanish woman, Constancia de la Mora. It is called *In Place of Splendour*.

There are no separate causes left in the world today. They all run into one another. I am glad that you want to devote yourself to this great work.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
2. She had enclosed some poems, including an *Ode to The Spanish Civil War* written by her in 1937.

10

PERSONAL

1. To Indira Nehru[1]

March 11, 1940

Darling,
Your letter of the 20th February has just come. It does not make cheerful reading. I long to help you or to do something for you but I feel so helpless. Not only are you far from me, with a major war coming in the way, but otherwise too I am hardly capable of even advising. Only you can judge or your doctors or others whom you can consult. I wish I could take the burden somewhat from you but I have lost faith in myself in many ways. I am writing to Bhandari and I hope you will also keep in touch with him.

Thinking about you so often, it has struck me how little we have been together during these years, especially since 1930. You were a babe in arms when I became entangled in noncooperation and the like and for some years I saw you irregularly. Then we were together in Geneva for some months before you went to Chesieres. From 1930 onwards I was often in prison and you were first at the Poona school and then at Santiniketan. Later Switzerland, Bristol, Oxford, etc. You came to India in 1937 and I went to Europe in 1938. Again you came to India for a few months but even here you were mostly at Almora. It is almost a year since you went.

Off and on we have met but my mind has been full of you and has formed a thousand pictures which keep me company. Long ago when you were at Mussoorie and I was in Allahabad, I tried to fill the gap created by your absence by writing to you those letters which came out later as a little book. I continued this practice because it soothed me and pleased me and supplied something that I lacked. I seldom thought of writing books, I was thinking of you. But books resulted.

During all these years of separation and thinking of you, you came very close to me, or rather the image I made of you became part almost of me. But then that was a creature of my thought. You were far away.

I moved about in crowds, my days filled with incessant activity. To save myself from being submerged in these crowds I lived my own life of the mind, where I had myself for companion and those pictures of my dear ones which were largely my own creation. The crowds gave something to me of value but they took a lot out of me. Gradually I came to realise that while perhaps I understood crowds a little, I did

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

not understand individuals. Probably this deficiency, which distressed me, was innate in me and had little to do with the crowds or my activity. Only that activity covered and hid it from my eyes. I realised with something of a shock how little one person really knows another, and how often those that are nearest and dearest to us are almost as strangers to us. I had read this somewhere in French poetry and hardly realised its significance. This knowledge with all its disturbing consequences, came to me. I wondered if this was the general rule or at least a common occurrence, or was it peculiar to a few? Meanwhile life passed on leaving many an impress upon me. The crowd ceased to fascinate me as it used to, and I found how utterly alone I was. I had learnt much in the passage of years, but I had failed in the hard test of life. I had proved incompetent and life is hard on the incompetents. Large numbers of people, men and women, came to me or wrote to me for advice about their own personal problems. Because of my political notoriety, they took me to be an expert in matters beyond my ken. The success that had apparently come to me and made me known to large number covered a failure in much that counts in the life of the individual.

Public and private life act and react on each other, and this sense of failure has pursued me in almost all I do. With this lack of faith in myself, how can I advise anyone? What right have I to interfere in another's life? I have not made my own a brilliant success and all my good intentions, or so I imagined they were, have not prevented me often from making a mess of things. In my pride I thought that I could do great things, but life has humbled me and shown me the error of my thought.

So, my darling, I am a poor kind of person to seek advice from. Everything that I can possibly give you is yours for the asking, but do not seek advice from me for my mind is disturbed and lacks clarity. Even this letter, I suppose, is a jumble of ill-assorted ideas which will possibly confuse and worry you. I am sorry. But it represents a fraction of my mind.

I had written to you that I intended going by car to Ramgarh from Patna. I do not like motoring much, but I wanted to get away from myself—if that is ever possible—and visit Nalanda and Gaya and especially the thick jungles of Chhota Nagpur. A jungle, I thought, would certainly bring relief. Now all that is off and I am staying on in Allahabad till the last moment, that is the 14th night. This is at the bidding of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, our new President. He has written his Presidential Address in Urdu and he wants me to translate it into English. I am no good at this job and have never done any translation

work—except from Latin in school. The whole address even has not reached me yet. It is coming in driblets. Yesterday I spent about eight hours over it wrestling with Maulana's graceful and flowery Urdu. I had taken the precaution to have a draft translation made first by some others. I merely revised and yet this was a terribly fatiguing affair.

Maulana is a curious type, very attractive. He reminds me very forcibly of 18th century Rationalists and French Encyclopaedists. That does not mean that he is reactionary but he is out of touch with many modern developments. Most people who might even consider themselves advanced and talk the jargon of the day, are really quite medieval in outlook. Maulana has got a mind like a razor which cuts through a fog of vague ideas — only it functions in the atmosphere of 18th & early 19th century Europe. It is always a pleasant surprise to realise that a person whose education has been entirely a religious one, and who is steeped in Muslim religious lore should be so rational and keen-minded. If he had had the chance to learn well one or more European languages and had thus come more in contact with modern thought, he would have been a very remarkable person. Even now he tries to grapple with these problems and succeeds more than many others.

... I have sent you during the last week or two some new pictures of mine. This is not to flood you with my pictures or to add to your luggage. They were recently taken and I thought they might interest you. You can pass them on to others. One of them was taken in my room. I was sitting at my writing table, as I am doing now. So much of my life is spent at this table that this picture is characteristic.

All my love to you, my dear one,

Your loving,
Papu

2. To Indira Nehru[1]

Ramgarh
19.3.40

Darling,
Your letter of the 3rd March did reach me at Ramgarh. I got it with a huge bundle of letters from Allahabad this afternoon and picked it out and read it hurriedly. I had to go out just then and I carried it in my

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

pocket intending to read it more carefully at leisure. Soon after I had to go to the opening session of the Congress and there many adventures befell all of us. It was a magnificent sight. An enormous arena, well filled with colourful people, with these artistic gates leading into it. At the back were low hills and a small river gurgled at their foot. Dark clouds covered the sky. They were threatening for if they brought rain, the open air session became difficult. But the threat apart, it was a perfect setting. The whole audience was sitting in an enormous natural bowl. Delegates and visitors were streaming in. The volunteers, both boys and girls, were patches of colour. Most of us, members of the Working Committee, arrived about 20 minutes before the time fixed for the beginning of this session. We waited for the President and Bapu to arrive for the formal Presidential procession. Two bands were in readiness. And then it began to rain. Not merely to rain, but to pour in torrents. Within a few seconds the scene changed. A few visitors left hurriedly but the vast numbers remained. But suddenly the people almost disappeared from view. There was a sea of bamboo mattresses to be seen and many umbrellas. In order to protect themselves from the fierce onslaught of the pouring rain, the people picked up the mattresses they were sitting on and crept underneath them. I went about from place to place, getting thoroughly soaked in the process and was delighted to find how cheerful almost everyone was. The women were specially in difficulties because of their sari. But it was a jolly crowd. The rain continued. Soon the bottom of the huge bowl, where the dais was situated, was a lake, two or three feet deep. Yet people stood in it. The President arrived. Bapu did not come. In spite of the rain the President insisted on starting the session. Unfortunately the loud speakers failed just then for their engines were completely under water. Still we began formally and after a few words of welcome from the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the President spoke for a while and then I proposed formally the one and only resolution for the Congress. This was seconded formally and then the session was adjourned till tomorrow.

We waded back through lakes of water. It was surprising how well everybody took these untoward occurrences. They were singing and shouting slogans. And so we marched to our respective camps—a good distance. Here we found that most of our goods and chattels had got wet. The roofs were leaking all over the place. We shifted as best we could. It was vastly entertaining to see the leaders of the Congress sitting perched up in odd corners trying to escape the rain.

It struck me that if conditions were so bad in this "Leaders' Camp" how much worse they must be in the delegates' camps. So I went for a tour of these and especially visited some of our guests from abroad.

Everywhere I found jolly groups almost enjoying their discomforts. I felt quite exhilarated by the experience and sensed the strong bond that united us all in a common endeavour. An American girl,[2] who was my guest, was much impressed by this attitude of the crowd and by their good humour in spite of acute discomfort.

Many of us spent the whole evening in fixing up people, providing extra blankets, and in putting on extra mats on some of our roofs. And thus at last late at night we retired. That was not such an easy matter for it was difficult to escape the rain dripping from the roof. Here I have been sitting writing to you, trying to dodge these rain drops, not very successfully.

I am tired now but I wanted to write to you. We do not know what will happen tomorrow but anyhow the Congress will meet and get through its business. The one resolution means a lot. It opens out a whole vista of possibilities and conflicts. It seems inevitable that these should come, and not distantly. Fate or destiny or whatever it is drives us on.

I shall write to you more later. But I want to say how happy I am to learn of your progress. This is rather slow but I am not very worried about that. It must be sure and the pace quickens as you get along. When you come to India there will be no difficulty in your staying in the hills. Certainly not the housekeeping difficulty.

All my love,

Your loving,
Papu

2. Kay Stimson.

3. To Indira Nehru[1]

23.3.1940

Darling Indu,
Yesterday we came back to Allahabad from Ramgarh *via* Gaya. I found to my joy three envelopes, with your familiar handwriting, waiting for me here. I picked these out of a bundle of letters and read them. I

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

was very tired. The Congress is always an exhausting affair and the rain and storm this time had made it even more so. Then our journey back was not a simple affair. So ever since my return I have been slowly recovering from the fatigue and by tomorrow morning I hope to be normal.

I wrote to you from Ramgarh just after the deluge of rain which washed away the pandal and much else. Even as I wrote that letter, water dripped all round me and sometimes on me and on the notepaper. The next morning it continued to rain with occasional lucid intervals. It was impossible to hold the Congress in the normal way and ultimately a hurried session was held in the open. Fortunately we had only one resolution to get through. So ended the shortest session on record and everyone began to pack up and go. Indeed we had to as it was very difficult to stay on. The water supply was failing as the pumping wells had disappeared under the flood water. In spite of all this the Congress session was an exhilarating affair and most people who attended it enjoyed the novel experience. The only resolution passed was the one I have already sent you.

I could not get proper accommodation in the train for Allahabad as vast numbers of people were departing that day. The small station was a mass of human beings huddled up together. So we decided to go to Gaya and spend a day there. We did so and visited the Bodh Gaya temple and for a while forgot the India of today and lived in the brave old days when Gautama flourished. In the afternoon we motored 75 miles to the excavations of Nalanda, the old university where our friend Hiuen Tsang studied for 14 years and became a Master of the Law. I was surprised to find how big this place was. It had been planned on a vast scale, or rather it had grown with the years, for the university flourished for 800 years.

From Nalanda we went to Rajgir, or Rajgriha as it used to be called in the old days when the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien came and described it. There are hot springs here which, they say, contain radium. But India has a habit of giving everything a religious significance and these springs became a place for pilgrimage with the attendant *pandas* exploiting the pilgrims. Many people came for cures but there was nothing like the development one sees in Europe whenever such springs exist. We bathed in these springs and the water was delightfully refreshing. It was just hot enough to be comfortably borne. Probably some enterprising syndicate will develop the place within the next few years and bottle the water for sale.

And then back to Gaya, stopping *en route* at Pawapuri, a great place of Jain pilgrimage, where Mahavira died or, as they say, attained *maha*

nirvana. Here in the middle of a beautiful lotus-covered lake, stands a lovely temple. It is lovely from a distance, not so from nearby, for our worthy Jain millionaires have lavished money on it and succeeded in converting it into a cross between a gorgeous lavatory and a seaside pier with the most blatant electric posts and marble everywhere. They love marble.

Back in Gaya at 9 p.m., dinner, and then two meetings. To bed after midnight for less than 3 hours for our train left at 3.30 a.m.

All this was tiring but I enjoyed it, as I always enjoy my new discoveries of India. I am always discovering something new in this wonderful land and the hold of India grows upon me. Long ago, do you remember it, when we were travelling in the air-conditioned coach in Malaya toward Penang, I sat down to write an essay on the Discovery of India. I wrote only a few lines then though my mind was full of ideas. That unfinished sheet is still with me. I suppose I shall write on the subject one day, for it grows upon me.

Thank you for the cuttings from *Life* about the stroboscopic pictures. As a matter of fact I get *Life* regularly, or irregularly since the war, but I seldom see it or look through it with care.

In Ramgarh there was not much of a family reunion although Nan and Ranjit and Betty were there. Raja could not come as he was busy with the Planning Committee. I was so busy that I hardly had time for any members of the family, and Betty was busy in her own way. She has a large and very miscellaneous circle of acquaintances which is a source of some surprise to me occasionally. Whenever I stay with her in Bombay I meet many new people and I have a succession of dinners etc., to which I am not used.

In one of your letters you say that when you leave Switzerland, you will return to India after a brief visit to England to gather your belongings. Also that Bhandari wants you to spend two years without a break in Kashmir. You seem to be thinking already of the difficulties of housekeeping in Kashmir or the hills. I do not myself see why you should spend the winter in the hills or in Kashmir, but if you want to do so there will be no difficulty about it. Remember that India is a very friendly place, especially for us, and wherever you might go you will find friends who want to help. Housekeeping on a small scale offers no difficulty. I have lived in Anand Bhawan all by myself for months and the cook has done what he liked about housekeeping. I have never even asked him anything about it. It may be that I could have saved a little money otherwise. But it was not worth while and I wanted peace.

A crowd of Burmese have descended upon us tonight. They are of the Dobama Thakin party, a kind of young socialists, whom you might perhaps remember. They came to Ramgarh. I expected five of them here but nine turned up, to the discomfiture of the cook, Hari and others. It was dinner time and there was not enough room at the table. So we had a stand up dinner and the food was just sufficient. Enough beds were found with some difficulty. All these nine are crowded up in the big guest room, but most of them are sleeping in the verandah. Your room was unoccupied but I do not like other people taking possession of it, though sometimes I have to put up with this. So many people come to see me and often put up with us. Your room remains as you left it. I have often shifted books and other things in my room, but yours remains unchanged. I prefer it so.

Tonight is the Holi night and tomorrow is the festival.

Here is a little poem which might interest you. It is by A.E. Housman :

Yonder see the morning blink:
The sun is up, and up must I,
To wash and dress and eat and drink
And look at things and talk and think
And work, and God knows why.
Oh often have I washed and dressed
And what's to show for all my pain?
Let me lie abed and rest:
Ten thousand times I've done my best
And all's to do again.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

4. To Indira Nehru[1]

April 7, 1940

Darling Indu,

I have been spending some days in a camp on the other side of the Jumna. The camp routine occupied every minute of the day and sometimes a bit of the night also and it was almost impossible to write there.

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

To add to this, all manner of people came to Allahabad to see me and they were important enough for me to find time somehow for them. To begin with there was a crowd of Burmese, and then came the Ceylonese, all of them stopping at our house. An American couple turned up and a Chinese young man on his way from England to China. Most important of all was the Congress President, Maulana Azad, who chose this very time to visit Allahabad. I was hard put to it to fit in all these engagements with our camp routine and the process was an exhausting one. During the whole of yesterday I tried to recover from it and I feel better today.

Your letter of the 22nd March reached me in just a week's time, on the 29th March. I could not reply to it properly then but I dictated something hurriedly to Upadhyaya. I hope you received that typewritten letter.

As you say yourself, the doctors will have the last word. So I wrote immediately to Jivraj Mehta and Bhandari and told them how you felt about it, for your own viewpoint is the most important consideration. I suggested to them also that they might write directly to Rollier. I have not heard from them in reply yet, and indeed I could not within this brief period. But I know, more or less, what they will say. Jivraj is very keen that you should let good alone and give every opportunity to yourself to eliminate all disorders from your system. That is fundamentally a sound proposition. It would be folly to do anything which would undo the good already done. His inclination will therefore be to ask you to stay on in Leysin for the whole of the summer and to return to India in the early winter. Bhandari will think likewise but will be more amenable to a variation or to a somewhat shorter stay. But both would press you to stay as long as you can manage it. If Rollier falls in with our wishes, then, of course, it would be much simpler. I think we had better leave it at that for the present.

Need I say what I feel about it? I want so much to see you and touch you and hear you, but I am not fool enough to allow my wishes to interfere with your treatment. We absolutely must build on a firm foundation this time, and if we have to err, we must err on the safe side. You know well enough that weak lungs or pleura take a devil of time to strengthen. They will not be hurried and attempts at speed often mean greater delay. So we must accept this position. After all, howsoever much this might inconvenience us, two or three months this way or that do not make a vital difference. Oxford is out of the question now, and you have more or less decided to return to India. The sooner you come the better, certainly, but that sooner must not be at the cost of your health.

I suggest that you should now wait for the advice of your doctors. Meanwhile you should settle down till June at least. If you like, and if Rollier allows it, you can go for a change to La Pelouse for a week or so. But you come back to Leysin. I suppose it is possible for you, if you so choose, to move from Clinique Frenes to some other clinique in Leysin, under Rollier of course. The latter might be cheaper. But this is not desirable if it interferes with your treatment or otherwise inconveniences you. This is entirely for you to judge.

Some weeks ago Krishna Menon wrote to me suggesting that as you were lonely Betty might go and join you. When you first fell ill Betty offered to go to you. I doubt if it will be desirable or feasible for Betty to go. She does not feel happy anywhere out of her particular set in Bombay or away from her children. If she comes to Allahabad, she feels bored. Leysin will not amuse her at all. She has fixed up going to Mussoorie this summer in company with some of her Bombay friends.

I think therefore that it will not be right to press her to go. This will be costly business also. And then as there is some chance of your returning before very long, this will be pointless.

I have been thinking however that it will be well worth while to find a suitable companion for yourself. This is not an easy matter but it can be done. Are you in touch with Lou or Eva? Could either of them join you for a while (you paying their expenses, etc. of course) or could they suggest someone?

Subject to what the doctors say, I think it would be a good idea for you to go to England sometime in June and spend a fortnight there. You could pack up and send all your heavy luggage and such as you do not require direct from London to Bombay. Keep the rest with you. I suggest then that you should go back to Switzerland for another few weeks' rest, say a month. You may go back to Leysin, or to Montana where you have your friend Dr. H. Roache. It will be a good thing for you to refresh yourself by this stay in Suisse on the eve of your departure for India. This will also give you and the doctors an opportunity to observe how you have reacted to travelling and a fortnight in England.

You can then travel to India direct from Switzerland by the Italian Lloyd Triestino from Genoa or Venice. This line will be more suitable than P & O. I presume you would not care to come by air. It is difficult to get accommodation and I doubt if the sudden changes due to too rapid travelling will be good for you.

According to this programme you should be back in India about the end of August. It is not a very good time climatically, but it is not too bad. If another month or so in Suisse makes a difference to your

health, I would not hesitate to stay on. Early October is a much better time to reach India. I have told you what I think about it. But my opinion should count least. It is the doctor's opinion and yours that count.

Do not bother yourself about my programme or what becomes of me. It is absurd to trouble oneself about matters outside our control. I have not the ghost of an idea of what is likely to happen to me. Everything changes rapidly nowadays and I am not prophet enough to peep into the future. It is clear that I am not going to leave India. The rest is unclear. In one of your letters you mentioned that I would be going to Kashmir in May. I had casually said so but nothing is decided. The idea of going to Kashmir obsesses me—it is so long since I have been there and I do so want to have a look at it. Even if I go, it will be for a few days only, possibly a week, just to satisfy my thirst for a sight of its beauty. Meanwhile, I shall be going to Wardha on the 14th and from there on the 19th probably to Bombay for the National Planning Committee. I expect to remain in Bombay for a fortnight. Then Allahabad and to whatever place calls to me.

... It was a delightful and worthwhile experience for us middle-aged folk, feeble of limb and short of breath, and some actually unwell, to try to live the strenuous life of a volunteer camp. We were drilled and made to do exercises and sentry duty, and spinning of course, and first aid, games etc. etc. Up in the morning at 5.30—lights out, in theory at 9.30 p.m. It was all very ridiculous for us to behave like boy scouts, but there was a deeper and a psychological aspect for, by doing so we raised the idea of volunteering. All of us were just ordinary volunteers taking training—no officer class or the like. Apart from actual drill which we had morning and evening, and a route march, and camp fires at night, the games were very popular. After more than thirty years I seized hold of a cricket bat again. After 18 years I played volley ball, and played it rather well. Volley ball became the favourite game, and fiercely contested matches were played.

I am afraid I could not do my full duty owing to important visitors barging in. Nevertheless I did a bit of sentry work in the middle of the night, and I liked it.

Ranjit was the only really qualified man amongst us as he has spent two or three years in a cavalry regiment. Unfortunately he could not stand the strain and got a bad heart attack.

We lived on the other side of the Jumna and I made friends with her and became her ardent admirer. What a lovely river she is and how she used to change her colour and her mood as the day progressed. In

the early dawn she was a sight of rare beauty and even the ugly waterworks building on the other side caught the spell and seemed almost like a moated castle.

At night we had camp fires and folk songs—delightful village songs sung in the village way. Some of the villagers from the surrounding villages trooped in and joined. But I must stop now. I have written enough.

Have you heard that Charlie Andrews—Uncle Charlie—died two days ago in a Calcutta nursing home? He had been ill for a long time and had been operated upon several times. His death has distressed me greatly. I do not know that I have ever come across a more lovable or more generous-hearted man. In these days of hatred and passion and conflict, it is good to remember this man who was so childlike, so foolish sometimes, and yet so utterly devoid of hatred or ill will against anyone, and so full of love and goodwill. If there is such a thing as godliness, he had it. It is very sad to think that he is no more.

I fear Gurudeva cannot last very long. He grows weaker and weaker and his eightieth birthday approaches. Charlie's death must have been a terrible blow to him. India changes. The old guards fade away. The old lamps go out and it is not clear what the new ones are like.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

5. To Indira Nehru[1]

Allahabad
8.4.1940

Darling Indu,

Yesterday I sent you a long letter. Today is *Naoroz* and so I feel I must send you my good wishes for the New Year. Our old customs fade out and sometimes this is a pity. No one brings the *thali* in the mornings. Indeed one almost forgets that *Nauroz* has come. Usually I am alone in the house and Hari reminds me and produces new clothes for the occasion.

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

But *Nauroz* is a good day to remember and celebrate. And so I send you my love on this our New Year's Day.

Your loving,
Papu

6. To Indira Nehru[1]

10/4/40

Darling,
I have just had a letter from Kailas in which he suggests that Sheila would like to join you at Leysin for a while. Bhandari, of course, jumped at the idea when he heard this. I like the idea myself. It will be good for Sheila and good for you. She can stay at Leysin for a month or six weeks or as long as you and she like. It will be a change for her as well as you. She must have had enough of the black-outs. If she comes over, she might stay in a pension near you. Anyway Leysin is not a big place and you can easily fix her up.

... I make all kinds of suggestions because I cannot help my mind working. But remember that they are just suggestions. Your programme must be decided by you in consultation with Bhandari. I do not want the good process of your recovery to be interfered with. Why should we take any chances? We must build soundly so that no untoward circumstance upsets your system again. We have had warning enough. But you are wise enough to realise that health is not merely a physical condition. It is very much a mental affair. You complain of nerves. We are all more or less nervy but we must not be dominated by them. Do not worry about an odd month or two extra at Leysin or the expense involved. So long as there is money available, it is meant to be spent. When it is not there, well, we don't spend it. The point is that you must do your present job thoroughly and for that you should deliberately put worry and nerves on the shelf. It can be done, it has been done.

I hope there is no question of your having to stay at Leysin till next spring. The end of this summer is the most that I envisage. But after all this depends on your own mental determination to get well and your

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts

capacity to keep worry away. Remember that you need not stay at Leysin all the time. Later you can go to Montana or elsewhere. Even at Leysin you need not stick to Les Frenes. It is possible, as I have already suggested, that you might pay a visit to England and return to Suisse for another brief stay before returning to India.

Your weight etc. are outward indications of your recovery. But the real process is going on inside you and this, in the nature of things, is slow.

If I may suggest it to you, be perfectly frank with Bhandari. You owe this to him and to yourself. Only then can he advise you properly. Tell him how you feel about any matter for your feeling is itself a factor to be considered.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

7. To Indira Nehru[1]

Bombay
20.4.1940

Darling,

This is a funny, topsy-turvy world. Here I am in Bombay intent on planning, planning of industry, of agriculture, of social life, of everything; thinking or trying to think of an ordered sane world, a new order as they call it. And way across the seas war rages and spreads and casts its shadow on us here. Even Bombay, far from the war zone, has semi-darkened streets. I read and write and answer letters normally but civil disobedience looms ahead and I do not know when this normality will be suddenly interrupted. I have long accustomed and trained myself to occupy myself with the work of the moment and not to think of the troubles and difficulties ahead. Yet the mind wanders and it is not easy to hold it in leash. And now vague rumours come of the possibility of the war spreading and, it may even be, of coming nearer to you. Even if Switzerland escapes, it may well become isolated or difficult of access and communication. The Mediterranean may become a closed sea and the normal routes between Europe and India barred. What of you then, my dear?

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

I think of you so often. Suddenly, in the middle of a conversation, you intervene and your picture takes possession of my mind and I lose the thread of the talk. Or I may be reading a book or writing on a sheet of paper and the page or the sheet is blotted out as my mind travels to you. I comfort myself that you are marching on the road to health, and though the pace be slower than one wishes, the march is steady and sure. It is better to hold on to this job and get it done well. But then the tragic drama of this war forces itself on my attention and I wonder what new complications it might bring.

In Bombay it is the season of the Alphonso mangoes and that again reminds me of you and I think of your liking for them. But the crop is poor this year.

I came here yesterday after spending four days in Wardha. I have a long stay here to look forward to. But Bombay wearies me in spite of the large circle of acquaintance that I have here. I am in no mood for meeting large numbers of people, and here in Betty's flat, there are always people coming to meals and at other times. They are nice people and I like many of them. But my mind is elsewhere and it is a strain to fit in. My work suffers.

So tomorrow I am going to Andheri—Psyche's house—and possibly I might move to Juhu later. This will mean coming to Bombay daily but I shall have my mornings and evenings free.

It is long since I heard from you—or is this just my imagination? Perhaps your letter has reached Allahabad.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

8. To Indira Nehru[1]

Andheri
25.4.1940

Darling Indu,
It is long since I heard from you, nearly three weeks I think. But in these days of war, letters have a way of coming in bunches after long gaps. I suppose they accumulate in the censor's office and when he or she has leisure, they are passed.

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

In my last letter I wrote to you that the new international developments had made me wonder if it would be possible for you to stay on in Switzerland, even if you wanted to. I wrote to Bhandari about it, for it is as well to be prepared for all eventualities. Then I decided to cable to him. His reply came yesterday that he was going to Leysin himself to fix up arrangements. I am glad he is going to you. He mentioned in his cable that in any event Leysin was about as safe a place as any and it was always possible to go to France from there as the French frontier was not far. Which of course is true. This was a reason why I inclined towards Leysin when you were considering where to go to in Switzerland.

Anyway I hope everything will be fixed up provisionally in case of need. To worry about what might happen is foolish but one must always be prepared for it. That gives peace of mind. You know, of course, that Mademoiselle Hemmerlin will gladly help you in case of need.

Rollier has sent a long report to Jivraj Mehta about you. It is a good report full of scientific words which I do not wholly understand.

I have been in Andheri for four or five days and it is very pleasant here, far better than Bombay. The chief advantage is the quiet. I try not to go to Bombay, though I do not always succeed, and sometimes people come to see me here. This house (it is Psyche's) is well situated and has a pleasant garden. It is a very old fashioned house and the furniture belongs to some antique age. Everything is heavily carved and the rooms are overfull of these massive articles. I do not fancy this style. It is depressing and uncomfortable. But this is a minor point. The house is delightful and Psyche sees to it that I have a quiet and restful time. She herself lives in Bombay but comes here sometimes in the afternoons.

We overlook the Juhu aerodrome and the noise of planes flying about is constantly with us, in the day time at least. At night the red lights of the aerodrome peep through the palm trees.

This evening I went for a walk. I wanted to go to Juhu and I managed to reach there before it got dark. But the way back was more difficult as it was quite dark and I lost my way. Ultimately I took a bus to Santa Cruz (the busman refused to charge the fare) and from there a taxi brought me. How helpless I get when I venture out by myself. I am so used to not going anywhere, or to being accompanied by someone, that by myself I get lost. Today was my first experience of a bus ride in Bombay. And even a taxi I hardly ever take as there is some car or the other available. Usually I do not have any money with me. Without Upadhyaya I get into difficulties about posting letters, as I do not

have stamps! So you see to what a helpless state I have reduced myself.

I had a glimpse of the Vakils yesterday. They have gone off to Kashmir for the holidays.

Yesterday I met Sir Malcolm Darling, a Punjab civilian who is retiring and is taking up some job in the B.B.C. He asked me if you could give talks on the microphone from the B.B.C.

Raja, Betty and the children are coming here tomorrow. Day after tomorrow I am going to Miraj for a day to visit an old acquaintance who is lying very ill there. I have not seen him for years but I remember how he came to me twenty years ago after having noncooperated from school or college. He has begged me to see him and I do not know how to refuse. The journey is a long and tiring one and this visit will interfere with my work.

I met Mrs. Bhagwandin Dube here. She is a terribly lonely person with more money than she wants and a villa in Cannes which is totally useless to her.

My love to you, my dear,

Your loving,
Papu

26 April, 1940

Last night I wrote to you and I gave my letter to be posted this morning. Soon after your letter of April 13th, forwarded from Allahabad and Sakina Mansion, reached me. I found that my letter had not been posted. So I am adding this postscript.

It is no good my writing to you about your programme as I have already discussed this matter fully in previous letters and now that Bhandari is going over to see you, he and you should fix it up. I quite agree with you that we must aim at 'permanent' results, even though the way to them seems long and is full of *ennui*. As a matter of fact any other course takes far longer time and is infinitely more depressing. If this objective is kept in view, then we have only to fix up details with the help and advice of doctors. I should not bother now about making a hard and fast programme for a whole year. But you might decide to carry on till the autumn at least and then see how matters stand. Of course political developments may make a difference. But they are outside our control and we can only keep ready for any emergency that might arise. Bhandari's visit should fix all these matters up.

You say something about 'funds permitting'. Funds will permit of course so far as your treatment and stay abroad are concerned. The future can be left to take care of itself. You have quite enough money in your account with Bachhraj to cover any possible expenses for a year or more. You can draw upon these directly when you like. I mention this in case I am not in a position to arrange for a remittance. There is one thing I want you to make sure—the proper transfer of monies from London to you. It is becoming increasingly difficult to send money from one country to another. There are even difficulties in transfers from India to England. From England to Switzerland it must be far worse and new rules and regulations follow one another in quick succession. Lloyds people have given me some trouble.

...I am sorry to learn that the books I sent you have not reached you yet. I suppose one is helpless in this matter and inquiries are pretty useless. The post office here will say they have sent them, the P.O. at Leysin will say they have not received them. It is in between that they disappear or are held up. The books, as you know, were entirely innocent from the political or war point of view. They dealt with poetry, etc. You might however write a note and enquire from the Leysin post office. I think they were sent in two, possibly three, parcels, all registered.

Your account of D.C. Peather's book: *Flowering Earth* is fascinating. I must try to get this book. Science, in all its manifold aspects, is almost a new adventure for your mind, but I have been thrilled by it for long years. Remember that at one time, long long ago, I studied chemistry and physics and geology and botany, and even took my degree in them. Science has given more faith and confidence and peace of mind than almost anything. Without it I would have been rudderless. For me it has taken the place of religion. But science must be allied to life—to the earth—to flowers and trees and mountains and rivers, and human beings. Otherwise it is lifeless—"A little primrose by the brim, a yellow primrose was to him, and it was nothing more."

As you are so interested in biology and the early forms of life, I wish you could see them under the microscope.

Harsha and Ajit have just turned up and it is not possible to continue writing.

Love,

Papu

9. To Indira Nehru[1]

Andheri
May 1, 1940

Darling Indu,

Today it was announced that the Mediterranean route is closed and ships are coming *via* the Cape. And so the barriers grow and this tight little world, which flying and the rest of it had made so small and accessible, again expands. The waste land spreads and we live our lives cut off from each other or at least with fewer contacts. And you go further away from me in the physical plane. I suppose these processes will continue and develop and our days will progressively grow darker in the black-out which envelops the world.

I wonder how long letters will go by air from India to Europe. I wonder when this note will reach you. However that might be, I shall continue writing till it is certain that the letters cannot get through. And then also we shall find some means of communication.

All manner of people are asking me continually, why do you not cable to Indu to come back immediately. It is curious how generous people are with their advice. Anyway I hope Bhandari will have reached you by this time and he will help you to fix your programme for all eventualities. Whatever you decide in consultation with him will be best for you.

... The Planning Committee started today. We are having long sittings, both morning and afternoon, every day. It is not easy now to stay on in Andheri as it takes too long to go to Bombay from here. So tomorrow I move to Bombay.

I saw "Snow White" for the first time here and liked it.

It is warm here but the sea breeze is pleasant.

All my love to you, darling.

Your loving,
Papu

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

10. To Indira Nehru[1]

Andheri
10 May 1940

Darling Indu,
For the last week or more I have been wanting to write to you daily but this Planning Committee exhausts me and by the end of the day I am hardly in a fit condition to do anything. We sit daily from nine in the morning to six in the evening with an interval for lunch. At night I have to do some hours' work to prepare for the next day. All this is hard concentrated work which takes a great deal out of one. I had moved to Bombay from Andheri and I stayed there for a week. Yesterday, however, I fled from Bombay and came back to Andheri in order to escape visits from well-meaning friends and also to have more restful nights. I spend an extra hour coming and going daily but the night makes up for it and is much pleasanter here.

Anyway our work will end soon or rather will be forcibly ended. There is yet mountains of it but all the members are tired and want to go away, so perforce we must adjourn. Probably we shall wind up for the present on the 14th and I may go on the same day or the 15th. I want to go to Wardha for a day to have a talk with Bapu. Strange developments are taking place all over the world and I want to know how Bapu is reacting to them. Then Allahabad and Lucknow.

A reason for my delaying writing to you was an expectation of a cable from Bhandari. This came in due course from Leysin sent by you and Bhandari. As you have come to this decision after full discussion with Bhandari, the matter must rest there and we must all reconcile ourselves to it. It is best that you should give first place to a complete recovery to health, even though that means a few months more. That is obviously the first essential and having come to this decision, one need not worry about it further.

And yet, Europe is becoming such a cauldron that it is a superhuman feat not to worry. There is no certainty, no security about anything or any person. Still I suppose Leysin is about as quiet a place as you could find anywhere in Europe and I do not see why anyone should intrude on this quiet dullness of Leysin. Anyway it is no good being oppressed by the future. The present is troublesome enough, when the future comes we shall face that also, whatever it might be.

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

Today brought the news of the German invasion of Holland, Belgium etc. Bombay is naturally excited and so I suppose is a good part of the world. Events are moving rapidly. The old world seems to be passing. What will the new one be like?...

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

11. To Indira Nehru[1]

Andheri
11.5.1940

Darling,

I have just written to you and it is rather absurd for me to write again and separately. But I fear that communications between Europe and India will grow more and more irregular and we may not get each other's letters for long periods. There are one or two things I want to tell you. Indeed there are many but it is not easy to write about such matters, especially when prying eyes look through our letters. Not that there is anything secret about it all. Still the fact itself is sufficient to restrain one somewhat. And then I have to contend against a lifetime habit of restraint in expression of intimate personal matters. So these matters must wait till we meet and have the desire and opportunity to discuss them.

Meanwhile I wanted to clear up something and thus perhaps lighten your mind. It is obvious that you have had to put up with a great deal of mental trouble and conflict. This is reflected in your letters. You know how this must come in the way of your full recovery to health. Knowing that does not help much for it is never an easy matter to resolve these conflicts and difficulties. We cannot run away from them —they pursue us wherever we go. People come to me and press me to go to some place for rest. As if by going away to a mountain or a jungle I can escape from my thoughts and the problems that oppress my mind.

Such conflicts within one have to be faced without much help from outside. No outsider can really help. Certainly I cannot help you, howsoever I might try. I might make matters worse and so I wish to err on the safer side of complete noninterference. I do not even know how

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

your mind works, though vaguely I might sometimes guess. You told me very rightly once how blind I was. That is perfectly true, I miss the most obvious things. And so we have grown progressively more and more ignorant of each other, and even our love for each other has not brought any understanding. You are such a stranger to me, and perhaps you do not know much about me. That by itself is nothing to worry about. In some small measure every new generation appears strange to its predecessor. Anyway the position is that I cannot presume to advise you about any matter and even if I was in a better position to do so, it would be improper for me.

In your letters you have written repeatedly that you want to return to India, to come to me, that this thought has become an obsession with you. The question of your return for some time does not arise now but still I should like you to analyse a little what this desire amounts to. I do not know—I can only guess. Does it not amount to this—You have no desire to come back to India just yet, indeed the idea rather disturbs you. The prospect of living anywhere in India, whether in Anand Bhawan or elsewhere, is itself somewhat oppressive. But still you have wanted to come because of your affection for me and a sense of obligation that you carry. You feel that you must help me as much as you can. Your duty, you feel, indicates that you must return to India and to me—Now that is not the right way of looking at anything. It involves doing something which fundamentally you do not want to do, and worse still, mixing up your affection with a sense of obligation to me. In such a mixture, affection always suffers, and the mind becomes confused. Affection, if it is to endure, must not be tied to obligations; it must be free and unfettered.

All of us have to carry a host of obligations. But it is entirely wrong for the parents to come in the way of their children's growth and become burdens to them in the shape of obligations.

Suppose you came to India, when at the back of your mind there was no desire or urge to do so. You will begin regretting your act and will feel unhappy. Even your affection that brought you here will assume the guise of an enemy for did it not force you to do something you did not want to do?

So please get rid of all notions of having to do your duty by me. You will do that duty far more by acting as you think you should act. You should come to India when you feel the urge to do so, not otherwise and not because of me, though I might count for much in other ways.

If once you are clear in your mind that you have not got to act in order to fulfil an obligation or a duty, then the mental conflict lessens.

You should act just as you think, after full consideration, that you should do. Ignore other people's opinions and wishes. Follow your own urge. If this urge tells you to come to India, then you will fit in here—otherwise you will not. It is always a difficult matter for young boys and girls who have spent their formative years abroad to fit into Indian conditions. I found some difficulty at first. Later, though I never fitted in and do not fit in even now, very strong bonds grew up between India and me, if I may say so. India is in my blood now and though I like going abroad, I could not possibly keep away for long. Therefore to some extent I fit in.

I have written this letter when I was feeling very tired and sleepy. It is 2 a.m. I hope I have written intelligibly. But I cannot go on. My mind refuses to function and my eyes to remain open.

Your loving,
Papu

12. To Indira Nehru[1]

Sevagram
May 16, 1940

Darling Indu,

I am in Sevagram for a day—the Shegaon that was. The name of this village where Bapu lives was changed a few months ago by the Post Office, because there was another Segaon and this led to confusion. I have come here for a few hours to see Bapu on my way back north. The temperature is 114°F in the shade and the hot winds blow. Allahabad, I suppose, is just slightly hotter.

... What strange things are happening in Europe today and with what vast consequences to the future. Because my mind has been wrapped up in all these possibilities for years past, it is not surprised or taken aback. But others who never gave thought to the obvious, are shaken up. Their old world totters and they do not know what the new one will be like. It was quite interesting to watch the reaction of businessmen and others in Bombay.

The Planning Committee ended its third sessions day before yesterday. It meets again on June 21st which means that I have to return

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

to Bombay for another spell within five weeks. Meanwhile I go to Lucknow, Allahabad, Lahore, Peshawar and possibly four or five days in Kashmir. The old hunger for going to Kashmir holds me though it will hardly be satisfied by a week-end visit.

Get well, my dear, in mind and body. We have to face much in the future that will require the best in us.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

13. To Indira Nehru[1]

May 23, 1940

Darling,

The world we knew seems to disintegrate and dissolve and to give place to something new. My mind is restless and sometimes distressed, and at all times it tries to peer into the future, but it does so in vain. But whatever may happen to the world, you are there, and I hope it is well with you. It is curious to think of you in the quiet restful valley of the Rhone, surrounded, as it were, with the clash and butchery of war. How helpless we all seem. And yet in the aggregate we are not perhaps so helpless, if we only knew how and what to do. Possibly some day we will.

Do my letters reach you, I wonder. But I shall continue to write and hope that some of my letters at least will manage to reach you.

...I have had an interesting guest today. He is a distinguished Chinese who is on his way back from Tibet to China—they have to go *via* Darjeeling. He went to represent the Chinese Government at the installation of the new Dalai Lama—a lad aged 4 or 5. This new Dalai Lama has been recently chosen because he is supposed to show signs of his predecessor. One of the strong points in his favour was that he never laughs or smiles. He sits gravely through the various ceremonies and behaves in a lordly manner to all who approach him. But, I was told, he grew very tired one day after two or three hours of prayers and ceremonies.

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

I am off to Lahore & Peshawar and then Kashmir, just for five days. It is rather absurd to go to Kashmir for this short period, but if I do not seize this opportunity I might have to wait for a long time again. I have waited long enough. I want to freshen the picture I have in mind. It will help me in the days to come.

And now to bed. I am frightfully sleepy and it is 2 a.m. The Chinese occupied me for the whole day and so I had to work in the night.

Love,

Papu

14. To Indira Nehru[1]

Ghaziabad Station
23.5.1940

My darling,

I sent you a letter this morning from Allahabad. A little later, just before leaving for the station I received your letter of May 8th. I was so glad to get it just then. If it had come half an hour later I would have missed it and it would have followed me about to Kashmir.

I have had to change here and the Frontier Mail is late. So I have sat down to write to you.

Your account of Bhandari's visit to Leysin is not quite what I had gathered from him. He informed me that you and he and Rollier had come to the unanimous decision that you should stay on. The decision, it appears, was chiefly Rollier's and partly Bhandari's and you were more of a consenting party. However, there it is and there seems to be no other alternative for the present. So we had better accept it with grace and derive as much benefit from it as possible. I would not bother about next autumn and spring and all that. Things happen quickly nowadays and no long distance programme is possible. We have to carry on without excitement and yet be ready for any sudden change of programme. It is inevitable that a person under treatment has to carry out doctor's orders to a large extent. But doctors are not always as wise and infallible as they make themselves out to be and final decisions must rest with oneself. Make up your mind therefore to decide for yourself

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

whenever the need for this arises. Indeed you may be compelled to do so. You have got the general hang of it now and know what the doctors feel about it. But you have one great advantage over them. You know, or ought to know, how you yourself feel in the matter.

... You must not bother to economise at the cost of your treatment or health or comfort. But economy where easily possible is desirable. This war, apart from its major consequences, has innumerable minor results affecting each individual. I am rather careless about money and usually have a very foggy notion about what I can afford to spend. Invariably I exceed it. So far it did not matter very much as a fair and increasing income came in from royalties on books. But the war has put almost an end to this and I realised two days ago in Allahabad that it was not an easy matter to pay next month's servants' salaries. This state of affairs is likely to continue and make matters a little difficult. Fortunately my scale of expenditure is very elastic and at least 60% of it is on non-necessaries—books, telegrams, postage, travelling, etc. Much of this can be reduced immediately. It will do me no harm not to buy books for a while as in any event I have little time to read new books. Travelling can be controlled by reverting to third class. And so on. Many people are much more affected than I am. I suppose this is so everywhere. It will not make any fundamental difference to me, except that it will be rather painful not to help so many deserving people who come to me.

Lahore—Near Station
May 24, 1940

... I have just been to the Shalimar Gardens which are opposite our camp. An old world air of a bygone age hung about them and I thought of the Moghal emperors who had their pleasures there and have passed away. I like being transported to the past. As I wandered about them I thought of the present age which is so rapidly passing before our eyes and I wondered what relics of this will remain for future generations.

How rapidly events march. The old world goes in thunder and destruction. It takes away perhaps much that is good and one feels a little sad about it. At least one hopes that much of the bad will also go.

Meanwhile we live in this peaceful age of transition which is neither here nor there and strong nerves and stout hearts are necessary. Neither countries nor individuals can rely on others. They have to shift for themselves or not shift at all. I should like you to do something which

I know well you can do if you make up your mind. Rely upon yourself, take your own decisions and act up to them. Do not permit yourself to become a passive agent of fate. That is not good enough at any time, much less in the present age. I think this attitude and determination will help you enormously in your return to good health. It will remove many a burden from your mind—needless burdens which are often of our own making. All of us may err or take wrong steps. That can't be helped. But always to be in doubt, and not to know what to do is a far greater affliction. I wrote to you a few weeks ago to get rid of any feeling of responsibility or duty to me. I want your love, my dear, not your duty or responsibility, which becomes a burden to you and to me. Of course we all have duties and responsibilities and not only rights. Bapu said in answer to H.G. Wells the other day that besides a declaration of rights, there should also be a declaration of obligations. That is true for otherwise we become self-centred individuals always making claims on others. But however true that might be in the larger context, it has no place in the relation of individuals who care for one another. If the urge to do a thing is absent, a sense of responsibility or duty cannot and should not take its place. So pull yourself together and march ahead to health and a full life of activity.

Whatever my failings might be, and they are many, I do not go to pieces when trouble or danger or difficulty threatens. They revive me and strengthen me. I do not get excited then, though at other times I am apt enough to misbehave in this way. People tell me now that I am looking better than I have done for a long time past. Perhaps this is the effect of the pace of events. I want to be ready for all eventualities and my mind reacts in that way. So do not worry about me at all. And do not worry about yourself. Become the mistress of your own life, your present and future, and go ahead. Consult your doctors, consult your friends, consult me certainly, but decide for yourself. There is always a great danger in sanatorium life. It is mentally debilitating. One falls into a rut, which howsoever boring, makes life easy with no responsibilities, no vital decisions to make. One drifts. That is bad and that is why I am always against a long stay in a sanatorium, unless this is absolutely necessary. Doctors, however eminent, think too much of the physical condition. Have you read Thomas Mann's *The Mountain?* It describes life in a sanatorium.

I have written a long letter and my pen runs on and on—But I must stop now.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

15. To Indira Nehru[1]

Rampur
Jhelum Valley—Kashmir
May 29, 1940

Darling Indu,
I am at last in Kashmir and I feel a little excited and moved about it. Probably I would be still more excited if I was not oppressed by the rapid developments of the war situation. These are disturbing in many ways but, apart from this, there is always a possibility that I might be called back at any moment. It was on this understanding that I came.

I spent two days in Peshawar. I was the guest of my young Pathan friend about whom I wrote to you once—Mohammad Yunus—who stayed with us in Allahabad. I told you that he had 43 brothers and sisters—many of them half-brothers etc. All these having one father. There were 8 mothers or rather 8 wives successively, though sometimes overlapping. Yunus was the youngest of the family and he was born when his father was 89 years old. The old man was hale and hearty to the end and died partly through an accident when he was 99. The family mansion was in the heart of the city of Peshawar, a big house of the old style, as solid as a fortress. The mother-tongue of the family was Persian in a way and conversation was carried on alternately in Persian, Pushtu, Hindustani and sometimes in English.

It is really astonishing how much a Pathan can eat, and remember that he does not waste time and energy over vegetables and rice and the like. He concentrates on solid chunks of meat, rich *pulao* and thick very wholesome bread. The bread is as big as a *thali* and an inch thick. A day of this food in the extreme heat of Peshawar upset me and I have been gradually recovering since then.

We left Peshawar yesterday—Abdul Ghaffar Khan was with me. We stopped at Attock where the Indus meets another river and had a dip in the cold water of the Indus. There we passed within ten miles of Taxila and I was sorely tempted to go there. But our programme was heavy and I resisted the temptation. We spent the night in Abbottabad. This morning we started from Abbottabad and followed the road to Kashmir joining the Jhelum Valley route at Domel. My mind was continually going back to the autumn of 1916, nearly 24 years, when I had gone by this very road out of Kashmir with Dadu, Mummie & others. There were numerous halts as people had gathered to welcome

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

us all along the route. We have now stopped here at Rampur for the night. Srinagar is only 50 miles away and it was not difficult to reach it today. But the people there insist on my reaching there in the afternoon, so that they can have a river procession. I understand that this is going to be a big affair.

I shall spend only two days in Srinagar and then go to various places, including Kausarnag and Pahalgam. It will be a hurried four-day tour. If I could extend this by another four or five days I could go along the Liddar Valley and on to Sonemarg, which is a magnificent spot. But I dare not do it. Probably I shall be back in Allahabad on the 9th June. I shall return *via* the Banihal Pass to Jammu.

As usual my visit is full of meetings and interviews and I shall hardly have even a few hours to myself. Still I find Kashmir exhilarating and I have a sense of coming back to my own—it is curious how race memories persist, or perhaps it is all imagination.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

16. To Indira Nehru[1]

Srinagar
3.6.1940

Indu Darling,

Two of your letters have reached me here. I am not worrying, my dear. I am not of the worrying kind. The only worry one feels is when one has to make a decision. When that is done one faces the consequences with a measure of composure.

... It is difficult to write about a situation which changes from day to day. But as far as I can gather, it is neither easy nor desirable for you to go to England. You will find it difficult to get away from there or get a passage.

I have had a wonderful time here in Kashmir during these four days that I have been here. Kashmir is surpassingly lovely and, when you add to that, the gift of a people's love, the result is apt to be intoxicating. I shall not write to you much now, I am too rushed. I am going to

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

Pahalgam and from there to the Kolahoi glacier. I shall be back in five days and then I return *via* Jammu and the Banihal Pass. My future programme is:

Allahabad	13 to 17th June
Wardha	17 to 19th „
Bombay	20th to end of June

All my love,

Your loving,
Papu

17. To Indira Nehru[1]

June 16, 1940

Indu Darling,
Will this letter reach you, and if so how and where? I do not know. But I take the risk in the hope that ultimately it will get to you. All round little Switzerland are belligerent powers now and war rages. For the present, I suppose, all idea of your leaving Switzerland for another country is out of the question. There appears to be no feasible way. But events are taking place with astonishing speed and the future may be more certain. Anyway I know that you can look after yourself, especially when crisis comes, and I do not worry.

I have paid my brief visit to Kashmir and I am exhilarated by it. What an enchanting land with an air that vitalizes. Taken as a whole I am convinced that it is superior to Switzerland and, I would say, healthier. I am sure that a stay there in the higher valleys would be of enormous benefit to you. I wish I myself could go there for two months every year—one month trekking towards Ladakh or Baltistan or the various glaciers and upper valleys, and one month rest and intensive reading, writing also in a higher valley. That would be an ideal life. But ideals are difficult to realise!

I wrote to you from Srinagar. During my brief stay I went to the Kolahoi glacier *via* Pahalgam. I loved this trip and came back thoroughly tanned. Indeed my skin—such as was exposed, is peeling off.

I am going to Wardha today for a Working Committee meeting and from there to Bombay for the National Planning Committee. I shall be back in Allahabad early in July.

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

... I think of you almost continuously. There are so many inquiries about you. The world changes—an epoch is over. Let us keep cool and steady and not allow ourselves to be bowled over by any change. If you have news of Louise and Jean-Jacques let me have it.

All my love,

Your loving,
Papu

18. To Indira Nehru[1]

Bombay
Aug. 1, 1940

Darling,

On my return from Kashmir, I wrote half a dozen articles on Kashmir.[2] I enclose the first of these. It might interest you as it gives my emotional reactions to the long deferred visit. Possibly I imagined much that I write about. But the visit had a powerful effect upon me. Even physically it made me feel fitter and everyone remarked on this. Actually, to my disgust, I put on 2 pounds in weight, in spite of the strenuous life I lived there. And yet my waist measurement lessened by an inch or two! Which shows what a healthy animal I am.

On my way back from Poona I paid a visit to the little state of Aundh. I wrote to you once about this. This tiny state has become a group of village republics, partly because the Raja is a go-ahead person, partly because of the influence of his son, recently returned from Oxford. It was an interesting visit, though Aundh is too small a place for any effective experiment. Kirloskarwadi and Oglewadi are in Aundh and we visited both of these industrial concerns. At Oglewadi I was reminded that some years back you had gone there, probably with the Vakils.

The Raja of Aundh is a delightful and extraordinary person. He is 73 but considers himself, and is in many ways, a young man. He is famous for his *surya namaskars*, the old form of exercise, in the form of salutation to the sun. Every school boy & girl in the state does these *namaskars* and the Raja himself does a hundred of them every morning, in addition to a brisk run up and down a hill. His energy is extraordinary.

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.
2. See *ante*, section 9, item 21.

He remarked casually to me that in another twenty years' time, perhaps he might begin to grow old and not be able to run up & down a hill! For 30 years or more he has done these *namaskars* without a day's break and during all this period he has not had a day's illness or even a cold.

This letter must end now as I have to go out. This evening I go to Allahabad. I shall have to come back here within a month for the Planning Committee.

All my love, darling.

Your loving,
Papu

19. To Indira Nehru[1]

Cawnpore
11.8.40

Darling,

The situation here is developing rapidly and this has kept me busy and moving. We have had a meeting of the A.I.C.C. in Poona. I spent some days in Allahabad—about a week—and I tried to clear up various arrears of work and to tie up loose ends. One must keep ready for emergencies. One matter which was worrying me, I tried to dispose of, though not very satisfactorily I fear. This was the writing of an additional chapter for the American edition of my *Autobiography*.[2] This book has been considerably abridged in America and I have not been able to see the abridgements. I had promised to write a final chapter giving a survey of the last five years, since I finished my book. This was a hard job. I did it at express speed writing about 8000 or 9000 words in a little over a day. Inevitably the writing is hurried and does not fit in with the leisurely narrative of the book. It was difficult also to compress the events of the past five years within these limits. And then there is the censor. The thought of him cramps one's style.

In Allahabad a major occurrence has been Lado Bhabi's efforts at fasting. For reasons of health, she decided to go in for a long fast. She did well for a week and then there was a sudden upset inside her and her condition became rather serious. She is slowly recovering now.

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
2. See *ante*, section 1, item 86.

I think however that the fast will do her good, and she will be better for it.

Today I came here for various functions, especially to see the Congress volunteers. It is unusual for me to tour in this way now. I have not the time nor the inclination. A certain Government of India order about volunteering, however, produced a curious situation and this visit of mine to Cawnpore today became an all-India event. There was a procession, a march past and speech by me to a huge crowd of about 50,000. For an hour during the procession I stood at the back of the car. Then I stood saluting while nearly 1000 volunteers marched past, and then I held forth for an hour and forty minutes! How long-winded I have become! But I seem to have so much to say, my mind is full and I want to share it. Anyway I am tired now...

I go to Lucknow from here—then to Benares—Allahabad—Wardha for the Working Committee. This is tiring business. Perhaps I shall have real rest soon.

Bappi is ill in Lucknow and Amma is with her. I shall see them.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

20. To Indira Nehru[1]

Wardha
20.8.1940

Darling Indu,

Over a month ago I had your cable that you were writing to me. But no letter has come yet. I must not be impatient.

I have come here to Wardha for a meeting of the Congress Working Committee. I think I wrote to you that I was going to Bombay from here for the Planning Committee. All that seems to be in a melting pot now and everything is uncertain. The situation in the U.P. is particularly difficult and I feel I cannot keep away. Anyway the next fortnight at the most will decide many things.

Quite a long time ago a letter came for you in French from 'Catherine' from a place called 'Olli Viller'. Evidently Catherine was with you at La Pelouse. I am not enclosing this as I do not know if it will reach you.

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

... I do not quite know what to write to you. My mind today is somewhat agitated and all manner of thoughts tumble over one another. It is a queer world we live in. I shall write to you more later, when I have the chance.

Meanwhile, may it be well with you, my dear.

Love,

Papu

21. To Indira Nehru[1]

Wardha
Oct. 12, 1940

Darling,

Your letters do not come to me and presumably my letters do not reach you. Yet I continue to write to you from time to time in the hope that perhaps, sometime or other, the letter might reach you. It is a curious and depressing world we live in where we can neither meet nor communicate with those we love. When will I see you again, I wonder. Will it be months or years? I do not know, just as I do not know anything about the future that is unfolding so painfully for all of us. This process ages one and most of us grow older faster than the years warrant. It does not matter much for those who are already, like me, past the half century mark. But it does matter for the young who have their lives before them.

A letter that came reecntly to me brought joy to me. It was from Louise Morin. How it came from France to me I do not know. Perhaps it got through in the early days of the change. I was glad to have news of her. But what pleased me especially was her account of the visit she paid to you at Leysin. She gave me a very satisfactory account of how you looked and how healthy you seemed to be.

I am here in Wardha for the usual Working Committee meetings. The strain of uncertainty about the future is bad. No one knows how many morrows we have to face in the normal way and the feeling of voyaging through strange lands grips me. There seem to be no resting places on the way—one must move on and on—I have no objection to

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

movement—I like it to be rapid. But to move blindfolded, as it were, is not so pleasant.

And yet, I often wonder, do not most of us go through life rather like sleepwalkers, unaware of what is happening all around us. A slow awakening comes to some, and others do not awaken at all. Perhaps the somnambulists are not so unfortunate. They escape the horror and tragedy—but who would willingly be a sleepwalker?

I write foolishly to you, words and phrases which may have some significance and yet which may be just words. Suddenly I felt like writing to you, but there was little to write about. I can't write about the odd happenings here for they would be stale and flat by the time this letter reached you. Still it is good to write and to think of you in a far corner of the world.

Madan Atal seems to be obsessed with the notion that you should join a Swiss university. I wrote to you about this previously. Your health is the primary consideration and then you will do as you think best. We are all going through the university of life and that is the hardest of all.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

22. To Indira Nehru[1]

Allahabad
25–10–1940

Darling,
At last, after long waiting, a letter from you has just, or almost just, reached me. Was it four months ago when I got your last letter? It took full three months for this to come. I was in Lucknow when it came in a bundle containing about twenty or more letters. I looked at it and handled it carefully and was in no hurry to open it. I had waited so long for it—why hurry? I wanted to read it at leisure when I was alone. So I opened and read the other letters and later retired to my room with the message from you.

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

Three months for a letter to come! My mind goes back to the old days when mails went to Europe *via* the Cape in slow-moving vessels. Are we going back in this as in other matters? Or is this going back only to spring forward with greater speed and energy? I wonder. I cannot quite believe that the world will go back, even though much of what is called modern civilisation lies in ruins.

I thought of you a great deal as I read that letter and all day as I carried it about with me. Not that the inducement of a letter was required. You are seldom out of my mind and sometimes I have a feeling that you are very near me. The door between your room and mine is always open and I walk in and out of it frequently for no apparent reason. Your room is as it was. I do not like to have changes made or even an alteration of the furniture. In my own room you look at me from every side. You will be amused to learn how many pictures of you I have round about me. Yesterday I counted them up. There were 26 of them—all different ones of course—in my sitting room and dressing room! From babyhood upwards you sprawl or sit or stand and the past comes up before me and becomes more real than the present.

I have had many reports of the fall of Paris and France. Suhrawardy —do you remember him?—was in Paris when the Germans came and he gave us a vivid account. Then the letter from Louise Morin after her return from Switzerland. For sheer tragedy and drama the sudden collapse of France would be hard to beat. It made people realise suddenly that the old world we knew was cracking up. It was the end of an era. And yet, I suppose, most people in India, both Indians and English, still fail to appreciate what is happening. They stick to the old ruts and close their minds in sheer self-defence. But the ostrich does not save himself by hiding his head.

What a world we live in! It is a nightmare. And yet even the most sensitive grow used to its daily horrors. I read about the bombing of London and then remember that Chungking has had this kind of thing for years—and still carries on. I do not suppose any city has had this experience for such a length of time. I do not know how people feel when they are bombed. I did not feel the slightest bit nervous as I watched the bombing of Barcelona and Chungking. I was fascinated by the sight. Indeed I resented being pushed into a dug-out.

I sent you a cable day before yesterday. I suggested in this that you might visit other parts of Switzerland for a change. This was not only because of what you wrote about the oppressive atmosphere at Les Frenes. Movement and changing scenery divert the mind and give it some rest. That is very necessary in these days of stress and strain. Unfortunately

you cannot come out of Switzerland or, at any rate, without great difficulty. Perhaps it is as well at least for another three months. It would have served little purpose for you to have gone to England. You would have not been able to do anything worthwhile and you might well have experienced a hitch in your progress to complete health. And then you would have had to be looked after by others. Of course there should be no question of our avoiding the risks or dangers of bombing or anything else. We might as well know the world we live in by personal experience. I think it would be a good thing if many people in India had that experience. Perhaps they will, sometime or other.

But one must face risk in the course of doing something worthwhile. Otherwise this becomes just a gesture and a foolhardy one at that. We have a long road to travel and I have no doubt that there will be plenty of dangers for all of us. Let us get our minds and bodies in fit condition.

I do not suppose it is very necessary for you to remain at Leysin all the time. The climatic and other benefits of Leysin could be obtained at many places in Suisse. So it might be worth while to visit other places. The visit to Bex must have been a pleasant change, though Bex is a dull enough place.

I am glad you met Nanu. I wish I could help him. But I cannot get into touch with him. The last time I wrote to him many months ago my letter did not reach him. And it contained a cheque.

You ask for news. What news am I to give you? There is plenty of course but then there is also an army of censors to get through. We also have a perpetual crisis and this is an exhausting affair. But we seem to be on the eve of big events. Indeed they have begun already.

For the rest life goes on—Betty is coming here tomorrow with her children for a few days. I am at present quite alone in the house, I have just returned from a very heavy tour.

If at any time in the future you are able to return to India, it would perhaps be better to come *via* America and China.

Within a month you will have your birthday. This letter will reach you long afterwards, if it reaches you. And that makes me wonder if my letters are reaching you at all.

Send my love to Nanu, if you can reach him, and lots of it to you my darling one.

Your loving,
Papu

11

PRISON DIARY WITH LETTERS I
31 October 1940—21 May 1941

EIGHTH CONVICTION[1]

THE TRIAL[2]

Jawaharlal Nehru : I will not take part in the trial but will informally help the prosecution in elucidating any points on which it wants to base its case. I don't propose to defend myself or take any formal part in this trial. This is not with any intention to obstruct proceedings. It is because I am not particularly interested in these legal proceedings. I have prepared a statement which I wish to read out to you now or at a later stage. After reading it out, I shall hand it over to the court and it need not be recorded by the court in writing.

I admit to having made the speeches referred to.[3] The official reports produced reveal an extraordinary lack of intelligence or knowledge of shorthand on the part of the reporter. They hardly make sense in many places. I try always to talk sense.

Some words convey meaning, some do not, some give an entirely different meaning. The speeches I made often lasted over an hour and the reporter could not probably keep pace with me, with the result that, when they were transcribed in long-hand it all became a curious jumble. While I am not prepared to make any general observation on the thirty and odd bits from my speeches that have been put in my hand, many of them appear to be correct though badly worded.

I have always preached independence for India and removal of British rule. I am fully committed to this and I have tried my utmost by speech, by writing and by other activities during the last quarter of a century to bring this about.

Some extracts relate to war. I have dealt with this question in my written statement showing the origins of the war and the policy which the Congress has adopted in regard to a possible war during the last four or five years or more. And finally I have dealt with the question of the imposition of the war on India without any reference to the people of India.

1. In this and the following section the diaries kept by Jawaharlal in jail from 14 November 1940 to 2 December 1941 have been printed. The letters written by him during this period have been interspersed chronologically. Editorial omissions have been indicated by dots. The diaries are available in N.M.M.L.
2. Gorakhpur, 3 & 4 November 1940. *National Herald*, 5 November 1940.
3. See *ante*, pp. 150-160.

As a matter of fact during the last four weeks I have deliberately avoided saying many things in regard to the war which I ordinarily would have done because our leader, Mahatma Gandhi, wanted only the person of his choice to say them for the moment. In my speeches here and elsewhere, therefore, I laid stress chiefly on the compulsory levies for the war fund especially from the poor and advised them not to submit to this. Usually, however, I have refrained latterly from expressing this opinion because of the orders of my chief.

STATEMENT TO THE COURT

I have been told that the charge against me is based on the reports of three speeches I delivered in the Gorakhpur district early in October last. Copies of these reports, and in one case a translation into English, have been given to me. I have read these and I cannot congratulate the persons who were responsible for the reporting. These reports, though presumably taken down in shorthand, are scrappy and incomplete, confusing and often making little sense. I am a lover of words and phrases and try to use them appropriately. Whatever my opinions might be, the words I use are meant to express them intelligibly and in ordered sequence. A reader of these reports will find little intelligence or sequence in them, and is likely to obtain an entirely distorted impression of what I actually said.

I make no complaint of this reporting and I do not suggest that deliberate distortions have been made. But I do want to make it clear that what I said was in many respects entirely different from what the jumble of words in the reports would lead me to imagine. If this is so in the reporting of my speeches, when particular care is taken and more qualified men are employed, I cease to wonder at what happens when the speeches of others are reported by totally unqualified persons, and these are made the basis of charges in courts of law.

It is not my intention to give details of the many errors and mistakes in these reports. That would mean rewriting them completely. That would waste your time, Sir, and mine, and would serve little purpose. I am not here to defend myself, and perhaps what I say in this statement will make your task easier. I do not yet know the exact nature of the charge against me. I gather that it has something to do with the Defence of India Rules and that it relates to my references to the war and to the attempts being made to compel the people of India to take part in the war effort. If that is so, I shall gladly admit the charge. It is not

necessary to go to garbled reports to find out what I or other Congressmen say in regard to India and the war. The Congress resolutions and statements, carefully and precisely worded, are there for all the world to know. By those resolutions and statements I stand, and I consider it my duty to take the message of the Congress to the people of India.

As a matter of fact, ever since the Congress came to the conclusion that, in order to give effect to the Congress policy, satyagraha or civil disobedience should be started, I have endeavoured to check myself in my utterances and to avoid what might be termed satyagraha. Such was the direction of our chief, Mahatma Gandhi, who desired that satyagraha should be confined to particular persons of his choice. One such person was selected and he expressed in public utterances the Congress attitude to the war, laying some emphasis on the Congress policy of non-violence. It was my good fortune to have been selected to follow him and to give expression to the Congress viewpoint, with perhaps greater emphasis on the political aspect. It had been decided that I should do so, after giving due notice to the authorities, from November 7 onwards, in the district of Allahabad. That programme has been varied owing to my arrest and trial, and the opportunity to give frank and full expression to the Congress policy in regard to the war has come to me earlier than I anticipated.

If I was chosen, or before me Shri Vinoba Bhave was chosen for this purpose, it was not to give expression to our individual views. We were symbols of the people of India. As individuals we may have counted for little, but as such symbols and representatives of the Indian people, we counted for a great deal. In the name of those people we asserted their right to freedom and to decide for themselves what they should do and what they would not do; we challenged the right of any other authority, by whomsoever constituted, to deprive them of this right and to enforce its will upon them. It was monstrous that any individual or group of individuals, deriving no authority from the Indian people and not responsible to them in any way, should impose their will upon them and thrust the hundreds of millions of India, without any reference to them or their representatives, into a mighty war which was none of their seeking. It was amazing and full of significance that this should be done in the name of freedom and self-determination and democracy, for which, it was alleged, the war was being waged. We were slow in coming to our final conclusions; we hesitated and parleyed, we sought a way out honourable to all the parties concerned. We failed and the inevitable conclusion was forced upon us that so far as the British Government or their representatives in India were concerned, we were still looked upon as chattels to do their will and to continue to be exploited

in their imperialist structure. That was a position which we could never tolerate, whatever the consequences.

There are very few persons in India, I suppose, whether they are Indians or Englishmen, who have for years past so consistently raised their voices against fascism and Nazism as I have done. My whole nature rebelled against them and, on many an occasion, I vehemently criticised the pro-fascist and appeasement policy of the British Government. Ever since the invasion of Manchuria, and subsequently in Abyssinia, Central Europe, Spain and China, I saw with pain and anguish how country after country was betrayed in the name of this appeasement and the lamps of liberty were being put out. I realised that imperialism could only function in this way; it had to appease its rival imperialisms, or else its own ideological foundations were weakened. It had to choose between this and liquidating itself in favour of democratic freedom. There was no middle way.

So long as appeasement applied to Manchuria, Abyssinia, Czechoslovakia, Spain and Albania, "to far-away countries about which few people had ever heard," as the then Prime Minister of England put it, it did not matter much and was faithfully pursued. But when it came nearer home and threatened the British Empire itself, the clash came and war began.

Again there were two alternatives before the British Government and each government engaged in the war—to continue to function in the old imperialist way or to end this in their own domains and become the leaders of the urge for freedom and revolutionary change the world over. They chose the former, though they talked still in terms of freedom and self-determination and democracy. But their conception of freedom was, even in words, limited to Europe, and evidently meant freedom to carry on with their Empire in the old way. Not even peril and disaster have weakened their intention to hold on to their Empire and to enforce their will upon subject peoples. In India we have had over a year of war government. The people's elected legislatures have been suspended and ignored and a greater and more widespread autocracy prevails here than anywhere else in the world. Recent measures have suppressed completely such limited freedom, as the press possessed, to give facts and opinions. If this is the prelude to the freedom that is promised us, or to the 'new order' about which so much is said, then we can well imagine what the later stages will be when England emerges as a full-blooded fascist state.

I am convinced that the large majority of the people of England are weary of empire, and hunger for a real new order. But we have to deal not with them but with their government and we have no doubt in our

minds as to what that government aims at. With that we have nothing in common and we shall resist it to the uttermost. We have therefore decided to be no parties to this imposed war and to declare this to the world. This war has led already to widespread destruction and will lead to even greater horror and misery. With those who suffer we sympathise deeply and in all sincerity. But unless the war has a revolutionary aim of ending the present order and substituting something based on freedom and cooperation, it will lead to a continuation of wars and violence and uttermost destruction.

That is why we must dissociate ourselves from this war and advise our people to do likewise and not help in any way with money or men. That is our bounden duty. But even apart from this, the treatment accorded to the Indian people during the past year by the British authorities, the latter's attempts to encourage every disruptive and reactionary tendency, their forcible realisations of money for the war from even the poor of India, and their repeated affronts to Indian nationalism, are such that we can never forget them or ignore them. No self-respecting people can tolerate such behaviour, and the people of India have no intention of tolerating it.

I stand before you, Sir, as an individual being tried for certain offences against the state. You are a symbol of that state. But I am also something more than an individual. I too am a symbol at the present moment, a symbol of Indian nationalism, resolved to break away from the British Empire and achieve the independence of India. It is not me that you are seeking to judge and condemn, but rather the hundreds of millions of the people of India, and that is a large task even for a proud Empire. Perhaps it may be that though I am standing before you on my trial, it is the British Empire itself that is on its trial before the bar of the world. There are more powerful forces at work in the world today than courts of law; there are elemental urges for freedom and food and security which are moving vast masses of people, and history is being moulded by them. The future recorder of this history might well say that, in the hour of supreme trial, the Government of Britain and the people of Britain failed because they were drunk with the wine of imperialism and could not adapt themselves to a changing world. He may muse over fate, of empires which have always fallen because of this weakness, and call it destiny. Certain causes inevitably produce certain results. We know the causes; the results are following inexorably in their train.

It is a small matter what happens to me in this trial or subsequently. Individuals count for little; they come and go, as I shall go when my time is up. Seven times I have been tried and convicted by British

authority in India, and many years of my life lie buried within prison walls. An eighth time or a ninth, and a few more years, make little difference. But it is no small matter what happens to India and her millions of sons and daughters. That is the issue before me and that, ultimately, is the issue before you, Sir. If the British Government imagines that it can continue to exploit them and play about with them against their will, as it has done for so long in the past, then it is grievously mistaken. It has misjudged their present temper and read history in vain.

I should like to add that I am happy to be tried in Gorakhpur. The peasantry of Gorakhpur are the poorest and the most long-suffering in my province. They are the products of a hundred and fifty years of British rule and the sight of their poverty and misery is the final condemnation of the authority that has dealt with them these many years. I am glad that it was my visit to Gorakhpur district and my attempt to serve its people, that has led to this trial.

I thank you, Sir, for your courtesy.

Court Charge: Jawaharlal Nehru in his Maharajganj speech of October 6, used expressions which tended to excite disaffection towards the Crown Representative or Government established by law in British India and adversely influenced the conduct of the public in regard to the Defence of India or the efficient prosecution of the war—an offence punishable under Rule 38 (a) read with clause 5 of the same rule.

JN: I do not wish to plead at all, but it is my particular function and privilege in life to spread disaffection against the Crown Representative in India and the Government established by law at present in British India.

Public Prosecutor: Under section 256 of the Cr.P.C. the court will have to wait for the next day to give the accused an opportunity to cross-examine the prosecution witnesses if he wants. Would it be desirable to adjourn the hearing and take up the case after some time in the course of the day?

JN: I do not intend to cross-examine anyone. Why this concession? Neither am I going to change my mind overnight about the procedure I have already adopted.

Court: Do you have anything further to say?

JN : The government advocate has taken a lot of trouble for nothing in proving what is already proved. What I wanted to prove has been said in my statement. I assert that the Government of India Rules are the greatest insult that can be inflicted on the country and are monstrous and I want to break such a government.

Nov. 5, 1940[4]

Darling Indu,
Again I am writing to you from prison after many years. When was it last that I did so? Over five years ago and then also you were in Europe. The five years have gone with all their shocks and changes and I revert to my normal routine. It was difficult enough to write to you during these past five months and I yet do not know if any of these letters of mine have reached you across the warring armies. Now fresh obstacles arise. But I shall continue to write to you, while I may, and perhaps months hence, some of my letters may overcome these many impediments and reach your hands.

I came here with the new moon and it is five days old now. The slender crescent has put on more substance and nightly it grows fuller. I was arrested the day after Diwali and brought here from Allahabad. The next day after my arrival was *Id*, the great Muslim festival ending the *Ramzan* fast. So in feasting and rejoicing I came here, or was brought here. My trial lasted two days and today I was sentenced. There were three counts on three speeches I had delivered a month ago in Gorakhpur district and on each charge I was sentenced to a year and four months rigorous imprisonment, each sentence to run consecutively, that is four years in all. That is the biggest sentence I have so far had in my longish experience, but then I suppose this was only proper as I grow in years and presumably in importance.

Four years seems a long time to look to. And yet in this world of shock and change, it makes little difference what period is fixed for a sentence. For my part I might as well be here as elsewhere. For the last five days my tired mind and body have been clamouring for rest and I have slept more than I have done for many months. The mind has not been so restful. It is a wayward creature and not easy to control. Soon, I suppose, it will get into tune with my surroundings....

And now about you, my darling one. My arrest and sentence must not make the least bit of difference to what you intend doing. Do not

4. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

worry in the slightest. I have deliberately chosen my path, well knowing the consequences, and have trained myself to it. Age creeps upon me but I am young enough still in mind and body and hardened to most occurrences. It would distress me greatly if I felt that the odd things that happen to me upset any plans that you may make for yourself. I cannot help you much in the making of these plans and indeed this is not necessary. You are well enough I hope now and will be quite fit soon. To a large extent circumstances and world happenings control our lives today. You are tied up in Switzerland and cannot easily get away. The barriers that confine me are much narrower. We shall put up with these temporary impediments and mishaps without being affected by them too much. Anyway, my life is on the wane, though it may take an unconscionable time about it. Yours is to come. Each generation has to solve its own problems, and that perhaps applies far more today, in this fast-changing world, than ever before. For a passing generation to impose itself on a new one is bad. Yet we are always doing it, consciously sometimes, unconsciously most of the time. I have no doubt that I do it. And yet I do not want to and I would like you to help me in this. Do not therefore consider me, or what you may think are my wishes in anything, as a burden and an obstacle in your way. I have almost ceased to have any wishes about others, individually considered, though I have these wishes for large impersonal objects. I have learnt from experience that I am not wise enough to advise others. I find difficulty in deciding many questions for myself; how can I decide for others, even though they are dear to me?

In the solitude of prison I shall think of you a great deal. I shall sit here wrapped up in my thoughts and you will be a constant companion bringing joy and solace to me. So I shall not be really lonely, and the years or months that I pass here will perhaps bring peace to my mind. I shall make friends again with the stars and watch the moon wax and wane, and see the pageant of the world, with all its beauty and horror, as an onlooker from a distant place or a different world. I have worked hard during most of my life but I have worked as I wanted to, and life, in spite of many hard knocks, has been gracious to me. I suppose I have hard work still to do. There are no ways of escape from it. But at present I feel somewhat weary in mind. When I feel this way I seek refuge in poetry and the classics. What is wisdom, asks Euripides:

> What then is Wisdom? What of man's endeavour?...
>
> To stand from fear set free, to breathe and wait,
> To hold a hand uplifted over Hate.
> And shall not Loveliness be loved for ever?

Do I not betray my age and generation in what I write, and in my quotations?

The safest address for you to write to me will continue to be Anand Bhawan, though I do not know what will happen to Anand Bhawan in the months to come.

If you are in touch with Louise and Nanu send them my love. If it is possible for you to help Nanu in any way, I wish you would do so. For months I have been worried about him not knowing what to do. You will remember that when you want money cable directly to Bachhraj.

All my love, *carissima*, and may it be well with you.

Your loving,
Papu

Nov. 14, 1940

After a gap of many years, five and a quarter to be accurate, I begin writing a diary again. My diaries are entirely jail productions, and now that I am back in prison again, I pick up the old habit.

I have been two weeks in prison, but I had no proper note book. Today this little book as well as others, came and I had no excuse left for not writing.

Today is my birthday—51st. Perhaps a suitable day for beginning a journal. It is a terrifying thought, this creeping on of age. Fifty-one is a goodly age. In China it entitles one to all the respect that is paid to age. I can't get used to the idea that I am getting old, and others help me to delude myself. To some extent I have become associated in the minds of many with youth, and, most irrationally, this association continues, even though age may descend upon me heavily. True, I do not particularly feel the weight of it and am still full of vitality. Compared to nearly all my contemporaries, I am younger in appearance and even more so in vitality.

I think I am almost indifferent to death. There are no strong personal bonds which would hold me back if death beckoned to me. In a narrow personal sense I am rather detached, or so I imagine myself to be. And yet I am tied up with so many things and vaguely, at the back of my mind, the idea persists that I have yet to do big work. There is always an element of preparation for this in whatever activity I might indulge in. The N.P.C. was training me—in prison or elsewhere much of my reading has this background.

The coming of age troubles me, not I think, that I am afraid of age—but the feeling that big work cannot be done effectively after a certain age. Wisdom is not enough.

Also perhaps there is just a faint regret at what I have missed through life—My personal life has been a very neglected affair.

And so the coming of a birthday is not an altogether pleasant affair. From old habit the day assumes an artificial significance. For the last two or three days I was wondering who would remember it, or rather who would send me messages on this day. I would have felt very lonely and unhappy if these messages did not come. How foolish we all are!

The messages did come, or some of them—from Nan & Ranjit, Betty & Raja, Chand, Tara & Rita, Sarojini, Bebee & Papi, Mahmud, Fi & Pan, Bob & Kay Stimson, *Herald* staff. Also much needed books &c.

I came here on the early morning of the 1st November, with the new moon—today the moon is at its fullest.

I was on my way back from Wardha & Sevagram where I spent Oct. 30th—the Diwali day. Had long talks with Bapu—all fixed up that I should be next satyagrahi. Date Nov. 7, place Soraon, Allahabad Dist. I felt in my bones that I would not survive till then. I expected arrest a day or two earlier. It struck me also that I might be arrested soon after my arrival in Allahabad. I sent an express message to Lal Bahadur to see me immediately on arrival. I wanted him to come to Chheoki but I did not say so.

It was at Chheoki that I was arrested on Oct. 31st evening at 7-30 p.m. Keskar and Upadhyaya were with me. The others were waiting for me at the Allahabad station!

I was taken by car to the S.P.'s house in Allahabad (Kemp). I was not expected! The intelligence service had gone wrong and it was largely through chance that Aga the City S.P. went to Chheoki for me. The S.P. was having quite a little party—Whittle the Dist. Magistrate, his wife &c. I was introduced. The circumstances were rather peculiar and I supposed it was difficult for me to fit in. Still, so far as I was concerned, I do not think I was at all put out.

Nan, Betty, Rafi and Kay came to see me. Lal Bahadur, Achyut & Varma also in the background.

I dined at the S.P.'s and afterwards was sent by car to Gorakhpur. Aga and I and another policeman in one car with a police patrol car following. A long and tiring drive in a bad car right through the night. Starting at 10.25 p.m. reach Gagra river (123 miles) at 4.45 a.m. I was so tired that in spite of petty accidents & breakdowns on the way and cramped position, I dozed most of the time.

At the river Moss Dist. Mgst. & Vinayanand S.P. of Gorakhpur met me. We crossed the river as the early dawn was just beginning—Better cars on the other side—better road—36 miles, we reached Gorakhpur Jail at 6 a.m. on Nov. 1st.

My trial was fixed for the next day Nov. 2nd but the Govt. Pleader jibbed as this was *Id.* So it took place on Sunday Nov. 3rd inside the jail—a big tent put up—Moss, the Dist. Magte., presiding.

Nan, Betty, Kay, Madan Atal, Mohanlal Saxena, Rama Rao & many Gorakhpur friends & Congressmen present.

Curious unreal proceedings—Nan whispered this is 'Alice in Wonderland'—Kay said the whole thing was fantastic and, but for the reality of the prison sentence at the end, one could not take it seriously.

I read out my statement, which I had written out the night before—It was rather hurriedly prepared and I had taken no particular pains over it. For a while I had thought of writing something that might be worthwhile, a full presentation of the Congress case, &c. But I was tired and I had made so many statements previously—besides, the papers would not publish it anyhow for fear of the Defence of India Act. So I wrote hurriedly and more or less briefly.

The trial continued the next day rather unnecessarily but the Govt. Pleader insisted. He wanted to show off how well he could do the job and perhaps earn another day's fee. Towards the end of the proceedings I made some more remarks rather aggressively, though there was nothing wrong or improper in what I said. Something that the Govt. Pleader said irritated me. I was a little sorry for this afterwards. But it was a small matter.

Moss the D.M. said he would deliver judgement the same day at 4 p.m. Nan and others turned up but there was no Moss. After waiting for an hour they telephoned to Moss who told them that it was a harder job than he had imagined and he could not say when he would be ready. So Nan and Betty & Madan left Gorakhpur that night.

The next day, however, Moss was ready with his judgement. (Nov. 5th) a 'deterrent sentence was necessary'. I was charged with 3 offences —3 speeches and each offence was punishable with 5 years R.I.

> I, therefore, find the accused guilty on all the three charges and convict and sentence him under Rule 38(1)(a) read with clause (5) of the Defence of India Rules to rigorous imprisonment for one year and four months on each count, the sentences to run consecutively, making a total of four years rigorous imprisonment.

Four years! It seemed a terrifically long time. Yet what did it matter? The Alice in Wonderland element was still there. It was almost inconceivable that I would serve the full sentence, and if I did then it was

as well that I was in prison & not outside. A long sentence was good. It would shake people up. Quite a time in fact!

How dull and visionless our rulers are! It just amazes me how they are blind to all that is happening. They can only think and act in the old way.

The day of my sentence—Nov. 5th was also the day of the American Presidential election. We both got a four-year term that day! I am afraid I shall not be able to keep up with him. He is likely to complete it; I am not.

That day also was Guy Fawkes day!

The sentence over I wrote a long letter to Indu.

Four years! I might as well settle down—Sooner than I expected, I fell into my jail routine. Spinning, reading &c.—fixed hours. Regular exercise—I walk in front of & near my barrack morning & evening—Do some other exercises & *asans*—Cleaning, washing &c. To begin with plenty of sleep—about 9 to 10 hours a day. Now it is between 8 and 9. I had to make up for arrears.

It is surprising how I can cease worrying about outside politics in prison. Not entirely of course. But I became a distant onlooker—In fact what has repeatedly come to my mind is some odd thing (non-political) which I intended doing and left undone.

On Nov. 11th I received a cable from Indu *via* Allahabad:

'Am well—Trying come India. Have enough money. Constant thoughts love to all.'

This had been sent to Nan and was evidently in reply to the one informing her of my arrest. It had been sent on Nov. 5 from Bex before she knew of my conviction.

I was happy to get this cable and happy to know the reaction on her of my arrest. Yet how could she return—a difficult and precarious job. I sent her following cable on Nov. 12th to Bex:

"Darling your cable fourth don't upset your programme because my conviction keep me informed your movements love."

The Supt. of the Jail is Dr. R.N. Sewal, the Civil Surgeon of Gorakhpur—He is very anxious to add to my comfort. When my books ran out he sent me some worthwhile ones.

Here ends the record of the last fortnight—The eighth term of imprisonment is well on its way and, what is more important, I am launched on my 52nd year. The burden of both has to be borne.



AT HIS TRIAL AT GORAKHPUR PRISON, NOVEMBER 1940

Nov. 14, 1940

After a gap of many years, five and a quarter to be accurate, I begin writing a diary again. My diaries are entirely jail productions, and now that I am back in prison again, I pick up the old habit.

I have been two weeks in prison, but I had no paper with which to write. Today this little books, as well as others, came and I had no excuse left for not writing.

Today is my birthday — 51st. Perhaps a suitable day for beginning a journal. It is a terrifying thought, this creeping on of age. Fifty-one is a goodly age. In China it entitles one to all the respect that is paid to age. I can't get used to the idea that I am getting old, and others help me to delude myself. To some extent I have become associated in the minds of many with youth, and, most irrationally,

Nov. 16

I am leaving Gorakhpur Jail tonight. Moss the D.M. accompanied by a procession of others came and informed me at 6.15 p.m. We leave after ten for Dehra Dun.

I expected the transfer but it came rather suddenly after I was settling down for the evening, had arranged my bed &c. Nan & Ranjit came to see me today and told me that the transfer was impending. It was a pleasant and soothing interview. I wonder when I shall see them again, possibly not for a long time as both of them are likely to go to prison within a week or two. But I may see Nan again at Dehra as she intends going to Mussoorie soon.

They gave me some glimpse of outside happenings—Big developments are likely—My arrest seems to have shaken things up, especially the sentence which came as a shock to everyone. Bapu, I am told, was quite taken aback by the sentence.

The sentence, apparently, was the Governor's own decision. It was meant to shock but in a different way. They are rather sorry for it now.

And so away from Gorakhpur Jail after sixteen days to my old home in Dehra. I have spent more time there than anywhere else uninterruptedly. How long more will I spend there?

Meanwhile war and tumult and destruction and death in a great part of the world. And in India? What will happen?

Nan brought many more birthday telegrams for me—one was from Frances Gunther from New York. Another from Louise from Dieulefit —I was happy to have them.

Nov. 18, 1940[5]

Darling Indu,
I wrote to you about two weeks ago from Gorakhpur on the day my sentence was passed. A few days later I received the cable you sent to *puphi* at Allahabad. The idea of your coming back to India and of my seeing you fills me with joy. Still I cabled to you not to upset your own programme because of my conviction. You have now been in Switzerland for nearly a year and that is a long enough time. At the most, even in normal times, you might have spent some of the winter months there,

5. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

say till March, and then left the place. Winter is good in Suisse. But there are other factors also and I can well understand your anxiety to leave the place. I suppose that even if you tried your utmost, it would take you a month or two to get away. Indeed I am not at all sure that you will succeed even then.

The only possible route seems to be for you to go *via* Marseilles to Barcelona and Lisbon, chiefly by air, and then also by air to London. You wrote about this once to me. Whether that route is open now I do not know. Even after you reach London the problem of returning to India is not solved. I am told that there is a long list of persons, including children, waiting to be sent to India. It takes months to get a passage on a convoy. I do not know how far it is possible for you to return to India without going to London, that is from Lisbon directly *via* the Cape. You must have all these factors in mind and will be able to decide for yourself.

Bear in mind that the good you have derived from your stay in Switzerland is not jeopardised. I want to see you healthy and strong and it is better to curb one's impatience for a while if thereby one can lay the foundations of sound health. All of us, including you of course, will have to bear heavy burdens in this mad world and the fitter we are for them, the better.

Personally, even from the health point of view, I think India has numerous ideal spots to recuperate, if that is necessary. That depends so much on the individual's liking and on, what might be termed, psychological reactions. If I was ill, of which there appears to be not the least chance, even a short stay in the higher valleys of Kashmir would fill me with energy and vitality.

It is quite impossible for any of us to forecast the future. Anything may happen in the world at large or in India. All we can do is to face our job and do it as well as we can and remain tranquil in spite of shock and disaster. We of this generation are fated to have these shocks in over-abundant measure and to carry this terrible burden of war and conflict and sorrow whether we like it or not. Perhaps the next generation, your generation, may have a better and happier time. That hope keeps us going. But you overlap with the passing generation and cannot escape its burdens. We grow old mentally with amazing rapidity when we come up with these stark and cruel realities of life. Perhaps we grow wiser also, though there is little wisdom in evidence anywhere.

I quite agree with you that it is not good enough for any man or woman to sit at ease, doing nothing, while millions have to risk everything they possess from day to day. Life is something much more than a round of eating and sleeping and amusing oneself. Indeed, as someone

has said, one can enjoy life properly only after resolving not to count the cost. I am not of the calculating variety, neither are you, and I would not like you to be one. We must face the risks and perils of the adventure of life. If I was an Englishman, I would not leave England now whatever happened, in spite of bombing and everything else. Being an Indian, my job lies in India and I would not leave India now even if I could.

Let us therefore not be frightened of perils, real or imaginary—the real ones are bad enough, but to be frightened of them is far worse. But to face danger calmly and courageously is one thing; to be foolhardy and melodramatic about it is quite another thing. It is folly. Therefore one avoids needless risk and danger. You will do so I hope.

I wrote to you in my last letter that with the passing of years I have grown more and more reluctant to force my advice on others about matters involving personal decisions. I am free enough with my advice on larger questions involving the mass. That is my job in life and I cannot escape it. But individual decisions must be taken by oneself. In this rapidly changing world, where we are forced to learn from the shock of events, the gap between two generations is apt to grow wider in the sense of understanding each other. I have tried hard to understand the new generation and perhaps I have not wholly failed. But this very attempt has taught me not to impose myself.

I write this letter to you well knowing that the chances are that it will not reach you. It will be lost somewhere in the 'fog of war'. But it may reach you some time or other and in any event it gives me pleasure in writing it. So why deny myself that escape from myself in thinking of you and imagining you to be beside me and listening to me?

Long before this letter reaches you, if it reaches you at all, you will have come to your decisions and possibly made your arrangements for your future programme. I can be of little help from here. But fortunately you have plenty of friends across the seas to help you.

Two nights ago I was suddenly informed in Gorakhpur Jail that I was being transferred to Dehra Dun. Soon after I left and by a devious and complicated route, partly by train and partly by motor car, I reached here last night. I travelled in comfort by train, in a small saloon, but as a *purdanashin*, with all the shutters and blinds up, lest an evil eye might fall upon me.

I am back again in my old place in Dehra which I left over six years ago—in August 1934 I think it was. What a six years they have been!

Tomorrow is your birthday, my darling one. At Bex it will pass off rather quietly, but you will be in the mind of numerous people who care

for you, and you will haunt me even more than you usually do. I sent you a cable today. I wonder if it will reach you in time.

Chand & Tara & Rita are at Mussoorie nearby. Chand is finishing her school career and probably Tara and Rita will not go back to Woodstock. They will be going down to Allahabad soon and perhaps I might see them. By the time they reach Allahabad it is quite possible that there will only be Upadhyaya to welcome them. Nan and Ranjit may have gone to safer quarters.

I had a letter from Nanu the other day. Will you write to him that I was happy to receive it. He tells me that he is in touch with you. Give him my love. I had a cable also from Louise. This was in answer to one I sent her.

This letter will be forwarded to you by *puphi* from Allahabad. I am sending it as an enclosure to her.

And so, *au revoir, cara mia,* and may it be well with you.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

18-11-1940[6]

TO K. T. SHAH

My dear Shah,

I am sorry to have deserted you during these last stages of the National Planning Committee work. But fates are too strong for us.

I have been thinking a lot about the N.P.C.'s work. There are obvious difficulties ahead and it is not easy for me to advise but of one thing I am quite clear. The work must go on, perhaps at a reduced tempo? I am particularly keen that all the sub-committees should finish their work completely, that is to say, each one should present their final report in a form suitable for publication. This publication will have to wait for a suitable opportunity. But we should be ready for it. If once we slacken off in this respect it will be frightfully difficult to get a move on again.

I learnt from a note from Raja that you are pushing on this work.

The second question is about the next meeting of the N.P.C. which you had provisionally fixed for Christmas week. I do not know how

6. Maharashtra Government Records, File No. 3590/H/II-2.

you feel about it, but I am clear that you should hold this meeting. If that particular date is not suitable, you can fix some other nearby date. But it would not be right to postpone the meeting indefinitely because the chairman cannot attend.

I realise fully that many difficulties will arise. I think you should face them and get through the remaining sub-committees' reports. That job at least will be done. Where there are vital differences of opinion on important matters, it might be better to note down the two sets of opinions rather than to decide by a bare majority. Of course such noting down can only be provisional as one opinion will have to be followed in drafting the final report. But this course will enable you to get on with the work and to reduce the points of difference. Later these points of difference can be considered.

I do not think that at the next meeting of the N.P.C. you should nominate the drafting committee for the final report. This might await further developments. But if the N.P.C. so desires, I have no objection even to this step being taken. Whether I shall be able to help in that I do not know. It is just possible that even in prison, I might be allowed to see your drafts.

Meanwhile, before the final report stage is reached, we have to prepare the note showing what picture has emerged from our decisions so far taken. I do not know if you have prepared one this year. I forget who was put on the sub-committee. Saha was on it and so was I. These people can be consulted. If you could send me your draft, probably there will be no objection to my seeing it as it is a business matter connected with the N.P.C. I do not know of course how far I shall be able to or allowed to help from prison.

You should not have any major financial difficulty. Under the circumstances, the Ambalal Committee is bound to help.

I am sending this letter through my sister. You can write directly to me.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

DEHRA DUN JAIL

Nov. 23, 1940—Saturday

It is a week today since I wrote last as I was on the point of leaving Gorakhpur Jail. Six days I have been here in my old quarters in Dehra

Jail and a sense of settling down for a long stay has come upon me. And so I have been busy to make this place as agreeable as possible—also to divert my mind now and in the near future from outside worries.

Immediately I thought of converting my little yard with a bit of a garden. The season was propitious; the jail people were helpful. For four days we dug hard. The soil is stony and none too good and it was hard going—digging and then sorting the stones and rubble, and arranging the flower bed, & putting in the seedlings. Harish Chandra Bajpai,[7] my companion in the barrack, joined and worked hard. So did the warders and, of course, some of the prisoners allotted for this task.

This job is over for the present and all the beds are ready and all that is necessary now is to water them and look after them carefully. Even this is likely to take a good bit of time daily, but it will be pleasantly spent. We have put in sweet peas, hollyhocks, nasturtiums, candytufts, lupins, stock, dianthus, and many other varieties. It was difficult to spot the seedlings, I am no good at it and the jail *mali* distorts the names so much that it is no easy matter to recognise them. He was telling me of something he called 'Ali Haq'. This, it transpired, was hollyhock.

The digging and the other processes were extraordinarily tiring. I felt rather ashamed of myself at getting tired so easily, when the other prisoners were working away all the time with little rest. I improved a little with practice but not much. Is it just lack of practice, I wondered, or age? I consider myself fit and full of energy. But fifty-one may not be denied.

This old barrack of mine revives memories, and yet these memories are not clear. When was I here last and how long did I stay? I cannot remember except that I came here from Alipur Prison in 1934 and left for Allahabad when Kamala was very ill. It was the rainy season and I remember well the almost continuous rain. I was not allowed to go out of the barrack at all and was by myself. I felt terribly depressed. I must have left this place in August 1934, going straight to Anand Bhawan, where I spent eleven days, and then Naini. How long was I here altogether? I have no notion. Possibly three months.

And yet I remember very distinctly my previous stay of fourteen and a half months in the neighbouring cells, where the warders live now. That long stay resulted in *Glimpses of World History*.

My journey from Gorakhpur to Dehra Dun was a complicated one. But it was done in style and comfort. A special saloon from Gorakhpur to Daliganj, near Lucknow. Then by car to Rosa, near Shahjahanpur—By train, again in a saloon, from Rosa to Roorkee, and from Roorkee by car to Dehra. This meant about 150 miles by motor & the rest by train.

7. Congressman of Unnao, Uttar Pradesh.

The saloons were comfortable but I travelled as a *purdanashin* with all the shutters up, lest someone might see me. Indeed, I was told by my escort that the 'plan of campaign' was such as to avoid large stations and crowds. Everything was done in extreme secrecy. Outside the saloon, on the platform, sat two armed policemen with guns! Inside there was every courtesy. I was accompanied by a police officer, Conlin, who is apparently some high officer in the railway police—He used to be S.P. in Allahabad. There were a number of constables hanging round also.

Conlin was an interesting man, better read than the average policeman or I.C.S. man—Cambridge, modern languages—war service as liaison officer with French & Italian armies.

At Rosa a crowd collected despite all precautions. At Roorkee I was handed over to Luck, the S.P. of Dehra Dun, who drove me to Dehra. It was a delightful moonlit drive over the hills.

I reached Dehra Jail at 10.30 p.m. on Nov. 17th, almost exactly 24 hours after leaving Gorakhpur Jail. The Supt. of the Jail who is also the Civil Surgeon met me—He has an unusual name: Major Worseldine.

I found Harish Chandra Bajpai here. He was to be my companion—But his term is ending and he is going to be released early in December.

Everybody has been very decent to me here—the jail staff of course, the Superintendent, the District Magistrate (Hifazat Hussain, I.C.S.) and others in Dehra who have sent me flowers. My little veranda is full of these flowers and they brighten up the place tremendously. The Supt. and the Dist. Magte. have visited me and had fairly long talks about the world in general.

This unusual courtesy is somewhat embarrassing. It comes in the way of concentrated work which I have been in the habit of doing in prison. It reduces certainly the abnormality of prison life.

Partly I suppose this is due to instructions from above; partly also to the fact that I am supposed to be a more important person than I was previously. I think my books have helped in this greatly. I am, in a sense, personally known to many who have not met me, and personal knowledge makes a vast difference. It leads to personal interest.

I go out in the mornings and evenings for a little walk between my barrack and the main jail. In the evenings quite a crowd collects on the public road some distance away to have a distant look at me. Mostly young men & boys; sometimes a few women also. They are quiet and well-behaved and salute me from a distance. The police & jail authorities are worried about them and try to keep them away.

I suppose a powerful inducement for treating me well is the belief that some time or other the Congress will be top dog and I might have

influence and power. Conlin asked me to remember the Police provident fund when the Congress came back to power!

On the 18th morning I sent a cable to Indu for her birthday (on the 19th). I am anxious to have news of her and ever since she has suggested returning to India, my mind has been excited about it. But in any event it will be some months before she can come back.

Nan passed through Dehra yesterday, or was it the day before? I did not see her but she sent me some things I had asked for. She will be going down on the 26th with the children and I am likely to meet them then.

On Dec. 4th her 'performance' takes place somewhere in Cawnpore District.[8] This means that our next interview is going to be the last one for a long time.

I am on the whole quite satisfied with political developments outside. The movement grows like an avalanche—so far quite deliberately as envisaged by Bapu. What will happen later?

My mind has not been as agitated as it usually is in prison. It is surprising how little I think of outside happenings. And yet if I went out of prison I would get enveloped in this.

The Viceroy's & Amery's speeches[9] however excited one somewhat. They seem to have no realisation of what is happening in India. Or is it that they are held up in a blind alley and do not know which way to turn?

Amery's reference to me was revealing. About my jail conditions he says:

> In any case he has been in prison under the 'A' category under which he is allowed books, his own quarters, company of others,

8. Vijayalakshmi Pandit was arrested on 5 December 1940 in anticipation of her intention of offering satyagraha in Chaubeypur village in Kanpur district.
9. On 20 November 1940, Linlithgow had said: "The proposals in question would place real power and real responsibility in Indian hands. Their acceptance would afford the most hopeful contribution which Indian political leaders could make at this critical time towards the preservation of Indian unity, and towards an agreed constitutional settlement for the future... But as that degree of support has evidently not yet manifested itself, His Majesty's Government have decided that I should not be justified in proceeding with the expansion of my Executive Council or the establishment of the War Advisory Council, at the present moment." L.S. Amery had said: "On the main issue, at any rate, there is certainly no divergence among leaders of Indian opinion whatever other differences there may be between us or between themselves. They know that defeat of the British Empire...would mean the end of all their cherished hopes of constitutional progress."

frequent letters, personal interviews and a great many compensations which deprive him of little except liberty to go about repeating the speeches he has recently made.

Perhaps strictly accurate, and yet all this seems to give a curious picture which is far from reality. 'His own quarters'! And 'a great many compensations' &c &c.

Nov. 24, Sunday

Till yesterday I was feeling peculiarly fit physically. Three weeks of good sleep and regular exercise had made a difference. I was doing again the *sarvangasana* and the *shirshasana* tolerably well. My weight had gone down slightly to about 140 lbs which was quite enough. The tendency to accumulate fat in the wrong places was disappearing. I felt full of energy and vitality. Indeed I have been indulging in a great deal of physical labour and activity.

Today a slight toothache and the beginnings of a cold made me feel somewhat depressed. The day was spent in a cleaning up of my room or cell—quite a laborious process. Latterly I have been spotting bed bugs (खटमल) occasionally to my great horror. So the *newar* bed (which has apparently been hired by the jail authorities) was examined and treated to boiling water in its joints. This produced a number of these bugs. To do the job thoroughly we took off the *newar* and washed and disinfected it. This was a very lengthy and fatiguing business—the *newar* must be over 150 yards long.

Nov. 27

Interview yesterday—Nan, Tara, Rita and Amma— Two hours. We had tea together. I felt happy. Wonder when I shall see Nan again. She will be in prison soon.

A cable from Indu today from Geneva— Said she was leaving Switzerland on the 27th and going to England *via* Lisbon— Then she was going to try to come to India *via* the Cape. I was pleased and excited and then slightly apprehensive— The journey will be a ticklish one with a fair amount of risk.

She must have started today presumably by air, or possibly by motor bus, to Marseilles and from there by plane to Barcelona—Lisbon— Again

by air to London. This journey should take her a week or less. Then probably a long wait in London before she gets a passage. I have read that there is a long waiting list and people have to wait for months. I imagine Agatha is busying herself over this matter and trying to get the India Office to help. They might well do so as a favour to me! They have bungled enough.

At the earliest Indu can hardly leave before the end of December. This would mean that she might be in India before the end of February. More likely March— She will find me in Dehra Jail!

Prakash, the dentist, visited me today. Wants to pull out one tooth and mess about with a number of others. A long business, likely to take seven or eight visits to his place.

The Supt. suggested that I should give my 'parole' on my visits to the dentist and then Prakash could fetch me and no one else need accompany. The parole being for not doing political work during these visits.

I told him that I disliked the idea of 'parole' and would much rather have a jail official accompany me. There was no question of doing political work there. The idea was absurd. If I wanted to do this I had a hundred other ways open to me. I could tell the Supt. privately that I certainly would not indulge in any such activity during the visits to the dentist, as, among other things, this would be unfair to him & to Prakash and might put them in a false position. But to give 'parole' formally was another matter.

So tomorrow I go to Prakash with the Jailor.

Mahavir Tyagi arrested and brought to this jail this evening.

I finished reading Edward Thompson's *Life of Metcalfe* today. Very good book. I wish I had read it carefully earlier. Edward sent it to me three years ago and I just glanced through it then. It is helpful in many ways— Throws light on present conditions—princes, land problems &c. But what is most interesting is the whole background & also Canadian problems then, so like, in some ways, Indian problems now.

December 1st, Sunday

A month over— If there was any chance of my forgetting it, which was not at all likely, the new moon was there today to remind me.

A month's account: Read a score of books, spun 5000 yards of yarn, did a great deal of digging and gardening, regular exercise, and plenty of sleep. Also lost a tooth which Prakash drew out.

I have taken things easy—I am far from settled down but on the whole my mind is not agitated as it used to be. The change to Dehra delayed

the process of settling down. I was alone in Gorakhpur and was just getting used to it. Was working, reading, &c more there. Here there have been distractions, company. This was more normal and certainly better in the long run. But work grew less and I allowed myself to slacken.

Now I am alone again. Harish Chandra Bajpai was discharged yesterday and I felt rather lonely today.

I visited the jail proper yesterday and met & fed with the B class prisoners: Mahavir Tyagi, Prakash, Mukherji &c. Rashida[10] (Mahmud uz Zafar's wife) who is a jail visitor also came.

10. Rashida Jahan; Urdu short-story writer.

Dec. 2, 1940[11]

Darling Indu,
So you are on the move again and have left Switzerland on your way back to India. For the present that way has led you further away from India. The prospect of your return fills me with excitement. You have to pass perilous oceans but no one can keep away from the perils of the modern world and so we might as well face them.

I am writing to you knowing well that there is hardly any chance of my letter reaching you. My last two or three letters sent to Switzerland could not have reached you. They were fairly long ones. I took the risk and it does not matter. I am sending these few lines to you on the off chance of your being held up in London owing to delays in getting a passage. Your cable reached me a few days ago and on the same day I got your letter from Leysin of August 20th.

... I am keeping well. Anand Bhawan is getting rather empty. Within two or three days the only occupants will be Chand, Tara and Rita — and of course Upadhyaya, who has been strictly directed to hold on.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

11. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

2.12.40[12]

Betty dear,

Your letter, with Raja's note, reached me in Gorakhpur Jail. Yesterday I learnt that you had written to the Superintendent here about an interview. I suppose you will get a reply from the Jail Office. The normal rule is two interviews a month and two letters a month. Abnormally or as a special case or for business purposes, this rule may be stretched. Has not Amery said that I live in my own quarters and have frequent interviews and may correspond and read books? A description with which I have personally no quarrel, though some may imagine that I live in a kind of private shack and otherwise get a queer notion.

Raja and you will of course be very welcome whenever you come here. I should like to see Raja especially as I may not have a chance of doing so for some time to come. I was sorry to learn that he was rather put out on learning of my conviction. I have seldom felt quite so peaceful in mind as I have done lately, and that is some feat in this mad world of ours. Through some practice I have learnt to draw myself in and shut the various drawers of my mind which relate to activities which have been suspended.

As you have been recently in Allahabad, I would suggest to you not to hurry back. See how things develop and then it may be more helpful to have an interview. But come any time you like. I shall be in Dehra Dun Jail—no touring, no engagements. Psyche, I understand, may come with you. That will be good.

You must know that Indu has left Switzerland and is trying to get back to India. She ought to reach London soon. The journey is a roundabout one. I think one goes by Antibes from Geneva to Marseilles, or probably beyond. Then by air to Barcelona, Lisbon and London. From London she will have to come by sea convoy. It is not at all easy to get passages and there are long waiting lists. She will have to wait at least a month, maybe two or more. So even if all goes well, she is not likely to reach Bombay before the end of February. More likely March.

I am glad she has decided to return. There are all manner of risks and dangers of course but it is better to face them than to feel isolated

12. *Nehru's Letters to His Sister*, (London, 1963), pp. 65-67.

and miserable. If she wants to return then she must do so or take the consequences. Life grows harder for all of us and the soft days of the past already belong to an age that is gone. When will they return? No one knows. Or will they return? We must adapt ourselves to life as it is and not hunger for what is not. Physical risk and suffering are often all petty compared to the troubles and tempests of the mind. And whether life is soft or hard, one can always get something out of it—but to enjoy life ultimately one must decide not to count the cost.

Raja must not worry at all. He need not think that he is tied down to the N.P.C. If he feels like going ahead in another way he should do so but of course in the proper way. There is no hurry. He will have his chance. Meanwhile he should prepare himself mentally and otherwise, and during this interval, carry on at the N.P.C. It is important that he should carry on with regular and preferably hard work. In times of excitement there is nothing like work. It would be a good thing if he went and saw Bapu. I have gone through nearly six years of prison with relative ease because of the work I have done. I bear prison lightly. And always I am thinking of preparing myself in mind and body for my next job. I store energy so that I might be able to squander it later on.

I have been a month in prison—out of the 48 months! If there was any likelihood of my forgetting this, the new moon was there to remind me. I came to the prison with the new moon—the day after Diwali and on the eve of *Id.* During this month I have read a score of books, spun a good deal of good yarn, taken regular exercise and slept abundantly. And not once, so far as I can recollect, have I lost my temper! That in itself is a sure sign of physical and mental health.

I have taken things easily during this month. I wanted to get rid of a feeling of tiredness, and it takes some time to settle down. I have done little hard work intellectually. I wanted to let my mind lie fallow—to busy myself with odd physical activities. It is surprising how many such jobs can be done in prison. Cleaning and washing and generally keeping 'my own quarters' in as decent a condition as is possible, absorb quite a deal of time. Then I started digging. I decided to make the most of the digging. It was hard work for the soil is stony. Digging anyhow is not a light occupation, and I was annoyed at myself when I found that I got tired easily. I improved with practice. Having done this, I played about with the fresh earth—how delightful it is! and we put in some seedlings and flower seeds. Like a fond but foolish parent, straightway I started spoiling our work by too much attention. I think I watered them more than was necessary and some of the seeds and seedlings seem to have rolled away. However, I shall get over these

minor difficulties and if you come here after three months or so, you will have to admire the result of my Herculean labours.

Love,

Your brother,
Jawahar

Dec. 7, Saturday

So Nan is in Naini Prison where Ranjit had preceded her. But of course they live in separate barracks and cannot meet. The female barrack in Naini is not an attractive place. Perhaps Nan will be removed to some other jail. But everywhere the female barrack is the worst part of the jail.

Anand Bhawan now has Tara and Rita—and Amma and Upadhyaya. Chand will join them soon.

When will Indu come? Where is she now? I am restless for news of her. She left Switzerland ten days or more ago and still there is no news of her arrival in England. Yesterday I sent a cable to Agatha to enquire.

It will not be easy for her to get a passage from England to India. She may have to wait long. The U-boat campaign has also been intensified.

I had a visit two days ago from Dr. Martin, who used to be the Ethiopian Minister in London. He has temporarily settled down in Dehra Dun, though he looks forward vaguely to going back to London as Minister. Born in Abyssinia, he came in his childhood to India and took his medical degree from the Lahore Medical College—subsequently England.

I was disappointed in him. A very mediocre and simple-minded man —Tried to impress upon me how foolish we were in resisting or opposing the British Govt. Knew nothing about Indian affairs or recent developments and was not trying to learn. Terribly afraid of a Muslim invasion of India!

I am told that Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim is likely to join me here soon. In some ways I shall be glad to have him with me. Learning Urdu for one. But we shall be rather crowded with two warders. I shall have to adjust my life afresh here.

I have been going to the dentist frequently. A few more visits are necessary.

Last night there was an experimental black-out in Dehra and aeroplanes whizzed and roared over us.

I have been spinning a good deal.

Dec. 8, Sunday

I am likely to have quite a number of interviews during the next two weeks. Chand and Yvonne[13] are coming on the 10th—day after tomorrow. Vidya[14] has written to say that she will be passing through Dehra on the 14th—Bebee may come on the 14th or 16th, and K.T. Shah is due on the 19th for a business interview about the N.P.C. Then later Betty & Raja.

After this abundance, there is likely to be a dearth of interviews from next month onwards. Most of the possible interviewers will be themselves in prison.

I had a cable today from the New York *Nation*, forwarded from Delhi:

'Urge article English Indian relations and war simultaneously emphasizing German defeat.'

Evidently the *Nation* people imagine I am perfectly free to write articles from prison.

Dec. 12

Cold and rainy and dismal for two days. Some hail last night. I was worried about my plants & seedlings. I had just put some fresh ones in. Much of my time for these two or three days has been spent in gardening. I was quite tired yesterday.

Little damage was however done on account of the rain or hail—Probably because only light showers fell.

This morning I saw that the hills were covered with snow—Even Mussoorie had a sprinkling—rather early in the year. The clouds rolled away in the afternoon and patches of brilliant deep blue sky peeped through. The evening was magnificent. Wonderful colours on the hillsides & the clouds. Much of the snow had melted away.

13. Yvonne Gueveric; classmate of Chandralekha Pandit.
14. Vidyavathi Dutt; daughter of Kishenlal Nehru and wife of Vishnu Dutt.

As I was taking my evening constitutional, a Swiss woman came inside the jail compound and accosted me. She is Mlle. O Colin. I had met her some time ago but had forgotten her—She is bringing out a monthly—the *Oasis*—and wanted me to write an article—a 'journal of optimism'—mystical & yet practical—yoga—masters—science &c &c. She gave me a book to read—*The Path of the Masters* (*Santon ki Shiksha*) by an American doctor Julian Johnson. It is about the teachings of Sardar Saman Singh Maharaj (of Beas in the Punjab) who is described as the greatest of the masters! He is over 80 now. A photograph was shown to me. A very fine face.

I think Amrit Kaur once spoke to me about him. Or was it someone else?

Chand & Yvonne came to see me day before yesterday. Padmaja is coming on the 14th—so also Vidya. Betty & Raja on Christmas Day.

Betty gave extracts from my last letter to her to the press. I was a little surprised & put out. I had described my various activities in prison, but most people who read about this will imagine that I am made to do all this.

The Acting Supt. Dr. Joshi came this morning and mentioned this. He and the Jailor were rather worried. So I have decided to write to Betty again tonight—three days before time.

No news from or about Indu yet. It is just a fortnight since she left Geneva and the journey *via* Lisbon to London is supposed to be a four or five-day one. But delays are always possible in war time; hold-ups or postponement of services. So I try not to worry.

Our little dog Captain, which Bajpai has left me as a legacy, has suddenly disappeared this evening. He has not been seen for the last two hours and is nowhere to be found in the jail compound. This is very unusual as he comes back to his cosy corner regularly in the evening. He is growing and becoming very venturesome and it is quite possible that someone has grabbed him. I miss him and so does everyone else here, including the warders—Curious how I become attached to these mongrel dogs. He was popular with everybody—the prisoners, jail staff, police, &c. The warders are very worried and are continually discussing him.

He had learnt the trick of knocking at the barrack gate to get it opened. He did it very efficiently & the warder used to rush to open the gate thinking it was some jail official.

If Captain returns late at night, he can't come in as the gate is locked and the key is at the jail gate.

12–12–40[15]

Darling Betty,
I understand that you and Raja are likely to visit me on December 25th, Christmas Day. That is good. I suppose you will put up in Dehra Dun with Rashida. The best time for the interview is the afternoon—two or thereabouts. It is warm and pleasant then, unless it rains, when it turns cold and dismal rather suddenly. Christmas time usually has this rainy weather. But you may be lucky. Anyway come prepared for the cold. It is not really very cold here, but the change from Bombay will be considerable. So have enough warm clothes and blankets. I do not want Raja to develop a cold here.

I was a little surprised to find certain extracts from my last letter to you appearing in the newspapers. There was no harm in your sharing them with others who take interest in me. But I just wondered if some people might not get a wrong idea about my life and activities in prison. I mentioned casually some of these activities—digging, cleaning, etc. This might lead some people to imagine that I am made to do this kind of thing. That would be entirely mistaken. I get all the help that is necessary for my purposes and I need not, if I so choose, indulge in any activity. But I am not constituted that way, as you ought to know. Even my advancing—and oh, so advanced! years do not seem to affect appreciably my energy and vitality and capacity to mess about things and make others move about also. If other outlets for energy are denied me, I have to seek new ways for the good of my mind and soul. Also long experience of jail life has taught me many things, among them the necessity of physical activity in prison. It is not possible or desirable to do mental work only. That way does not lie sanity or harmony. I have therefore deliberately not done very much reading or desk work and have occupied myself with odd jobs which soothe the mind and give a pleasant feeling of tiredness to the body.

Then there is the kitchen, which on the whole interests me least, provided I get clean and fairly wholesome food. But again, as I have leisure, there is no reason why I should not interfere. (How can I get rid of the old habit of interfering in other people's affairs?) My interference is only occasional and my experiments sometimes produce startling results. Generally speaking I have settled down to a 'cooker' regime which satisfies me as it is a clean way of producing wholesome food. It

15. *Nehru's Letters to His Sister*. (London, 1963). pp. 69-71.

is not exciting of course. But I find enough excitement in other ways without desiring to tickle my palate.

So you see there are so many things to be done which I need not do, but being a busybody I am always barging in.

It is not just superfluous energy that leads me to dabble in all these various activities. I do it deliberately to have peace of mind and a certain harmonious and well-ordered life. I succeed. I keep physically fit and mentally fit and sane. It is a fact, I think, that every visit to jail has done me good in some way or other; not merely the actual work I have done there, but some kind of development on, I hope, the right lines has taken place. I succeed very largely in cutting myself away from the worries and responsibilities that encumber me outside. I do not forget them but I think about them more calmly and dispassionately and look at them from a larger perspective.

In the world today, torn by war and disaster and possibly on the brink of vast changes, not to do so would lead to mental collapse. Long periods in prison are apt to make one either a mental and physical wreck or a philosopher. I flatter myself that I kept myself very well during all these years. I do not know if they have led me far towards philosophy.

I give below some lines which are by a 15th-16th century English poet, John Skelton:

So much striving
For goods and for wiving
And so little thriving,
Saw I never.

So many capacities,
Offices and pluralities,
And changing of dignities,
Saw I never.

Among them that are rich
No friendship is it to keep touch,
And such fair glosing speech,
Saw I never.

So many poor,
In every border
And so small succour
Saw I never.

And so on....

Love to the family,

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

Dec. 13, Friday

Captain returned this morning looking tired and pulled down—He had evidently had a bad night.

I wrote a long letter to Betty last night with enclosures for Indu & Amma. Soon after sending it today I received her letter.

I have just learnt that Ranjit is going to be transferred here soon. Hafizji is not coming. I am glad Ranjit is coming. We shall fit in easily.

Dec. 17, 1940[16]

TO CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Dear Generalissimo,

I am writing to acknowledge with thanks the letter you were good enough to send me through Dr. Tai Chi-tao. I am writing, as you will notice, from an unusual place, and your letter has only just reached me after Dr. Tai's departure from India. Under the circumstances, I cannot write much, but I should like to express my gratitude for all you have written and for your friendship which I value very greatly. For me that is a symbol of a far greater thing, the friendship of China and India and of the freedom and cooperation of our two great nations.

In spite of our own travails and difficulties, we have followed with the closest interest the developments in China and the truly heroic struggle for freedom against an unscrupulous aggressor nation which is being carried on under your great leadership. Daily my thoughts have been with you and the people of China, and I pray that it may be given to me and to my people to be of some service to China. Whatever has happened,

16. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

and whatever may happen, will not shake my firm conviction in the triumph of your cause, just as I am equally convinced of India's bright future, though the way to it may be long and dark. I realise fully, as you do, that all our problems in Asia and Europe are inextricably connected, and we have to follow closely world developments.

It was a great disappointment to me not to meet Dr. Tai Chi-tao during his visit to India. I had looked forward to it. But I am very glad he met my sister and many other friends. In spite of the new situation that has developed in India, which prevented him from meeting many worthwhile people, I think his visit has helped greatly in making the Chinese struggle even more real to our people and in drawing India nearer to China. He will no doubt give you his own impressions of his visit.

I must apologise to you and to Dr. Tai Chi-tao that, under the peculiar circumstances, we could not give him the welcome that we would have liked to have given. But I trust that you and he will understand and forgive us.

I send you my warmest regards and good wishes for you personally and for your great cause. I am sorry I cannot write in the beautiful Chinese characters, but I am signing this letter in our script, which is the old Sanskrit script.

Yours sincerely,
जवाहरलाल नेहरू

Dec. 17, 1940[17]

TO MADAME CHIANG KAI-SHEK

Dear Madame Chiang,
Two days ago I received your two letters, dated 10th September and 5th October 1940. The beautiful gifts that you had sent me through Dr. Tai Chi-tao also reached me in this rather odd place where I am at present.

Need I say how much I appreciated your letters and your gifts? They came like a ray of sunshine enlightening the gloom of a dark and dismal world, full of suffering and disaster. I read with pain and sorrow your description of Chungking now, but behind it all there rose the unconquerable spirit of Man, which you and the Generalissimo and the men and women of China represent so magnificently, and I was comforted.

17. J.N: Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

The embroideries that you have sent are beautiful and very precious to me. I shall treasure them. I like the old gentleman who represents the star of longevity, though longevity itself is rather a frightening prospect. Sometimes one lives through years in a few brief months and weeks, and in the world today sensations pile up one on top of another and give the feeling of long passage of time, till one becomes, in self-protection I suppose, dulled to sensation.

You write generously about my book.[18] I finished it five and a half years ago and it seems now as if ages had passed since then. Almost I feel, when I refer to it, that I am reading someone else's book. Many people expect me to continue the story. Perhaps I may do so, but so much depends on the mood. If I make the attempt, it is likely to lead to another book for so much has happened during these five years in the world, in India, and to me personally. China will figure largely in it, for China has grown very dear to me, and all my thoughts are mixed up with her.

An American edition of my book has long been pending but it has been delayed largely because of me. I was required to write an additional chapter to bring it up to date, and I had little time and I found difficulty in compressing these five years in a chapter. At last I sent something but I am not sure if it reached the publishers—John Day, the *Asia* people. The book may come out in spring.

I read with great interest the two articles you sent me. I think they are very enlightening and important and, presuming your consent, and with acknowledgements to *Harper's* I have suggested that they might be given some publicity.

For the last two years I have been functioning as the Chairman of the National Planning Committee here. The work of this Committee grew and grew and included almost every phase of national activity—agricultural, industrial, social, educational, financial, medical relief, public health, trade and commerce, &c—and we appointed a vast number of sub-committees to deal with these various aspects. One of these sub-committees was on women's role in planned economy. This sub-committee, consisting entirely of women, has produced an interesting report. This is not final yet and is in a somewhat crude condition. As all our work has been hung up, owing to abnormal happenings, I do not quite

18. She wrote: "It is a great document—your book—for it is the record of pilgrimage of a human soul lifted above the turmoil of daily strife into a realm of an intellectual and emotional world unspoiled by sentimentality but so humanly moving that it well deserves to be ranked amongst the great documents of all ages."

know when this work will be resumed. Meanwhile I am asking the Planning Committee to send you the draft of this Women's Report. I know how terribly busy you are with far more important work and I do not want you to spend any time over this. But some of your women's organisations might be interested.

Dr. Tai Chi-tao's visit to India has been quite an event here and I am sure has produced deep impressions. Unfortunately I missed him, but I am glad he met my sister and others. He came during an abnormal period and yet perhaps that itself had some value and gave him an insight he might not otherwise have had. He will no doubt give you and the Generalissimo his first hand impressions. We realise more than ever that all our problems are inter-connected, and that we have to be always on the alert and to follow closely world developments.

I spent a bare fortnight in China last year, but that brief period has affected me more than I can say. Perhaps the ground had long been prepared and I was receptive and eager to be affected. But China means to me a great deal and, above all, I value the privilege of your friendship and that of the Generalissimo. That is no small thing for me in this world where so much seems to go wrong. But the world will right itself. It must.

With my warmest greetings and homage to you and to China and good wishes for the New Year.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dec. 17, 1940[19]

TO TAI CHI-TAO

Dear Dr. Tai Chi-tao,
I had long looked forward to meeting you in India and it has been a great disappointment to me that when you came to my country, I was unable to meet you and welcome you. I have also been troubled by the fact that owing to the peculiar conditions at present prevailing in India, we could not give you the service and welcome that we desired. You will, I trust, understand and forgive us.

19. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

I was very happy to learn that you met my sister and spent a day in our house. I am grateful to you that in spite of your indifferent health, you took the trouble to go to Allahabad.

I have received the photograph which you have been good enough to send me and the letters and beautiful gifts from Generalissimo and Madame Chiang Kai-shek. I shall treasure that photograph with your very generous and beautifully written inscription and it shall be another bond between China and India. To the Generalissimo and Madame Chiang I am writing separately. But I would beg of you to convey to them my deep appreciation of and gratitude for their friendly messages and their beautiful gifts.

I have received a report of your conversation with my sister and given it the earnest consideration it deserves. I realise fully that in this world of chaos and trouble we have to be wide awake, and that all our problems are inter-connected. In particular, I am convinced and I ardently desire the closest of understanding and cooperation between China and India for the sake of our two countries and the world.

Your visit to India took place at a peculiar time and unfortunately you could not meet many of our friends. But I am very happy that you came. I am sure that you will understand our problems much better now and, through you, other people in China will also do so. Your visit has also brought China much nearer to our people and strengthened our links. Even from my seclusion I could judge what a marked effect your visit was producing on the mind and heart of India.

I trust that the long and strenuous journeys you have undertaken in India have not fatigued you too much and that you are returning to China in good health and spirit for the great work before you. You are carrying back with you the warmest good wishes of our people for you personally and for the great cause which is yours and, which we know well, is ours also.

With my own regards to you and again thanking you.

I am yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Dec. 19, Thursday

I have not written anything in this diary for six days, and yet these days have been unusual and rather full—almost exciting in the dull routine of prison. There has been, first of all, the daily expectation of Ranjit arriving here. But he has not come so far and there is no further news.

Then interviews. Bebee came on the 14th—the next day she came again to leave some things for me and this developed into a second interview. This was the first time I had met her in prison.

Vidya and Padma[20] also came to see me on the 14th on their way down from Mussoorie.

Bebee brought me letters from Chiang Kai-shek & Madame Chiang—also some gifts from them. These are beautiful embroideries. Dr. Tai Chi-tao had brought all these from China. I was happy to read these letters, especially the two from Madame Chiang. But the descriptions of Chungking now—a mass of debris, unrecognisable as a city—was very sad. A day or two later I wrote answers to Chiang & Madame—Also a letter to Tai Chi-tao. All these were sent to Huang, the Chinese Consul General in Calcutta.

Dr. Tai's visit to Anand Bhawan went off well. I had delightful accounts of it from Bebee & from a letter from Nan. He is a very likable person and he has impressed everybody. I am very glad he came just now and his visit has been quite an event. China & India grow closer together.

Absence of news about Indu was upsetting me. I decided to send a cable to Agatha and this was written and sent off to the jail office. Very soon after I had a cable from Agatha informing me that Indu was in Lisbon waiting for a priority air passage to London. I just managed to stop my cable. This means that there is no chance of Indu reaching India before March at the earliest, more probably in April. A long way off.

K. T. Shah came today and we had a long talk about the affairs of the National Planning Committee.

Some Punjabis, whom I do not know, sent me a Pashmina shawl, a huge case of fine apples and a basketful of dried fruits.

Dec. 23, Monday

Ranjit suddenly arrived this morning. All day was spent in cleaning and arranging our 'cell'. It is a tight fit—Looks like a crowded railway compartment or cabin.

The new Supt. Colonel Lucas took his first parade today.

20. Padmavathi; daughter of Kishenlal Nehru.

Dec. 29, Sunday

The year is near its appointed end and I have been almost two months in prison. I have been spending these days quietly (of course in prison) and peacefully. In fact I was rather surprised at my own peace of mind. Not once did I get ruffled in temper or really put out either at happenings in prison or events outside. This was an unusual and comforting experience and I came to the conclusion that I was 'growing' and developing.

But I was a little premature and the temper has not behaved latterly as it ought. Since the arrival of the new Supt. the atmosphere in jail has changed. He has been to see us three times and there was nothing wrong in what he said or did. He was anxious that we should not suffer from the cold. Evidently he felt the change from Allahabad very much and was continually complaining of the cold. He even suggested—or someone else suggested—an electric radiator. He said he would write to the I.G. for permission. As a matter of fact I do not feel the cold very much and anyway do not mind it. I thought, however, that Ranjit might feel more comfortable with a heater.

On his first visit to the jail, Lucas, the Suptd., evidently put the fear of God in all the jail officials. Reprimanded some and generally frightened everybody over relatively trivial matters. His reputation for sternness had preceded him.

Then an incident occurred which concerned me. One of the prisoners serving us was Brijlal who had been given a short sentence, about 6 months, for pilfering or some such thing. He was being discharged after completing his sentence. He was a bright young person and I was naturally interested in his future. I gave him good advice and told him to behave &c. His home was somewhere in the north of the Punjab but he was arrested in Dehra Dun. He was worried about not having any proper clothes to wear on release or blanket, as well as his railway fare to his home in the Punjab. He had Rs. 15/- deposited in his account at the jail office.

On the day of his discharge he was given his Rs. 15/- and he went and made some purchases, a blanket and then came back to the prison. He came to see me and told me that he expected to get his railway fare from the jail people. A little later he came again and said that the Jailor had told him that he would not get this fare as he possessed Rs. 15/- of his own which was enough to see him home. He was in a quandary as he had already spent a good part of this money. So I gave him a note for the Jailor suggesting that Rs. 10/- might be given to him

from my personal account. Otherwise he would be destitute and unable to get home.

The Jailor came to see me about it and told me that he was unable to do this without the Suptd.'s sanction. I asked him to refer the matter to the Suptd. and forgot about it. I could not imagine that there would be any difficulty.

The next day I learnt that the Suptd. had not only refused this but had demanded all manner of explanations as to how Brijlal had been allowed to see me after his discharge. The poor warder who had admitted him into my barrack was in trouble.

This incident irritated me. Brijlal had been serving in this barrack for many weeks, coming & going between this barrack & the main jail several times a day. It was natural for the warder to let him in even though technically he might be discharged. As a matter of fact I did not know for certain that he had been finally discharged, although he was wearing his own clothes. I thought there was something still to be done about the fare business. Anyway I failed to see any harm in his coming to say goodbye to me.

The matter is still undisposed of, so far as our warder is concerned, as the Supt. has gone off to Delhi for the Christmas holidays. If any punishment is awarded to the warder, I cannot remain silent. I have told the Jailor that if anyone is guilty, I am the person and I shall ask for punishment.

Numerous changes have crept in. Very great care is now taken about allowing anyone to come into our barrack. The contractor, who used to come daily with vegetables &c, may not come in—nor can the dhobi—or the *mali*. Indeed no one can come in (apart from the jail staff) except the sweeper. Our barrack gate is locked both from the outside and inside—two fat locks with keys with two different persons. Much more work for the warders, especially the head warder who has to come every time to open it from outside. This makes no real difference to us, but it is just irritating.

One morning when we were thinking of going out for our morning exercise in the jail compound, we were delayed as the outer lock could not be opened till the head *jamadar* came.

When we walk outside, our warder watches us—although there is a whole bunch of warders all the time in front of the jail gate where we take our walk.

Yesterday we learnt that some food had been sent for us from outside. This was evidently from Sahabzada Saiduzzafar Khan[21] who had arranged to send us some kind of a European meal every week. This had come

21. An old friend of Motilal Nehru.

the previous week. There was delay in this coming to us and we finished our usual midday meal. It was then ushered in and we learnt that a message was given by the Jailor to the man who had brought it, that in future nothing should be brought.

This upset me. Chiefly because it was so discourteous to Saiduzzafar Khan who had taken so much trouble over the matter; also because this restriction of outside food was a novel one in my experience of jail life. Not that I want it at all. I would much rather not have it. But new restrictions give a sensation of suffocation—I refused to accept the food and, I am afraid, showed some temper to the Jailor.

This evening the *Naib* Jailor rolled in with two fat registers and a stamping machine. Wanted to take our finger prints. He had casually mentioned this a few days ago and I had informed him that I did not intend giving any thumb or finger impression. Now he came armed with a letter from the I.G. saying that the thumb impression should be taken. We refused rather curtly.

Our letters are now sent to the local C.I.D. for being passed—they bear the signature of Luck the S.P.

I mention all these trivial details of jail life because they have upset my composure. Possibly they may have further developments. Amery's description of my 'quarters' and way of living in prison gets curiouser and curiouser. Indeed in regard to most matters I was better off in Dehra Dun Jail during my long stay in 1932-33.

I had a long interview with Betty, Raja & Nandan on Dec. 25th—Christmas Day.

No further news of Indu from Lisbon or London—A letter came from Agatha today dated Nov. 1st in which she tells me of Indu's plans to return to London—Evidently these had been maturing for some weeks and had nothing to do with my arrest.

A letter also from Edward Thompson—What a dear, sensitive person he is! I like him more and more, though he is usually grousing. He is unhappy. So, I suppose, are all sensitive persons. He has done a splendid bit of work for India's cause by writing his new book[22]—His article in *Time & Tide* after my arrest was also very good.[23] His letter was written before my arrest.

22. *Enlist India for Freedom!* published in 1940.
23. *The Drift to Niagara in India.* Reprinted in the *National Herald*, 11 January 1941.

January 3, 1941

The New Year has crept in quietly as if it was a little ashamed of itself. For us it was chiefly notable for three events: a beautiful bunch of roses came from a friend in Dehra Dun, a telegram from Betty & Raja from Calcutta, a book from Padmaja. For the rest we carry on in the old way.

Yesterday I heard that Wazir Hasan our old warder (who has been transferred now from our barrack) had been fined Rs. 2/- by the Supt. for the Brijlal incident. I was upset for he was totally innocent from every point of view and I was concerned in the matter. I wrote a long letter to the Supt.[24] giving all the facts and mentioning also many of the changes that have taken place here since he came. This letter went this morning and soon afterwards he came to see us. He seemed to take it well. On the whole he impressed me as a man who means well but who tries to cover his want of understanding of human beings and events by sticking to 'discipline' so as to make an impression—He said he would refer the whole matter to the I.G. It seemed rather odd to do so but he was not willing apparently to assume any responsibility.

A cable today from Agatha and Bhandari:

'Indira writes date departure uncertain owing demand seats even with priority stop among friends in good climate don't worry.'

It is raining and cold and clammy—Probably it is snowing on the Mussoorie Hills.

January 6, Monday

No cable from Indu or about Indu but the *Herald* had a cable from London to say that she arrived last Friday Jan. 4th.

I was pleased with my spinning progress today—I spun 540 yards in exactly 1½ hours, that is 360 yards per hour—The yarn was fine—probably approaching 30 count.

Jan. 7, Tuesday

Cable from Indu today—five days old—to announce arrival in London —Future plans uncertain.

24. Not printed.

Jan. 8th

Cable from Bhandari to say that he had examined Indu and found her lungs in a completely satisfactory condition. Was going to consult Hebert.

Betty & Raja coming for an interview tomorrow.

The jail rules, as they apply to us, are being tightened all round. All letters, periodicals &c, received or despatched, have to pass the C.I.D. Everything that I ask for has first to be passed by the Supt. and then, when it has come from the bazaar, is again inspected by him. This happened to tooth brushes today. Amusing but sometimes irritating also.

Jan. 9th, Thursday

Interview with Betty, Raja and Janak.

Jan. 10, Friday

Anniversary of mother's death—three years—My mind was full of her last night and today. Had a restless night.

Sent my fortnightly letters. Principal covering letter to Padmaja who is still in Anand Bhawan—Enclosures to Indu, Agatha, Edward & Amma.

Jan. 10, 1941[25]

Darling Indu,

So you are in London now. Long before your cable came—for cables take time nowadays, especially to reach in prison—I learnt of your arrival in London from the newspapers. Another cable came from Bhandari later informing me that he had found you in excellent condition. I am very happy to learn this. I am glad you have got out of dismal and

25. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

depressing Leysin. I did not want to press you to leave the place so long as you felt that your health might improve there. But on general principles I am entirely opposed to very long stays in sanatoria, unless there is no choice left in the matter.

Now that you are fit you can fix your future programme as you choose, taking just a little care to remain fit and not overtax your strength and health. Long before this reaches you—it may not reach you at all—you will have decided upon your programme. Perhaps you may have left England. Anyway you are in the best position to decide.

What a changed London you must have found ! Changed not merely in outward appearance but in so many other ways. It is a symbol of the titanic changes that are convulsing the world. London has had a bad time, like so many other cities in various countries. And yet perhaps no city has suffered more during the past years than Chungking.

Some time back I had a letter from Madame Chiang Kai-shek. She said in this: "If you were to visit Chungking now you would not recognize it. Square miles of the most prosperous business districts have now become shambles, and so far as the eyes can see nothing but debris and ruins stretch out in all directions. All of us, who are still sound in limb, have worked and toiled incessantly for the relief of the tens of thousands of homeless refugees deprived of every means of livelihood through the insensate destruction of human lives and property with the most calculated cruelty ever conceived by man."

Such is our world today. Something much more vital than buildings has gone to pieces. It will not be pieced together after the old patterns again whatever happens. Meanwhile we as individuals feel rather lost, at least the older generation do, lost most of all in a spiritual sense. Out of that feeling of loss one forgets oneself and then finds oneself perhaps in a vast movement where individuals count for little. And yet through this impersonal finding of ourselves, the individual also recovers.

I have been reading a book about China—Lin Yutang's new novel of Chinese life—*Moment in Peking*. It is a tremendously long book and rather unlike a modern novel. And yet it is worth reading and I hope you will get hold of it. China is very different from India and yet there is so much in common. Both have been passing through a tremendous period of transition in their inner lives and this transition has suddenly to face a world change. I have been drawn more and more towards China and admire her culture greatly.

Betty and Raja and Janak came to interview me yesterday. Betty and Raja have gone back to Bombay and my interviews are not likely to be regular in future. There are not many people available whom I am anxious to interview. I should like to see Amma and perhaps she will

come next fortnight or later. Amma is anxious about Kailas, having had no news of him for a while. I have sent her Bhandari's address.

Anand Bhawan has fewer occupants now that Chand has joined college in Lucknow. There are Tara and Rita. For the present Padmaja is there for a few days. She will be leaving next week. I am sending this letter through her. (The letter is going direct.)

I understand that Lindsay Drummond is bringing out a collection of my writings and calling it *The Unity of India*. Please ask Krishna to have complimentary copies sent on my behalf to various friends of ours. You can make a list. Copies should be sent to Bapu and Gurudeva. Also to Madame Chiang Kai-shek (Chungking) and Madame Sun Yat-sen (27 Grampion Road, Kowloon, Hong Kong) and to the Chinese Ambassador in London. To Agatha, Edward Thompson and Carl Heath. You can add to this list in England and India. Also to Mrs. Frances Gunther, 300 Central Park West, New York City. Mrs. Gunther has written to invite you to America and says she will look after you.

It has been cold here, not nearly so cold as you must be having. But in just three weeks on February 1st *Vasanta* begins and that means a change to spring.

All my love to you, my darling one.

Your loving,
Papu

January 10, 1941[26]

TO EDWARD THOMPSON

Dear Edward,

I was happy to receive your letter, which reached me just before the New Year came in. I am writing a few lines just to send you my good wishes, if they are worth anything. Under existing circumstances it is not a cheerful task to write letters. But it is cheering to hear from friends and your letter, though far from cheerful, was very welcome.

It is difficult for most of us to adapt ourselves to the vast changes that are taking place and will take place. They are too big for pessimism or optimism. We have lost ourselves in the maelstrom and the process of

26. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

finding ourselves again is likely to be painful and slow. The old world, in India or elsewhere, is broken for good. Something entirely new and different must emerge. Whether that will be for the better or the worse I do not know. But how many realise that this has taken place? How many still try to patch up the broken pieces?

Ranjit and I are here together in Dehra Dun Jail. Ranjit is busy translating an old Sanskrit play, the *Mudrarakshasa*, written about the seventh century during the Gupta period. This is a political and historical play dealing with Chanakya and Chandragupta Maurya and is full of the wiles and strategems of kings and their ministers. The world has not changed so much after all. Ranjit would like to send you a copy of the translation when it is ready.

I hope your sons are doing well.

Yours,
Jawaharlal

Jan. 10, 1941[27]

TO PADMAJA NAIDU

Bebee dear,
I had no idea you were still in Allahabad. Betty told me yesterday and I understand that you are likely to remain in Anand Bhawan till the 18th. I am glad you have prolonged your stay there.

The books you have sent have reached me. They are an attractive collection—too attractive, and likely to keep me away from more solid work.

Betty conveyed a message to me from Bapu about the Kamala Memorial Hospital. He wanted to know if I was in favour of a formal opening ceremony now or soon, as suggested by Jivraj Mehta. I told Betty that I did not particularly favour the idea but it was for Bapu to decide finally. On giving further thought to it I am still more against it. I think such a ceremony now would be out of keeping with most things and it might even be difficult to have a proper ceremony. I suggest therefore that the hospital should start work without any such show or

27. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L.

ceremony. It should be announced that the real ceremony in connection with it will take place later and will, we hope, be performed by Bapu. I realise that this may mean a fairly long delay. That does not matter. Anyway we are not committing ourselves about the future. There is Indu also coming and it would be desirable to have her here at the time. If Jivraj likes there may be a simple local ceremony (not by Bapu) but it should be understood that this is not the real one which will come later.

Will you please convey this opinion of mine to Bapu soon? Of course I shall abide by his decision, whatever it is.

Please ask Upadhyaya to get from Kitabistan or Bombay or Calcutta Lin Yutang's *Moment in Peking* (Macmillan). I have read this book and like it. It was Betty's copy and I am returning it to her. But I want to have the book (not here) and to send it to Nan. So as soon as the book is received, Upadhyaya is to send it to Nan.

He might also send her Shelvankar's *Problem of India* (Penguin Series). This ought to be in my room.

Tell Nan, if you see her, that I shall try to send her books from here direct from time to time. There is one book which she might like to read, though it is not light reading. If you can find it in my room you can send it. Unfortunately I cannot remember the name of the book or of the author! It is a book dealing with political theory from Aristotle and Plato to Marx and Mussolini & Hitler, &c. It is a fair-sized book running into 500 or so substantial pages and I think has a dark blue cover. The author's name begins I think with an S. It is an unusual name. The book is prescribed for the Oxford honours course and Indu had to read it. I know it is in my room. It is either in the dressing room shelf or in the shelves near my writing table. If you can find it, please send it to Nan.[28]

Ranjit wants me to tell you that Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus* 2 vols. should not be ordered from Kitabistan. This is an old out of print book and even if Kitabistan can find it, they will want a fancy price for it. If the order has been given, please have it cancelled. If the book comes from Rajkot, well & good. Otherwise you should be able to get it from either the Allahabad University Library or the Allahabad Public Library.

I am told you have produced a wonderful change in the library & in my other books and all manner of lists have been prepared.

Please ask Upadhyaya to send the enclosed four letters to their respective addresses. The English ones should go by air mail.

28. Jawaharlal appears to have had in mind George Sabine: *A History of Political Theory.*

There is one thing more I should like to have. Ask Upadhyaya to send me *mal* for my charkha. There is a bundle of this string in my dressing room drawers. All this might be sent by post.

Keep well and strong and smiling—of course you will.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

There are two books I should like to have. They are new books and Upadhyaya might try to get them. They are:

J.R. Fyvel: *The Malady and the Vision* (Secker & Warburg 10/6)
Harold Laski: *Where do we go from here?* (Penguin Special)

I am told that I cannot send any enclosures with this letter. So the enclosures remain with me. Please write to Agatha Harrison by air mail that in case Indu has left Eng'and she can open my letters to Indu.

Jan. 11, Saturday

The Supt. came this morning and pointed out that I could send only *one* letter a fortnight and not more in the shape of enclosures. He showed me a letter from the I.G. which had come in connection with my letters to Chiang Kai-shek, Madame Chiang & Tai Chi-tao. These letters, I learnt, had been sent to the I.G. who had forwarded them on to the Chinese Consul-General in Calcutta. I did not know this. The I.G. had in fact pointed out that having sent three letters in that Chinese bunch I had used up my letters for three fortnights!

There was some argument. I was told that there were separate orders to the effect that I could write to Indu apart from my fortnightly letters. Ultimately my letters to Padmaja & Indu were sent separately with no enclosures. The letters to Agatha, Edward & Amma were suppressed.

So the practice of previous years in jail, of sending enclosures, does not hold now.

I am writing to the Supt. about N.P.C. work. I am receiving the sub-committees' reports for revision. Can I do this work? If I am not allowed to send the revised copies back or my notes on them, then why take trouble over them?

Ranjit has not been well today. He felt poorly all day. In the evening his temperature was 99.4°F.

Judgement was delivered today on the Mussoorie Murder Case[29]—transportation for life for all three accused. Two boys and a man. One of the boys is English. The other two are Parsees. They have been kept in the European lock-up opposite our barrack and I have seen them, from a little distance daily. They were confident of getting off. Even after the sentence the English boy did not appear to be depressed. He was now confident of getting off in appeal to the High Court.

Both the boys are in their middle teens—they are just school boys. What a curious way of reforming them or punishing them by keeping them for 15 or twenty years in prison.

Jan. 11, 1941[30]

TO THE SUPERINTENDENT, DISTRICT JAIL, DEHRA DUN

Dear Mr. Superintendent,

In view of what you told me about my letters this morning, necessitating the suppression of three brief personal enclosures, I should like to know how the rules or the discretionary power are going to be applied in regard to another matter. I do not want to take the trouble to do something which I am subsequently informed is against the rules and I should not have done.

I have been functioning for over two years as the Chairman of the National Planning Committee. This Committee has consisted of representatives of all the provincial governments, some important Indian states, prominent businessmen, economists, engineers, and some other experts. The Committee appointed twenty-nine sub-committees on various subjects—agricultural, industrial, financial, educational, cultural etc. Most of these sub-committees, consisting of experts in the particular subject entrusted to them, presented their reports, which were considered by the full Planning Committee. The Committee will of course carry on its work in my absence, but in regard to many matters they, or the General Secretary, desire to make references to me to obtain my views

29. On the night of June 9 and 10, 1940, Noel Bankwalla, a senior student of St. Fidelis School, was murdered by Homi K. Gandhi, Malcolm Fordham and J. Barrons.

30. J.N. Prison Papers, N.M.M.L.

about the procedure to be followed. With this object in view, the Hon. General Secretary of the Planning Committee, Prof. K.T. Shah, had a business interview with me here on December 19th last. I gave him then the necessary instructions. Presumably he will make further references to me from time to time.

The General Secretary has sent me some of the sub-committees' reports for me to revise them or make any suggestions in regard to them. I have, in the course of the last week or ten days, received reports on Irrigation; River Training and Protection from Floods; Soil Conservation and Afforestation; and Rural Marketing and Finance. I am supposed to return them with such corrections or notes as I might choose to add to them.

Ordinarily I would attach a piece of paper to each report pointing out any errors and making suggestions. Sometimes even this may not be necessary. Or it may be that occasionally a longer note by me is needed. As soon as I have finished with a report, I would like to send it back.

I should like to know how far I am allowed to proceed with this work of revision etc. of the reports sent to me. Can I return them at any time I choose? Or is the sending back of a report with a brief note attached equivalent to a fortnightly letter? Or am I to desist from sending any such thing at any time?

I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know, so that I might adjust myself accordingly. I am naturally anxious that the work of the Planning Committee should not suffer or be delayed by my absence. But this depends very largely on the facilities offered to me to deal with these reports and other references. If it is decided not to offer me these facilities then the other people concerned have to be informed so that they might make their own arrangements. In any event I want to know where I stand so that there might be no further misunderstandings and waste of effort and time.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

January 15

After two days' of fever Ranjit gradually recovered. He is still a bit groggy. His brief illness rather frightened me because of his previous history of pleurisy &c.

I had a letter today from Essie Robeson.[31] I was very pleased to get it. The letter bubbles over with her amazing vitality.

Jan. 22nd

Yesterday the Supt. came and showed me the I.G.'s reply in connection with my long letter about the fine on the warder & the general change in treatment in jail. The I.G. said that there was no appeal from the fine but under the circumstances a warning seemed to him enough. So the fine has been remitted.

About other matters he said that he would discuss them with me when he came here.

Today I learn that the I.G. is coming tomorrow morning. There is a great deal of bustle in the jail in preparation for the 'Jandaili.'

No news from or about Indu for three weeks now. I am worried a little and for some days have thought of sending a cable. But then I have held myself back.

23.1.41[32]

Darling Betty,

I am writing to you, as promised, but I am not sure if you will welcome my letter for I am going to suggest a great deal of work for you. During my previous terms in jail I was allowed, and so were others, to send some personal or business enclosures with my fortnightly letters. This did not go very far but it helped a little. I am now told that this is against the rules which do not permit enclosures or anything else of the kind. So I must content myself with one letter, without enclosures, every two weeks. Personally I feel inclined to avoid writing letters as far as possible, unless there is some special need for them. It is not necessary for me to write just to assure you and others that I am alive and kicking for you have sufficient faith in my vitality to believe that. To retire into one's shell is a good thing, for some at least. So many odd

31. She had asked him to suggest titles of books which she could send from America.

32. *Nehru's Letters to His Sister*, (London, 1963), pp. 72-74. Extracts.

things turn up and, in spite of all efforts to detach oneself, life has so many holds that something had to be done about them. So I suppose I shall write once a fortnight either to you or to someone else....

My love to you and Raja and the children and all our friends in Bombay.

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

Jan. 24, Friday

Col. Sheikh, the I.G., visited this jail yesterday. He was very friendly to Ranjit & me and seemed anxious to help us, within limits. But the limits, as laid down by the jail manual, were rigid and his vision did not extend beyond it.

About taking thumb impressions he told me that a new rule had been framed, apparently because of refusal to submit to the old rule and the reference to him. The new rule says that signatures might be taken instead of thumb impressions at the discretion of the Supt.

About letters—no enclosures to the fortnightly letters— The rule said one letter a fortnight and one it must remain. But, as a special favour, I could write to Indu apart from the fortnightly letter.

The N.P.C. matter is under consideration of Govt. They will let me know later how far I can do this work from prison.

Outside food not permitted to us or to any A or B class prisoners— This was only allowed to detenus. I had not asked for it but the question had arisen because of the Saiduzzafar Khan incident.

Govt. is apparently considering whether some further facilities for receiving letters should be granted to me.

I sent a long letter this morning to Betty to Bombay instructing her to write a large number of letters on my behalf—to Walsh, Krishna Menon, Frances Gunther, Essie Robeson, Padmaja, Agatha Harrison, Amma, Upadhyaya, Pocha &c, &c. Dealt with the Urdu edition of *Glimpses* & the suggestion to bring out an American edition of it.

I sent the following cable to Agatha today :

'Have had no news Indira since her arrival London stop would be grateful for news.'

I finished my 50th hank (of 500 yards) of yarn today, counting from time I came to prison this time. That is 25000 yards so far spun in 2½ months.

Jan. 25, Saturday

The Supt. came this morning and said that as only one letter a fortnight could be delivered to me, and many came, the whole lot might be sent to my secretary for him to pick out the right one! This seemed rather extraordinary procedure. I suggested that I might be told the names of the senders & then I could pick out one—the rest being sent to Allahabad. This was agreed to— How it will function I do not know.

I find that even the formal resolution of the Managing Committee of the K.N.M.H. which came to me for signature, has been detained in the office pending Govt.'s orders. Also of course all my N.P.C. papers.

I am afraid my description of the present Govt. to the Supt. was not at all deferential or polite. It was forceful.

Independence Day

A full day and I feel the better for it. Earlier than usual, before five in the morning, I woke up. For long I sat up in bed and thought of the past eleven years—the first Purna Swaraj Day in 1930 and all that has happened since. 1930 with all its enthusiasm & excitement & jail-going —1931—I was discharged on this very day to see my dying father and the ten days that followed— His death—and so my mind wandered to the other anniversaries of the Day in prison—and Kamala's illness and after.

Four years ago in the height of the election campaign. Where was I then? I forget. Three years ago in the Frontier Province where I took the pledge so many times thus in Pushtu as I wandered from village to village with Abdul Ghaffar Khan.

Two years ago in Almora with Indu, and Nanda Devi and the snowy peaks of the Himalayas looking down upon from their eternal solitude as we repeated the oft-repeated pledge.

Last year? Where was I then? Probably in Allahabad. I do not remember clearly.

And now again in Dehra Jail where I am likely to remain for a long long time. For there is no ending of this prison business this time till the cause of it goes. Of that I felt sure and I was glad of it.

So I thought, and in the silence of the star-lit pre-dawn I repeated the pledge in my mind.

I went out for a wash; it was about 5.30. Distant echoes came to me. Gradually the voice of the *prabhat feri* singers came nearer and the slogans and songs were clearer. I stood and listened and I felt strong and glad. It was cold and chilly in the open but I stood there listening. The voices came nearer and stopped outside the jail compound. Then someone with a powerful voice made an announcement about the day's programme. It was a little speech in which he referred to the aged rishi doing *tapasya* for Swaraj at Shegaon and then to others. As I stood listening to him I found myself, unconsciously almost, straightening myself and standing to attention.

I had decided to spin at least 1000 yards today as a small offering of labour to the Day. It was not a difficult task by any means, although I had never done so much in a day before. It meant about 3 hours spinning. But there were all manner of interruptions. The District Engineer came to examine the roof of our cell and pronounced it unfit & totally unreliable. It might collapse at any time without much notice.

Then there were visitors—interviews—which took up a good part of the day. I started off by showing considerable irritation at the jail authorities—I was expecting Bijju & Fory & Madan for the interview. But in the morning the Jailor informed me that Bijju had not been informed— In fact permission for him & Fory to see me today had only come this morning from the District Magistrate! How that permission could be availed of at this late stage I could not make out. Evidently the matter had been referred to the U.P. Govt.— Everything has to be referred to them. So I was a little angry at this mess.

A little later, however, Bijju & Fory did turn up on the off chance of being allowed to see me. So we had the interview after all.

After this interview followed another—Madan and Nandu.[33]

It appears that Nan, though fit, is feeling very lonely all by herself in Naini prison. No wonder. It is a trial to live in a big barrack all by oneself. Sloan—one of the advisers, who used to be a Secretary to Govt. under Rafi—visited her and rubbed her up the wrong way. How insufferable and absolutely insensitive these old English civilians are. One thing is certain. There is going to be no lining up with this class even in the future. At least I hope so. Either they remain top dogs and we in prison or its equivalent, or they have to pack up and leave this country which they have misgoverned for so long. There is not room enough for both of us in India.

33. Anand Narain Mulla (b. 1901); judge, Allahabad High Court, 1954-61; member, Lok Sabha, 1967-70; member, Rajya Sabha since 1972.

After our visitors had gone and we had cleaned up, it was nearly five in the evening—the time fixed for the Independence Day meetings. So Ranjit and I held our little meeting and we repeated together the pledge.

My promise to myself to spin today 1000 yards of yarn still remained unfulfilled. I had managed to spin about 600 yards in the morning in spite of interruptions. I sat down again and spun nearly 500 yards more. So I finished my two hanks of 500 yards each today and had about a 100 yards over. This little experience of intensive spinning gave me the assurance that I could, without much difficulty, spin 2000 yards in a day—and, under duress, even 2500 yards, though that would be very tiring.

And so another Independence Day is over— When will the real Day come?

January 27, Monday

Interviews and the like in prison disturb the mind— And then there was Independence Day and all the thoughts connected with it— And so last night was a troubled and disturbed affair. I am told I groaned and talked in my sleep—I woke up many times and dreams filled my mind, which faded out of my consciousness soon after awaking.

January 29, Wednesday

A letter came today from Indu. It was dated 14th December from Lisbon and came by Clipper *via* New York. It told me all about her journey from Geneva to Lisbon and, in the event of accidents happening, gave me information about certain monies of hers in banks!

I was very happy to get it. It came as a complete surprise. Any letter now would come as a surprise for none are being delivered to me and, I am told, they are piling up in the jail office. But to get one from Indu, with a bright little snap shot of hers enclosed, was joy indeed.

I was in no hurry to read it. Or rather I was so full of it that I could not rush through it. I looked long at the envelope and was surprised to find some change in her handwriting. It was hers and yet somewhat different. It seemed more formed and solider.

She has been in my thoughts continually for many days and I have been waiting impatiently for an answer to my cable to Agatha. Now I

feel a little more peaceful, though Indu's letter has nothing to do with later news of her.

I am eager to write to her but I suppose I had better wait for Agatha's reply.

The ways of our Supt. become stranger and stranger. Yesterday a barber came to cut my hair and Ranjit's. The Jailor has been asked for an explanation why an outside barber was allowed.

I received a parcel of lovely Malta oranges from Chaman Lal today. We are overflowing with supplies now—indeed many totally unnecessary things have been sent to us or left with us by Bijju & Fory & Madan & Nandu.

Jan. 30, Thursday

A cable from Indu from London :

'Ashby Hall Hebert Bhandari satisfied condition am awaiting passage India love.'

Good, but no indication of how long this waiting is going to last.

Jan. 31, Friday

I wrote to Indu today to London.

Hifazat Hussain the D.M. came to visit us today. Talked about our letters—N.P.C., &c and our cell—a tent has been put up here and we are supposed to move into it lest the roof of our cell fall on our heads.

My month's total of yarn spun in January: 26 hanks of 500 yards each —total = 13000 yards. Which is good. The average count is 30. Total since I came to jail this time:

57 hanks = 28500 yards

Tomorrow is *Vasanta Panchami.*

January 31, 1941[34]

Darling Indu,

For more than three weeks I had received no news of you and though

34. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

it is not my habit to worry, I decided to cable to Agatha. I sent the cable to her as I was not quite sure where you might be. And even if I cabled to you it would be care of Agatha. Your answer to this cable came yesterday and I was happy to get it. It gives no indication whatever of when you are likely to get a passage. This, I suppose, is a mystery which is not revealed till the last moment.

Day before yesterday I received your letter from Lisbon dated 14th December. It took just a month and a half to travel round the world *via* New York, Manila, China etc. Perhaps a good part of this time was taken up by the various censors reading your letter. What a crowd of these not very lovable individuals must have pored over it from Portugal to India! It would be interesting to make a list. In India alone it has to pass, I think, four scrutinies, three of these being in Dehra Dun. It is not an easy matter to get excited about letter-writing under these circumstances. Anyway I have no occasion for excitement as letters for me or from me are rare indeed.

I looked long at the envelope which contained your letter. Your handwriting on an envelope had not come to me for some months. (The letter you sent from Bex has not reached me yet.) Like a treasure which has come my way unexpectedly and out of which I wish to take full delight before examining it, I gazed long at the envelope. It seemed to me that your handwriting was not quite the same as it used to be. It was yours of course and yet it made me imagine that someone was trying to copy it. Handwriting of course changes and develops and there was nothing surprising about a slight change which seemed to have crept in yours. But then, I wondered, does this indicate some change in you also? We all change as the days and years roll by and I am myself conscious of very definite changes in my own make-up. As I look back I seem to see a procession of different personalities merging into each other and yet each with its own distinctive features. Whether the changes are for the good or not I do not know. Or perhaps it is not so much a change of personality that takes place as the emergence of different aspects of the same personality. We are, each one of us, a group of different individuals, all tied up together with no hope of release, and sometimes they quarrel amongst themselves and we feel the tension and the pain.

So, I wondered, during these two years since we met, how have you progressed and changed in this changing and moving world. I looked at the snap shot you have sent me. It is a good one and I like it. But it did not help me in my enquiry.

I have read your letter several times and, as I read it, travelled with you from Geneva to Lisbon. We stayed at Barcelona for a while but

the thought of that lovely city produces a catch in my throat and a pain in my heart. And then your adventures in Lisbon. Anyway you are out of all that and facing fresh adventures.

Three weeks ago I tried to send brief letters to Agatha and Edward Thompson but I was not successful. The rules regarding correspondence that are being enforced this time are different and stricter than on previous occasions. You are an exception and I am allowed to write to you and to receive your letters when they come—there are not too many of them!—but otherwise I am rather cut off from the world. It does not matter. It is a change for me to which I am rapidly adapting myself. The change is big enough for, as you know, my normal existence is overfull with correspondence. I grope about in a very jungle of letters and make mighty, and seldom wholly successful, efforts to cope with it. And now to receive practically no letters and to write once a fortnight will no doubt do my soul good.

I am glad you sent some money to Nanu. I wish I could help him more. For years past I have been trying to induce him to come to India for a change at least and to make himself fitter for his work. But he is or was extraordinarily in certain ruts and cannot pull himself out till fate gives him a kick. Send him my love if you can get through to him. Louise Morin and Jean-Jacques also. It will cheer them up if they get messages of love and friendship from outside.

I was amused to read your testamentary dispositions of the money you had deposited at Cooks. You must have got the money in London and you will no doubt make good use of it. No more will be sent to you. But I am glad I had that 70 sent to Agatha for you. If you do not require it, you can pass it on to others who might stand in greater need of it—there is Kailas, Krishna, Feroze or Nanu or anyone else. During these days of abnormality and uncertainty all manner of difficulties arise and grip one and so many of our friends may stand in need of a little help.

I wish you would send me a brief cable at least every two weeks just to say how you are getting on. Any message from you cheers me and seems to lessen the distance between us.

I am having odd interviews from time to time—usually even beyond the normal fortnight. I am not particularly keen on them. Last week Bijju and Fory motored up from Delhi to pay us a visit. Next week probably Chandar and Sri Handoo will turn up. They are being transferred to Burma again and want to say goodbye to me. I should have liked to see Amma but she is busy looking after Bappi in Agra.

The Memorial Hospital in Allahabad is practically ready now and the question has arisen as to whether there should be a formal and big

opening ceremony by Bapu. I was not very keen on it under the circumstances but Jivraj Mehta is anxious to have it. Jivraj has taken enormous trouble over this hospital and his wishes carry weight. Perhaps Bapu may agree to come over next month for the opening ceremony. The hospital is an attractive and efficient looking building. Some time or other, I suppose, Anand Bhawan will become an annexe of it, perhaps for little children. That will be for you to consider and decide.

The flowers in our barrack are slowly appearing. In another few weeks' time they should be in full bloom. The cold weather is still with us but its last stage has come. Tomorrow is *Vasanta Panchami*, the day which heralds the coming of spring. Usually it is remarkable how the season changes after this day, though perhaps in Dehra Dun the change may be slower. To me this day is an anniversary which I can never forget.

The little barrack we live in is a very ancient affair. I am told it was built nearly a hundred years ago. The roof has been pronounced unreliable and so we are being shifted to a little tent in our small courtyard while the roof is repaired or changed.

Give my love to Agatha and Krishna and Feroze and Kailas and all our other friends.

Ranjit sends you his love. He is busy with his translation work from Sanskrit—an old play written 1300 years ago dealing with Chanakya's time. Extraordinarily interesting some of these plays are. I wish I knew Sanskrit and could read them in the original.

My love to you, my darling one, and all good wishes.

Your loving,
Papu

February 4, Tuesday

About a week ago I happened to find out that Bapu had sent me a letter. Ordinarily this would not have come to my notice and his letter, like the others, would have been piled up with the rest in the jail office. But his letter happened to be under-stamped and I was asked at the time whether it should be accepted or not. I saw his handwriting and told the jail people to pay the extra charge.

Since then no news of the letter. It was obvious that Bapu would not write a trivial letter. There must be some purpose behind it. Probably it dealt with the Kamala Memorial Hospital and he wanted me to answer some enquiry. I was irritated a little at the letter not being delivered to me although it was clearly a business letter. But I said nothing about it. I disliked asking for what might be considered favours.

Today the *Naib* Jailor turned up and showed me a list of 17 or 18 letters addressed to me which had piled up in the jail office— There was Bapu's letter in the list, three from the N.P.C., two or three from the Secretary of the Kamala Memorial Hospital Committee. I asked to be given Bapu's letter. I then learnt that this cover contained also a letter from Amrit Kaur but this was considered a separate letter and I could have only one of them.

I took Bapu's— He wrote, as I had anticipated, about the Hospital— Jivraj was keen on Bapu performing the opening ceremony and Feb. 28th had been provisionally fixed for it. Bapu wanted to know if I agreed to this and had asked me to send a telegram. He thought a reference to me necessary as I had previously expressed an opinion that there should be no big *tamasha* under present circumstances.

On reconsideration I am inclined to think that it is desirable to have a formal opening by Bapu now. Anyway this has been fixed up already and I would have conveyed to him my willing consent. February 28th is a fit date— Five years ago Lausanne.

This afternoon I wrote a long letter to the Superintendent.[35] I have asked him if I can send a telegram to Bapu, as suggested by him—I have also asked him about N.P.C. papers and reports and the formal references to me by the Kamala Memorial Hospital Committee which are piling up in the jail office. I have suggested that all these might be sent back to the senders with a note that they cannot be delivered to me.

Bapu wrote at the top of his letter: "This is a business letter— urgent." In spite of this no effort was made to give me the letter or even to mention it. This is the first time that such a thing has happened in my jail experience during the last twenty years. It astonishes me how petty and little-minded our rulers are.

Chandar has written to the Superintendent to say that one of her children has got measles and so she will not come to interview me next Sunday, as had been arranged. So no interview for me this time or, for the matter of that, next time.

I have been feeling poorly today. Slightly feverish, tired, and a curious slight pain on the left side of my face— Perhaps the pain has something to do with the teeth.

My thoughts run to Indu so many times a day and I wish that news of her departure from England would come. I hardly realise myself how much I want to see her— But my present anxiety is due to a fear that

35. Not printed.

her departure might be indefinitely postponed owing to war developments. The papers are full of the coming 'invasion' of England and of an intense U-boat campaign. If something of this nature begins then sailings might become still more limited.

I complete 3 months today after my sentence — one-sixteenth of my full term.

Feb. 5th, Wednesday

The Supt. has not deigned to send any reply to my letter sent yesterday —not even an oral message as to whether I can send the telegram to Bapu. Probably he wants to consult the S.P. or others or refer this too to Govt.

I learnt casually today that the various packets of books I am endeavouring to return by post are not being sent at all and are piling up in the jail office. I knew of course that the N.P.C. bundles were there but it did surprise me to find that even books which were being sent to Nan and Betty were being treated in the same way. I am reluctantly coming to the conclusion that our Superintendent is soft in the head.

An old lady, American I think, named Miss Stehalin, who has a farm near Dehra Dun, has been sending us very beautiful flowers. 'From one lover of flowers to another.' Ranjit has met her once at a Congress meeting which she attended.

I felt below par all today, but a little better than yesterday.

February 6, 1941[36]

TO PADMAJA NAIDU

Bebee dear,

I am glad you are still at Anand Bhawan and likely to stay on till the end of the month. I was under the impression, till your letter came for Ranjit, that you had gone back.

36. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

... I suppose Betty has conveyed to you my message about the Urdu translation of *Glimpses of World History*. I went through all the correspondence with Nawab Manzoor Jung. I am very keen on this translation coming out soon, provided of course it is competently done. I wanted the Jamia people to take it up for they would have made money out of it, but their ideas of business are really fantastic. They are very admirable folk and I like Zakir Husain and Abid [37] and the others very much indeed. They work themselves to death almost on starvation allowances. With all that they have no idea of doing any job in a businesslike way. They could have made far more money out of me than they have actually done. I am afraid it is no good leaving *Glimpses* completely to them, much as I would like this. But I want to be quite fair to them. I have no doubt that Abid's translation must be a good one and it would be a pity not to use it. I do not know anything about Nawab Manzoor Jung's capacity or ability. Probably you know him or about him. All I can say is that I like his enthusiasm.

It appears that the Nawab has already come to terms with some Lahore press which is prepared to finance the undertaking. Precious little financing is really necessary and if the Jamia knew its job they could have printed the book without any financial resources to begin with, or hardly any. The book is not a drag; it is going to be a paying proposition. However I cannot help other people's failings. It might have been possible for the Jamia and the Lahore publisher to combine in the publication—that is the book to appear under their joint auspices. The Lahore man to pay the initial costs and the Jamia to give their copyright as well as the translation or such part of it as is done. This is often done. The business side of such a combination should be perfectly simple, for instance, a fixed royalty to be given to the Jamia for their rights as well as the translation. This might be 5% or so on the published price of books actually sold. This should go entirely to the translator. The balance of profit (apart from the author's royalty of 10%) would be a matter of arrangement between Nawab Manzoor Jung and the Lahore publisher. If the Jamia could get more I would be happy. I have suggested the lowest figures (according to English practice). I think the usual rates in India are higher. The payment of royalty on sales is no burden on the publisher.

If this arrangement is not agreed to by the parties then a lump sum will have to be paid by the Lahore publisher for the translation as well as the copyright to the Jamia. What I would prefer is the association of the Jamia's name with the publication. This will be good for them.

37. S. Abid Hussain (b. 1896); Urdu scholar who translated Jawaharlal's *An Autobiography, The Discovery of India* and *Glimpses of World History*.

It is always a little difficult to come to an arrangement when three parties or more are concerned. These difficulties will increase enormously if everything has to be referred to me here. So I want you to take charge of the matter and decide as you think best. You can discard any of the suggestions made by me. I am only anxious that the settlement should carry the Jamia's goodwill and assent. Also that it should be a precise businesslike one. I am weary of the casual ways of our publishers in India. Please remember that Horrabin's illustrations and maps must be reproduced and the latest edition of the book used. Horrabin will of course have to be paid, but that can be settled later. It won't be very much.

Give my love to Nan when you see her. And tell her that I am still keen on her going to China. I am quite sure that this will be good for her as well as for others. It is such an easy matter now—two days by plane or less. Altogether a fortnight or say three weeks if Hong Kong is included, as it should be, so that Madame Sun is visited. I really think this should be done. I have, I am afraid, rather large ideas and distant visions haunt my mind. But there is a great deal of reality about them. Tell Nan to think over all this and, if she agrees, to set about it in right earnest as soon as she is in a position to do so. Let it be a private visit and if no one goes with her, let her go alone. All the money spent will be well spent in rich experiences. What more does life offer?

Betty, I see from the papers, has been to Benares or was to have gone there. If so perhaps she visited Allahabad also.

Our little garden is just beginning to take shape. The winter sat heavily upon it but now with the coming of *Basant*, the plants have brightened up. The flowers have appeared on the Lupins, Verbena, Dianthus and Calendula. Marguerite, Candytuft and Phlox show buds. Sweetpeas are going strong. The sunny side of our little yard is doing well. Soon the other side will waken up also. We have also some pots of Carnations. Ranjit is already thinking ahead and trying to fix up matters so that the present lot may be succeeded by others. Two weeks ago I wrote to Betty and asked her to get Pochas of Poona to send me their new catalogue— But this has not come yet.

I have got a number of books which I have read and want to return. And presently I shall want some more. I think it will be better if a man brought me a bunch of books from Anand Bhawan to choose from and he could take back those I want to return. The post is a troublesome affair. But the man who comes must be prepared to stay here a day or two for the processes and ways of a jail are peculiar. Even if I want to return a book it has to be carefully examined and passes through the hands of various censors. I live in an atmosphere of Sherlock Holmes and his kind.

Don't send a man too soon. I think about the end of February will be about right. Give him a boxful of books of your choice. It is difficult for me to make many suggestions. Here are a few however:

1. There is a fat book on National Planning for India by I think Sen with a preface or foreword by me. Published probably by the Calcutta University.
2. There are two books on the Minorities Problem. One fat one also published by the Calcutta University (perhaps this is by Sen and not the Planning one) and the other by K.B. Krishna(?).
3. Aziz ul Haque's *The Man and the Plough* (or some such name). The author is the Speaker of the Bengal Assembly.
4. Brailsford's *Voltaire*
5. Laski: *The State*
6. Alberuni's *India* (I doubt if you will find this. I think I lost the copy some time ago.)
7. Two novels about Siam—Siamese writers and authors.

I think you gave me one of them. They used to be in my room on the southern side left.

I have suggested that the man who brings these books might come here about the end of February. But that might be inconvenient as the Hospital opening ceremony will be taking place then. He can come after that.

Will you ask Upadhyaya to find out if any of my books are with Dhawan.[38]

Please send my love to your mother. I hope she is keeping well.

Ranjit is well now. I am so of course.

Our love to the children. Allahabad must be having delightful weather now.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

38. Shanti Swaroop Dhawan (b. 1905); lecturer in law, Allahabad University, 1940-54; High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom, 1968-69; Governor, West Bengal, 1969-71.

Feb. 7th, Friday

Wrote a long letter to Padmaja last night and sent it to the jail office this morning. This was my usual fortnightly letter. I told her to tell my friends not to write to me unless there was urgent reason for doing so. Also that I proposed to write only if there was some particular news or message to convey. Not merely because a letter was due. Padmaja is still in Allahabad.

This evening I received the following cable from Bhandari and Agatha Harrison:

'Further to cable re Indira fortnight ago Hebert found may (?many) appearances satisfactory and absence abnormal signs chest possibility or (? of) recurrence if she overtaxes strength Indira to be regarded delicate not in normal health pressed her return to India.

February 13, Thursday

The Superintendent is getting more and more on my nerves. Little things happen from day to day which rub me up the wrong way. He is not a pleasant man to deal with—indeed I do not think he is quite normal. I am told that his wife left him. I am not surprised. He had T.B. at one time. He bullies the jail staff continuously and has made life hell for them. Today I heard that the Jailor has been transferred to Banda.

A number of books and a heap of foreign periodicals accumulated for me in the jail office. So also the parcels of books and periodicals I was sending from time to time to Nan, Betty & others. Everything—including slips containing advertisements—has to be censored several times and bears numerous initials & signatures. All this censoring business had been gone through with my books & periodicals and yet they were kept for nearly three weeks. They were delivered to me two days ago.

This morning the Supt. told me that a parcel containing dried fruits had come for me from someone in Rawalpindi. Did I know the man? I did not. How then could it be delivered to me? So the parcel has been returned to Pindi!

I have almost decided not to receive or write any letters or take any interviews at least for some time. I shall write to Padmaja next week to tell her of this. She is still at Anand Bhawan.

A letter came to the Supt. from Amma asking for an interview with me next month. I have informed the jail people that I propose to take no interviews for the present.

No answer yet from Govt. about the N.P.C. Meanwhile N.P.C. papers pile up in the jail office.

Two other matters are troubling the Superintendent—our clothes being washed by the dhobi outside and a barber coming to cut our hair occasionally. These have been referred to the I.G.!

Feb. 14, Friday

Yesterday I came to the tentative decision not to take interviews for a while. I was put to the test today. Rajan & Ratan were in Dehra Dun for a day and they had obtained permission to see us. Would I agree? I had not the heart to refuse. I wanted to meet them of course but even apart from this if I refused, how could I explain the reasons to them? They would naturally be irritated and distressed and imagine all manner of things. So I agreed to have the interview and they came in the afternoon with masses of flowers and fruits.

I felt lighter and better for their visit. It struck me that it was not very sensible for me to avoid interviews. Whatever the effect on me—it was not fair on others. So my resolution of yesterday is fading away.

Ranjit had the beginnings of a heart attack today. Fortunately it passed off fairly soon. Apparently he brought it on by a quick and strenuous movement of the arm in throwing something over the jail wall. How delicate he is.

Feb. 15, Saturday

It appears that an anti-corruption police officer has been sent to this jail to make inquiries into the past conduct of the jail officials and notably the Jailor. The chief charge of corruption is said to be a certain laxness in enforcing rules where politicals are concerned!

February 16, 1941[39]

TO THE INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS, U.P.

Dear Sir,

I have been informed by the authorities of this jail that I am permitted to receive and to deal with correspondence relating to the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital. I am grateful for this, but, as a matter of fact, I do not propose to avail myself of this facility as I have already sent instructions that no papers connected with this Hospital should be sent to me here. I have also sent my resignation from the Chairmanship of the Hospital Committee. The great delay in the disposal of certain formal matters referred to me were holding up important work and I did not wish this to happen. A formal resolution about certain appointments of the junior staff of the Hospital, sent for my signature, was received here almost exactly a month ago. This resolution already bore the signatures of some of the members of the Managing Committee and was required back immediately for necessary action. It contained no writing by me, except my signature, but it was held up and, I am informed, that it was sent back only yesterday.

A brief and formal letter relating to the opening of the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital was addressed to me by Mahatma Gandhi. It was received in the jail office on or about January 28th. It was marked: 'This is a business letter—urgent' and it required an answer by telegram. This letter was delivered to me, as my usual fortnightly letter, a week later on February 4th. It was already rather late then to send a telegram in reply but still I inquired from the Superintendent of the jail if I might do so. Eight days later, on February 12th, I was told that I could send such a telegram. It was much too late then and the matter was so old that there was no point in sending a telegram, and so I did not send it.

In view of these developments and the retention of other letters in this connection, as well as the extraordinary delays that were holding up important work of a social character, I decided to resign from the Hospital Committee and to make it clear to them no further reference to me should be made. I communicated this message in my usual fortnightly letter home.

I have so far received no intimation about the National Planning Committee's papers in spite of repeated requests made by me. I

39. J.N. Prison Papers, N.M.M.L.

understand that many packets containing reports of sub-committees of the National Planning Committee and other papers have lain in the jail office for many weeks now. They are neither given to me nor sent back to the office of the Planning Committee. I wrote fully on this subject to the Superintendent of the jail on January 11th, 1941, explaining the nature of these reports and papers and asking for directions about the future. The matter was, I understand, referred to you and through you to the U.P. Government. Since then I have sent several reminders.

If I had anticipated any difficulty or obstruction in this work, I would have prevented, at the outset, such papers being sent to me. But from my fairly extensive experience of jail life in various U.P. prisons, extending over nineteen years, I have found that similar matters, as well as all correspondence of an official nature, were permitted and I could deal with them. Labouring under this impression, I was a little surprised to find that entirely new rules, or new interpretations or applications of old rules, came in the way of such activities. Whether these rules are in the Jail Manual or not is no concern of mine. That Manual and the jail administration of this country are notoriously out of date and bear little relation to existing facts or to the well-recognised methods of prison administration and the treatment of prisoners as human beings. What concerned me was the marked difference in the normal facilities for business correspondence and the like which were accorded to me during previous convictions and were being denied this time. I am not eager to have any special facility, nor am I anxious to have any favours in this behalf, although it is well known that modern prison administrations give full facilities of this kind, as well as many others, to encourage the human side of prisoners, to every prisoner, and not merely to a few. I realise that the present U.P. Government is in this, as in other matters, very much behind the times and one cannot expect it to function as a modern and efficient state. What I wanted to know was the present position, especially in regard to the National Planning Committee and my connection with it. It is now exactly five weeks since I wrote first on this subject. Sometime next month, or early in April, there is going to be a full meeting of the National Planning Committee and this inordinate delay and the holding up of its papers in the jail office here is inevitably causing harm to the work of the Committee. The Committee has functioned as an efficient, business-like body and it distresses me that inefficiency, red-tape and delay should affect its work now.

This is a matter, I realise fully, which is now beyond the jail department and is in the hands of the provincial government. If it is possible to make this government to come to some decision, whatever that may be, I shall be grateful. Possibly the government does not attach much importance to planning; possibly it is even opposed to it and does not

wish to encourage any activity in that behalf. I can well understand that, though I totally disagree with that attitude.

Recently, the Home Member of the Government of India, Sir Reginald Maxwell, in a speech delivered in the Central Assembly in Delhi, defined the attitude of the government in regard to security prisoners and detenus.[40] I take it that this exposition of policy by a prominent member of the Government of India holds good, *mutatis mutandis*, and with possible variations, to other prisoners also, and the U.P. Government, as a subordinate branch of the Central Government, adheres to the general lines laid down. Sir Reginald Maxwell expressed his extreme aversion to and contempt for those of my countrymen who have been interned, a feeling which he probably extends in a large measure to all my countrymen. It so happens that I have the honour of friendship with many of these detenus and I have considered it a privilege to be associated in various activities with some of them. But apart from such personal contacts, my own reaction, and, I take it, the reaction of every sensitive Indian, to the Home Member's remarks would be not to seek the slightest association with or favour from a government he represents. It would be entirely natural for Indians to reciprocate the sentiments to which the Home Member has given such forcible expression.

I seek, therefore, no privilege or favour. I desire merely to know what the decision of the provincial government is in regard to the National Planning Committee's papers which have long reposed in the office of this jail.

Yours faithfully,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Feb. 17, Monday

Last night I wrote a long letter to the Inspector General of Prisons, U.P. It was mainly about the N.P.C. and the Kamala N.M. Hospital papers

40. (1882-1967); joined Indian Civil Service, 1936; Secretary to Government of India, Home Department, 1936; Home Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1938-44; adviser to the Secretary of State for India, 1944-47. On 12 February 1940, he had said that acknowledged Communists and active supporters of the Communist programme of violent mass revolution represented the majority of security prisoners held in detention camps. He also said that the men formed the central directorate of the Communist organization in India and that detention was necessary to cripple the Communist organization.

coming to me. But the real reason for writing was a feeling of suppressed anger at the speech delivered by Reginald Maxwell, the Home Member of the Govt. of India, in the Central Assembly about the detenus at Deoli. I wanted to have some outlet. The writing of the letter gave me a chance for this.

This letter was sent to the Supt. this morning. Later he came and told me that orders had come from the Govt. that I would not be permitted to deal with the N.P.C. papers. So that's that! My long letter was answered. Still he said he would forward it to the I.G. The I.G. won't like it nor will the U.P. Govt. if they see it.

In today's paper there was a brief message to say that Indu was sailing for India this month. I understand that a telegram to the same effect has come for me but it is being censored and so has not reached me yet. This news suddenly made me feel light-hearted and the strain of the past few days lifted.

Now that I cannot do any N.P.C. work, for which I had reserved three months, my mind has begun to think of other writing work. To continue the *Autobiography*. I must do some concentrated writing to keep mentally healthy.

I am gradually but continuously losing weight. I think I was about 144 pounds or so when I came back to prison. (My jail history—[41] says 141 but this weight was taken some days after my arrival and I lost some weight then). Yesterday my weight was 134½. A loss of nearly ten pounds. I think so far it is all to the good. But a future fall may not be so good.

Feb. 18, Tuesday

Agatha's cable, forwarded by Padmaja, received by me today:

'No need anxiety Indira secured passage but sailing this month meanwhile staying Bhandari see her constantly all send love.'

Feb. 19

It struck me today how near akin to the Gestapo is our own C.I.D. It works in the same way, more or less. Its chief function is not the

41. Word indecipherable.

detection of normal crime but the tracking and hounding of people whose politics the British Govt. does not approve.

The anti-corruption drive of the Congress Govt. has been given a new turn now. Corruption is now sympathy with Congressmen. The anti-corruption inquiry that has been going on in this jail is to find out what facilities or special privileges the Jailor has given to Congress political prisoners.

Received my fortnightly letter today—from Betty. It was dated Feb. 4th and had been in the jail office for nearly two weeks.

Feb. 21, Friday

Yesterday I wrote my fortnightly letter and addressed it to Padmaja[42] who is still in Allahabad. On the 28th of this month Bapu is to perform the opening ceremony of the Memorial Hospital there.

Today I got a cable from Walsh, New York, who is publishing the American edition of my *Autobiography*. The cable said: 'Book published magnificent notices regards!' I was greatly bucked-up of course and I am eager to see the book. I have no idea of what it is like and what it contains, for parts of the old book have been left out and some new matter has been added. I do not yet know how much of the new matter reached the publisher and what he used out of it.

This cable set my mind working in another direction—why should I not begin writing again and continue the *Auto*? It will be good for me and the thing has to be done. For some days I have been playing about with this idea and it has been growing upon me. Ideas and phrases creep into my mind. Now at last I am coming to grips with it, and I shall set about it in a definite way. That means I shall peep for a day or two in the old *Auto* to try to get the mood and the swing of it; then glance through some subsequent writings of mine—or such as I have here—and lastly to make some notes of the chapter heads, &c—some vague outline of this scheme, which will of course be entirely changed in the course of writing!

But today I am feeling tired and limp. A tendency to lie down rather than sit. Possibly very slightly feverish. I hope this will pass.

42. Not printed.

February 24, Monday

Ranjit's birthday today. I tried to cook the birthday lunch with not too disastrous results. मीठा चावल[43] &c.

The Supt. informed me this morning that he had received further directions from Govt. about my correspondence. These were: I could write and receive letters without any weekly or fortnightly limit, that is within reason when I liked. But the prohibition about the N.P.C. work continued. There was a further proviso: I must give an undertaking that what I write will not be published.

Remarkable brain-wave of Govt.! I am asked to give an undertaking that *others* will not publish my letters. I told the Supt. that I was not in the habit of giving undertakings to Govt. and anyway this was an exceedingly odd undertaking on behalf of others.

Tonight I am writing to him to the same effect.

February 24, 1941[44]

TO MAJOR LUCAS

Dear Superintendent,

You were good enough to tell me this morning that you had received further directions from the government about my correspondence. These directions were, as I understood them, that I could receive and write additional letters without any fortnightly or weekly limit, except in regard to the work of the National Planning Committee which I was not permitted to participate in by writing in any way. There was, however, a proviso attached to the effect that I should give an undertaking that the letters that I send should not be published in the press or otherwise. I trust that I understood you correctly.

The question of my giving any undertaking raises a wider issue, apart from that of correspondence. I do not remember ever having given any

43. *Mitha Chawal*—sweet rice.

44. Maharashtra Government Records, File No. 3590/H/II–2.

kind of undertaking to the government at any time during past years and when, on certain occasions, this point was raised, I had to express my inability to do so. I need not go into this matter again except to say that the reasons that impelled me to act thus on previous occasions hold good still. I try to act, in prison or outside, in a manner that seems to me proper, and I constitute myself the judge of that propriety. I am not prepared to abdicate that function or to submit of my free will to limit it, except in so far as circumstances may compel me to do so. Apart from this larger question, the undertaking asked for from me is curious and unusual. It is an undertaking relating not to what I may or may not do, but to what others, who receive my letters, should or should not do. I do not understand how any one can be asked to or can give an undertaking on behalf of others, whom he cannot control. The undertaking obviously cannot relate to the letters I receive for there can be no question of their publication. Even the letters I send are only despatched after being previously censored with every thoroughness.

For the reasons mentioned above I regret I cannot give any undertaking.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Feb. 25, Tuesday

The Supt. came dashing in this morning to say that he had made a mistake. No undertaking was required of me. All that was desired was an 'understanding' that my letters to others would not be published in part or whole. I repeated my difficulty about agreeing to anything which referred to others' actions—I asked him to refer the matter to Govt. It appears that the Governor, Sir Maurice Hallett, had personally interested himself in this matter and issued the latest instructions.

The old Jailor—Baldev Sahai—is being transferred to Banda and will leave in 3 or 4 days. The new Jailor—Jafar Hussain Qazmi—has arrived from Banda. The secret inquiry into the old Jailor's conduct is proceeding and apparently will be carried on in his absence after he is gone. The charge is showing favour to politicals—giving them facilities &c. This applies to the time before I came here.

February 27, Thursday

11 p.m.

At 8 p.m. this evening the old Jailor and the new came here together and casually announced that we were being transferred to Lucknow District Jail tomorrow. We shall probably have to leave by car tomorrow morning at 9 a.m. So we have spent the last 2½ hours in packing. What a lot of books and papers we have collected here, as well as other oddments, and it takes some packing.

A journey, even from one prison to another, is always a welcome change for a prisoner. Probably we are being sent for a few weeks only to allow the roof of our barrack to be changed. We may come back within a month or a little more.

I am sorry about our plants and flowers and seedlings. Ranjit has taken so much care of them and many seeds have not sprouted yet. I suppose they will all die now, and if and when we come back, we shall have a barren place to return to.

Captain, the dog, will also have to be left behind. The new Jailor has promised to look after him.

A curious day they have chosen to shift us. Tomorrow is Kamala's anniversary and Bapu is performing the opening ceremony of the new hospital in Allahabad. Ranjit and I had decided to do more spinning than usual tomorrow.

I had decided to begin some writing work at last. March 1st was mentally fixed for this. Now this is again postponed and my mind is unsettled.

LUCKNOW DISTRICT JAIL

March 5, Wednesday

Ranjit and I travelled in the same saloon from Dehra Dun to Lucknow (or rather a nearby station) as the one in which I had gone from Rosa to Roorkee on my way to Dehra. Conlin, the police officer, whose saloon it was, accompanied us. We came by a slow train and it took us the whole day and a night to reach Lucknow. We reached here on the early morning of March 1st.

We were placed in the old Civil Ward, where over 19 years ago I came on my first pilgrimage to jail. The circle is completed. Is it?

We found here Chandra Singh, the Garhwali, and five 'revolutionary' prisoners, the only one of whom I had met previously being Kapur. Kapur was out on parole for a few days and met me during the Ayodhya U.P. Provincial Conference. Some of these boys, as well as Chandra Singh, have been in prison now for over 10 years! We were glad to be with them both for our sakes and theirs. This gives us an opportunity to know them and already we have found them to be jolly and attractive, in spite of their long confinement.

They have made a presentable garden full of bright flowers. Kapur especially and some others, have become very keen gardeners and work hard in the garden.

It is good for these boys to meet us and be with us. It must make a tremendous difference to them to have fresh company. They were also excited about the books we had with us.

Shiv Verma told me this morning that before our arrival here they had formed from odd reports of prison companions, an opinion about Ranjit and me, and especially about me, which they had had to alter completely after personal acquaintance. They had been told that I had a frightful temper and was very unsocial and difficult to get on with. What a reputation to have! Anyway now they had found how very mistaken they had been.

Since coming here all our old programme is upset. We have tried to fit in with the routine of our companions. It is pleasant to have people to talk to and there is much to say to each other. Every meal is prolonged somewhat because of this conversation, and then there is badminton in the evening. I have also started giving a semi-formal talk for an hour every afternoon. All this leaves much less time for reading and spinning.

We have been put in a large barrack—Ranjit and I. The others are in a separate barrack nearby. We are locked up at about 7 p.m. (we were not locked up in Dehra Dun but in Gorakhpur Jail my cell was locked in the evening).

The Superintendent here is Colonel Jafarey—a pleasant and mild looking individual. This place is far less comfortable, physically, than Dehra. We live in the middle of a wide expanse and everything is full of dust. But in many petty matters there is a change for the better. The attitude of the jail officials, &c. Any jail official would probably shine in comparison with Major Lucas of Dehra! All our accumulated letters were handed over to us soon after our arrival. If books come they are passed by the jail people and do not go to the Jailor or the C.I.D., as

in Dehra. Yesterday we sent telegrams to Sharda on the occasion of her wedding. They were sent off immediately. So in small matters we have more peace here, and that counts for a lot.

There are about 70 'C' class satyagrahis in this jail. They are not allowed to spin or possess a charkha.

In the Central Prison next door are Uma Bhabi, Shammi and Sucheta Kripalani. I sent some books to Sucheta yesterday.

On March 3rd I had an interview. I was expecting Betty who had come to Allahabad for opening of the Memorial Hospital. But she went back to Bombay owing to her children's illness. Psyche, Pan and Mridu saw me. As Chand, Kripalani and Sitaram[45] had an interview with Ranjit at the same time, we met all together. The interview cheered me.

It so happened that the day was Chand's 17th birthday. She was looking very sweet. She is growing up well.

Sham Sunder Tankha[46] came to the jail today as an official visitor and we saw him.

In my bunch of old letters and new which had accumulated in Dehra Jail and had been sent to the Supt. here, I found a letter from Indu. This was dated Nov. 7th 1940 from La Feloun probably (but the top seemed to have been torn off.) It was her first letter after she had heard of my arrest. Many lines had been smudged by the censor. I was happy to get this letter although it was nearly 4 months old.

No further news of Indu. I think often of her and am excited at the prospect of seeing her. Possibly she has sailed already.

Particulars of our companions in the Lucknow District Jail.

1. Thakur Chandra Singh—Garhwali Regiment Case. Born in 1891 in Garhwal (on the borders of Almora Dist.) Joined Indian Army in 1914. Served in France during the 1st World War. Rose to rank of Havildar Major in the II/18 Royal Garhwal Rifles. Was the leader of the Garhwalis who refused to fire on a peaceful Congress procession in Peshawar. Arrested 23 April, 1930—Court Martial—Sentenced to transportation for life, later sentence reduced to 14 years R.I.

Age 50 now. Has actually been in prison now for nearly 11 years. Including period of remission, &c he completes his full sentence in August or September next.

45. Sitaram Gunte; Maharashtrian Congress worker settled in Allahabad; worked for the *National Herald* for some time.
46. Pandit Sham Sunder Narain Tankha (b. 1898); lawyer; member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-70.

Jaideo Kapoor—(Lahore Conspiracy Case)

Born in 1910 at Hardoi—Matriculated at Hardoi in 1925 and joined D.A.V. College Cawnpore. In 1927 joined B.Sc. class in the Science College of the Benares Hindu University. Later admitted to the Engineering College B.H.U. While studying there warrant for arrest issued. Arrested along with Shiv Verma and Gaya Prasad in May 1929 at Saharanpur. Taken to Lahore for trial in Lahore Conspiracy Case. Took part in hunger strike in jail (1929) in which Jatin Das died. Sixteen months' trial, ending in October 1930. Sentenced to transportation for life. Transferred to Madras Jails in Jan. 1931. Various jails—Trichinopoly, Vellore, Cannanore and lastly Rajahmundry. Flogged. This followed by 5 months' hunger strike. Transferred to Cellular Jail, Port Blair (Andamans) in 1933. Hunger strike then. Repatriation in 1937 to Lahore Jail. Transferred to U.P. Jails in Feb. 1938 (owing to efforts of Congress ministry) which urged release but Punjab Govt. would not agree.

Age now 30—31.

Has actually been in prison now for nearly 12 years.

Shiv Verma—(Lahore Conspiracy Case).

Born 1907 in Hardoi District.

Left his studies and took part in Congress work and movement in 1921.

Matriculated at Hardoi and joined D.A.V. College Cawnpore. Studying for B.Sc. when arrested.

Arrested at Saharanpur in May 1929 in what was described by police as the Saharanpur Bomb Factory Case. But sentenced later in Oct. 1930 in the Lahore Conspiracy Case to transportation for life.

Transferred to Madras Jails in Jan. 1931—Rajahmundry Jail. Continuous trouble leading to flogging of Jaideo Kapoor in 1932, followed by hunger strike which continued for over 5 months, ending in April 1933.

In June 1933 transferred to Port Blair Jail (Andamans). Took part in hunger strike there in 1937. Repatriated in Sept. 1937 to Lahore Jail. Transferred to U.P. Jails in Feb. 1938.

Age now 33/34.

Actually in prison for nearly 12 years.

Gaya Prasad—(Lahore Conspiracy Case).

Born 1902 in district of Cawnpore.

Medical practitioner (Allopathy & Unani) at Bilhaur (Tehsil—in Cawnpore Dist.) was a Congress worker.

Arrested at Saharanpur May 1929.

Tried and sentenced in Lahore Conspiracy Case (Saunders' murder and Delhi Bomb Case) together with Jaideo Kapoor and Shiv Verma and others. Took part in hunger strike in jail which led to Jatin Das's death. Trial by special Tribunal lasting 16 months (The Special Tribunal was formed under a special ordinance issued by the Viceroy in 1930.)

Gaya Prasad did not go to court and produced no defence. *Ex parte* trial so far as he was concerned.

Judgement in the case on 7th Oct. 1930: Bhagat Singh, Sukhdeo and Rajguru sentenced to death. Gaya Prasad, Shiv Verma, Jaideo Kapoor, Bejoy Kumar Sinha, Kamal Nath Tiwari, and Mahabir Singh sentenced to transportation for life.

Two others got 7 years and 5 years R.I.

Bhagwati Charan and Chandra Shekhar Azad could not be arrested and were declared absconders.

Gaya Prasad transferred to Madras Jails in Jan. 1931— Kept in Bellary Central Jail for 2 years. Sent to Cellular Jail, Port Blair (Andamans) in Jan. 1933. Took part in hunger strike there in 1933, in which Mahabir Singh, Mohan Kishore and Mohit Maitra died. Again participated in 1937 hunger strike. Repatriated to Lahore Jail in Sept. 1937. Transferred to U.P. Jails in Feb. 1938.

Age now 38/39.

Actually in prison for nearly 12 years.

Ram Singh

Born 1912 in Muttra District.

Brought up in Ajmer.

Active peasant worker.

Arrested in April 1935 at Agra in connection with the Ajmer Shooting Case in which the Police Suptd. Mr. Dogra was shot at and seriously injured.

Sentenced in Nov. 1935 to 7 years R.I.

In May 1936 transferred to Cellular Jail, Port Blair. Took part in hunger strike of 1937. Repatriated to Ajmer Jail in Sept. 1937. Transferred to Lucknow District Jail in Feb. 1939.

Age 29/30.

Actually in prison for nearly six years. Release due, after serving out sentence with remissions, early in April next, that is within a month from now.

Jai Bahadur Singh

Born 1915 in Azamgarh District.

Educated at Benares and Allahabad.

Active social worker. Took part in Behar Earthquake Relief work. Studying in Allahabad for B.A.

Arrested Feb. 1938 in connection with Pipridih Train Dacoity.

Sentenced to 8 years R.I. & fine of Rs. 500/-.

Age now 25/26.

Actually in prison now for 3 years.

J.N.
L.D.J.
5/3/41

March 7, Friday

Received a telegram from Betty today to the effect that Agatha had cabled to say that Indu had left (England)....

March 9, Sunday

Interview today with Padmaja—(I gave up my fortnightly letters—hence this early interview). My mind completely upset by some news as well as a jail incident. After the interview, Chandra Singh spoke to me for a long time about his family troubles. I have not the faintest idea what he told me as my mind was elsewhere.

Tonight I have drafted a letter for I.G. which will be sent tomorrow morning. This concerns an incident that happened in the course of the interview. The fruit that Padmaja brought for me from Allahabad was not allowed in! New rules—or new interpretations of old rules. I was irritated—hence the letter.

I was very happy to see Bebee, although some of the news political and other that she brought me was upsetting. Intrigues, manoeuvres going on as usual. Srinivasan of *The Hindu* apparently playing a leading role.[47] Rajaji probably falling in line. Others wobbling. Bapu distressed, though I am glad he is keeping healthy.

Nan, after becoming fitter and fitter—now in Naini prison, suddenly became very ill—the old stomach trouble—giddiness, &c. She is now slowly recovering.

On March 3rd when I had my interview, I gave the yarn spun by me in jail, up to the end of February, to Psyche for the G.S.S. There were 79 hanks in all, totalling 39500 yards. Counts varied from about 30 to 45:

For November	— 10 hanks	Nos. 1–10 — 5000 yards
December	— 21 hanks	Nos. 11–31 — 10500 yards
January	— 26 hanks	Nos. 32–57 — 13000 yards
February	— 22 hanks	Nos. 58–79 — 11000 yards
	79 hanks	Nos. 1–79 39500 yards

March 10, 1941[48]

TO THE INSPECTOR GENERAL OF PRISONS, U.P.

Dear Sir,

I am venturing to write to you in regard to a certain happening yesterday so that I might know definitely what the policy of the government is and to inform my friends and relatives about it. I do not want my people

47. As editor of *The Hindu* and president of the All India Editors Conference, K. Srinivasan took an active part in the efforts made at the time to end the political deadlock. On 2 March 1941, he said at Wardha: "The press should not commit suicide but fight for its liberty as it is by fighting and not by surrendering or resigning that one can get whatever he wants or wishes to achieve". He met Mahatma Gandhi on 11 March to persuade him to restart the publication of the *Harijan*.

48. J.N. Prison Papers, N.M.M.L.

to take trouble and undergo expense needlessly, as they have done in recent weeks, not knowing that this policy changes from day to day and fresh restrictions on prisoners are added to those already in existence.

During the past three months or more we have been frequently informed of such new restrictions and, even in petty matters of ordinary routine, we have been told that a reference to the government is necessary. It appears that there is no stability in the jail administration and everything is in a state of flux. The government, it would seem, does not approve of the very few facilities that have been accorded to prisoners in the past and is desirous of withdrawing them by degrees. That is for the government to decide and is none of my business, except when I may consider such action as inconsistent with human dignity. The government's standards of decency and efficiency, if any, are not mine. But whatever this progressive deterioration may be due to, changes in jail rules or new interpretations of old rules, should be made public, so that the facts may be known and no one should labour under false impressions.

Yesterday a very ordinary occurrence took place. A basket of fresh fruit was sent to me from my home in Allahabad. I was informed that this could not be allowed in and, on further inquiry, I was told that government orders have been received recently to this effect. It makes little difference to me whether I get fresh fruit or anything else from outside. If I may say so, this new rule is appropriate, as it is in full keeping with the general character and the wider policy of the government, which I, in common with my countrymen, entirely disapprove. Nevertheless I thought it fair to you and to myself to bring this incident to your notice, as it is the first time during the last twenty years that such a thing has happened to me, and I wanted to assure myself definitely that this was the clearly indicated policy of the government.

Even in Dehra Dun Jail, where, as you are aware, many curious developments took place, to some of which your attention was drawn, it was made clear to me that fruit, as well as other articles, could be received by me from outside. They were in fact received by me. On one occasion a fine distinction was made which I was unable to appreciate. Some well wisher of mine sent me a parcel of dried fruits by passenger train from Rawalpindi. I was told by the Superintendent that if I knew the sender personally, I could keep the parcel, not otherwise. I did not know the person in question, or, at any rate, I could not recollect him. So the parcel was sent back to Rawalpindi and I was made to pay for this, although it was not at my instance or my desire that the parcel was returned.

I did not understand or appreciate this fine distinction, which had never been previously applied; but there it was. Before this as well as afterwards I continued to receive parcels of fruits and other articles from my friends and relatives. Now I am told that even this is a contravention of the government's decree or ordinance. As soon as I am clearly and definitely informed of what the exact position is, I should like to convey this information to my friends and relatives so that they might govern themselves accordingly. I have the good fortune to possess a very large number of friends and others who take an interest in me. I do not see why they should suffer for the vagaries and indecisions of the government.

I should like to point out to you another difficulty that I am faced with. When the parcel of dried fruit was returned from Dehra Dun to Rawalpindi I mentioned this fact in my fortnightly letters home. I also mentioned the fact that letters addressed to me were not being delivered and were accumulating in the jail office. I suggested, therefore, in my home letters that a brief statement might be issued by my secretary to the effect that no one should send me parcels or letters as they were not likely to reach me. It appears that this request of mine was blackened out from my letter by some of the many censors whose duty it is to look after my morals. Indeed the letter in question had little in the shape of reading matter left in it as most of it had been smudged and blackened out. It does not seem worth while to write letters under these circumstances. Presumably this also is in accordance with the new policy of the government that is at present functioning in this province.

You will no doubt remember that Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, was good enough to refer to me and to the conditions of my prison life, in a statement made in the British House of Commons last November. In this statement he gave a fanciful account of these conditions. It mattered little to me what he said, for Mr. Amery is at perfect liberty to draw upon his imagination in this, as in other matters. But large numbers of people have been deluded by this statement, and have an entirely wrong idea of how the present U.P. Government runs its prisons and, in particular, how it treats its political prisoners. This wrong idea must be removed. It is for this reason that I have taken the liberty to write to you.

Yours faithfully,
Jawaharlal Nehru

March 14

Holi today—some playing about with coloured water, &c but quieter than I expected. Our cook, who is a professional *halwai*, from Cawnpore, excelled himself, and produced all manner of मिठाई[49] and नमकीन[50]. Our kitchen worked hard and we fed *puries*, &c about 70 C.O.s and other prisoners who came in groups. We also sent some fruit and sweets to the 'C' class satyagrahis. There are about a hundred of them in this jail. We were not allowed to go to them, nor were they allowed to come to us. But eventually four of them came to us for a short while.

March 16

Interview with Amma—Mohan Bhai and Nandan—saw Kishan Bhai, Vidya, Padma & Upadhyaya outside the gate.

About 5000 yards of yarn spun by me before I returned to jail. I have asked this also to be sent to Psyche for the G.S.S. Thus so far I have sent them about 45000 yards.

19–3–1941[51]

TO THE SUPERINTENDENT, DISTRICT JAIL, LUCKNOW

Dear Mr. Superintendent,

About a month ago, I asked for a tube of Neem tooth paste to be obtained for me at my cost. I have so far not received it although I am in urgent need of it. I could have easily obtained it without delay if I had asked my home people to send it or mentioned it to any of my interviewers. But, in view of the new orders of the government which prevent me from getting anything except through the jail staff, I did not ask anyone else. Presumably I have to pay more as the contractor engaged by the jail must charge his commission also. Why we should be made to pay contractor's commissions I do not know. But that is a relatively small

49. *Mithai*—sweets.
50. *Namkeen*—savouries.
51. J.N. Prison Papers, N.M.M.L.

matter. What I would suggest is that this process of obtaining articles required by us might be made more efficient and delays might be avoided.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

March 21

The Superintendent has informed me in writing that he has received the following reply from the Govt. regarding my correspondence:

> Govt. did not mean to imply that Mr. Nehru should give an assurance that his letters would not be published, but that if any letters were published, then Govt. would be free to reconsider the concession. If Mr. Nehru does not desire to warn correspondents against publication, this is his own affair.

...It appears now that no further answer is required from me and therefore I can write and receive letters without the usual restrictions about the number of letters. Accordingly I was given a few letters today that had accumulated in the office. As a matter of fact they were all unimportant as I have warned my friends not to write to me.

I have not myself written for just over a month. My last letter was dated February 20th. I gave up my usual fortnightly letters so that I could have extra interviews. I have already had 3 interviews since I came to Lucknow and tomorrow I shall have a fourth—with Sir Vijaya of Vizianagram.[52]

I do not exactly know how matters stand—anyway I do not intend writing to any one for the present. My next interview will probably be with Nan after her release early in April. After that I hope I shall see Indu.

I have given up badminton for some days at least. I found that after each game my right arm and chiefly the forearm and wrist pained greatly. Why, I do not know. Of course I was unused to the game and had not played it for many years. Still—.

Ranjit went yesterday to the dentist.

My weight is 137—stationary since I came here.

52. Sir Vijaya Ananda Gajapatatiraj (1905-1965); Rajkumar of Vizianagram; settled in Banaras.

March 22—Saturday

Interview today with Sir Vijaya the Maharaj Kumar of Vizianagram. At the same time Ranjit had an interview with Chand, Tara and Rita and so I met them also. Khaliq and Buddhi[53] hovering in the background.

March 27

Cable from Indu:

'All well so far much love.'

The office of *Origine: Sans Origine*. The date and time of despatch: nil.

So I do not know where the cable has come from. But I suppose she had passed the Atlantic danger zone and was nearing the Cape. The cable must have been despatched about the 20th March as it reached Dehra Dun on the 23rd.

In Dehra Dun Jail we were told that only one letter could be delivered to us once a fortnight. It appears, however, that this was against the new rules. I have been shown this new rule here in Lucknow D.J.:

Rule No. 9 for B. Class

Old Rule: The prisoner may receive and write one letter and have one interview monthly.

Changed Rule: B Class prisoners should be given all the in-coming letters on one date of the month and be allowed to write one letter and have one interview in a month. Otherwise they shall be subject to the general rules regarding letters and interviews.

Ref: correction slip No. 183—

Aug. 20, 1938—Jail Manual.

Sanctioned in G.O. No.: 2035/VI-1295. 1936, dated July 23, 1938.

The B Class rule applies to A Class except that the monthly period is a fortnightly period for A Class.

53. Chauffeur and cook of the Pandits.

March 30

Unexpectedly I was asked to go out for an interview. Sitaram and T.N. Singh.[54]

I saw Chand also who had come to interview Ranjit.

March 31

Spinning done in March:

27 hanks of 500 yards each. Total = 13500 yards.
Hanks Nos. 80 to 106.
Counts 32 to 40. Average 35.

CAMP JAIL, LUCKNOW[55]

This is a temporary jail, newly constructed for accommodating the overflow number of C class political convicts from the various jails in the United Provinces. The number of prisoners in it on the 2nd February, 1941 is said to have been about 1500.

The walls and roofs of the barracks are made of corrugated iron sheets. Just now the roofs have been ordered to be tiled. No berths have been constructed for sleeping purposes as we find in every other jail. The convicts have to sleep on undressed and uneven ground which hitherto was under cultivation. White ants, at times, not only eat up the clothes of the prisoners but also bite them during the night. There are no lights inside the barracks. In days of bitter cold the prisoners who had only two blankets and one piece of mat each for bedding and covering, passed the night sometimes shivering with cold. In barracks, meant for 25 convicts, often 35 are kept. Latrining arrangements for the night inside the barracks are both insufficient and indecent.

Fetters put on prisoners during transfers are removed as soon as the prisoners reach their destination. But in the camp jail, Lucknow,

54. Tribhuvan Narayan Singh (b. 1904) General Manager, *National Herald*, 1940-42; member, Lok Sabha, 1952-62, and Rajya Sabha, 1965-71; Chief Minister, Uttar Pradesh, 1970-71; Governor, West Bengal since 1977.
55. J.N. Prison Papers, N.M.M.L. Presumably written at the end of March 1941.

prisoners have often to remain in fetters for ten days or even more after their arrival, there being no arrangement for their immediate removal.

On the night of 30th January last, about 40 prisoners were transferred to this jail from Bareilly. It is said that none of them had blankets. Only a few had blanket coats and they had all to pass the night shivering with cold in the train.

The latrines outside the barracks consist of 20 seats for 160 prisoners and all the 160 it is alleged are allowed about 15 minutes for answering the call of nature.

Hospital arrangements are also said to be very insufficient and unsatisfactory. As regards food, even invalids are given gram in place of sago or *dalia* in the morning.

It is alleged that on the 20th of January when the prisoners were asked to parade, 4 or 5 of them out of 1200 refused to do so. At this the Deputy Superintendent, one Mr. Lang, began personally to beat the five prisoners with a stick. They were then dragged into the barrack. On this the other prisoners got excited and began to shout national slogans. Mr. Lang ordered all of them to be locked up. For 36 hours after this all these prisoners numbering about 1200, about 200 of whom were juveniles, were kept constantly locked in their barracks without food. They were not permitted to come out even for answering the call of nature.

It is said that as a protest against this behaviour of Mr. Lang, one Syt. Hulas Varma of Dehra Dun and a few others hunger struck on the 21st of January. They had taken no food up to the 2nd of February. During this hunger strike on the 29th of January water was refused to Syt. Hulas Varma who was confined in a solitary cell. He asked his fellow prisoners in the adjoining cells for water, who being themselves locked up could not help him and so got excited and began to shout national cries which spread from barrack to barrack. This shouting lasted for about 15 minutes, but no water was supplied. Instead alarm was sounded. Mr. Lang with his men entered into the cells and the juvenile barracks and belaboured the prisoners causing serious injuries.

On the 30th of January one boy was removed to the district jail and there given 30 stripes for refusing parade. Juveniles are said to have been beaten for singing the flag song.

Some very young boys are alleged to have been put on hard tasks like flour-grinding and oil-pressing. As these prisoners could not complete their task on the 31st of January and on the 1st and 2nd of February about 1400 prisoners were given practically no food. On the 1st they were given only a little *dal* boiled in water once in the day and on the 2nd only a little vegetable similarly boiled in water again once in the day and absolutely no *chapaties* on either of the two days. Some of them

were even beaten for demanding food. One Syt. Gopi Krishna Arora seriously injured his arm and skull.

On the 2nd of February some juvenile convicts had to be removed to the hospital on account of weakness due to semi-starvation.

It is said that all these 1400 convicts or so are kept locked inside their barracks for over 22 hours out of 24 every day. Some have been punished with crossbars and standing hand-cuffs in weak condition of health. All this, it is alleged, is being done to secure apologies.

Interviews have been stopped so that news of their condition may not leak out.

April 2nd, Wednesday

Ram Singh discharged on completion of term of 7 years R.I. He was naturally excited.

April 2

Purushottam Das Tandon arrested under D. of I. Act.

Nan released from Naini at 4 p.m. today.

April 6th

National Week begins—today being the fasting day we are all in this barrack and the neighbouring one—seven of us—fasting for 24 hours. It is quite a long time since I have had a 24 hours fast.

I have decided to spin more during these 8 days of the National Week. On the 6th and 13th at least 1000 yards on each day—on the other days more than my usual 500 yards. During the 8 days I hope to spin 6000 yards—Today's quota done.

Ranjit had interview with Nan today—also Chand.

April 7

I have interview with Nan and Chand. Nan looks definitely thinner. Had a long talk—am inducing her to go to China for two or three weeks.

I was rather put out to learn of the irresponsible talk that Keshav has been indulging in since his release. In spite of his energy and capacity for good work, how terribly narrow-minded and stupid he is. He cannot rise above the party or clique.

Very good news of the new hospital. It is doing well and is already tremendously popular.

Probably I shall have another interview about the 16th—with Nan and K.T. Shah.

April 8

Some trouble today among the 'C' class satyagrahis in this jail. Apparently a jail official misbehaved. Then the question arose—must they all come out in twos, every morning and evening, to be counted. So far they had been counted inside the barrack and they objected to the innovation. I do not know yet what was decided.

Since yesterday nearly a hundred Muslims arrested and brought to this jail—Shia-Sunni affair. Day-after-tomorrow is *Barawafat* when trouble expected.

Ghafur who has been serving us for the last five weeks, since we came to Lucknow, discharged today. He is a trained servant and has done his work well. Would like to help him but do not know how to do it.

April 9

The 'C' class satyagrahis affair was settled more or less satisfactorily.

Today one of the 'C' class satyagrahis died—He had just come two or three days ago and was very old. He gave his age as 97 and the jail doctor says he looked it! How such a person was allowed to perform satyagraha is strange. But stranger still is that the police should arrest him and get him sentenced. Probably he was an unauthorised satyagrahi who joined in his enthusiasm. He has had his heart's desire and perhaps it is as well that he died in this way.

April 10

Today is *Barawafat*—trouble brews in Lucknow—all manner of news of conflicts—firing—arrests—Processions banned &c. Great Shia-Sunni tension. At first Govt. allowed the Sunnis to take out their procession. Then they also gave permission to the Shias for their separate procession in a different quarter. The Sunnis objected and at the last moment both processions banned. This to the liking of the Shias who are keener on the Sunni procession being stopped than on taking out their own. The Sunnis flame up. Gather in thousands at the Idgah mosque and start C.D. by reciting *Mad-he-Sahaba* in batches—arrests of over 600 &c. &c.

All this affected our present and future. The District Jail being prepared for a large influx of Sunnis (or Shias or both). Arrangements being made for a thousand or two thousand. The camp jail also being got ready.

We must make room for these newcomers. At 12 noon we are told that Ranjit and I are being transferred to the Lucknow Central Prison, which adjoins the District Jail. We have to go over at five.

And so packing and final talks with our companions of the last forty days (who remain on here). A break-up of the routine we had got used to.

At five forty-five we march out of our barrack—say goodbye—and follow a long procession of prisoners carrying our goods and chattels. We go through the District Jail garden and then the Central Prison garden and emerge in the prison proper. Crowds of excited-looking prisoners trying to peep out at us through their bars. They had been locked up for the night.

L.C.P.

And then we reach a small group waiting for us: Banne[56] and Brajesh Singh and Thakur Hukum Singh and another group of B class satyagrahis including Shiva Murti, Khanna, &c., Avasthi, &c.

We are lodged in the 'Gora' barrack in separate cells, Banne is here and Brajesh and Hukum Singh. Banne has been here for 13 months as a detenu. Brajesh came a few days ago, also as a detenu.

56. Sajjad Zaheer.

April 11—Good Friday

The Sunni satyagraha is still hanging fire. The hundreds arrested yesterday were let off with nominal fines. *Pour parlers* continuing between officials and Sunni leaders.

All day today large numbers of ordinary prisoners—C. O.s and others—manage to find some excuse to visit me. Some of them old friends from Naini days—'lifers.' One of them was distressed. 'What, Panditji, you have grown very old, I could not at first recognize you'.

I gave a talk to the A & B class satyagrahis this afternoon. We feed together and this gives us the chance to meet.

The Suptd.—Col. Jafarey—has told us that we are likely to be sent to Dehra Dun on the 17th or 18th of this month.

April 12, 1941[57]

TO THE SUPERINTENDENT, CENTRAL PRISON, LUCKNOW

Dear Colonel Jafarey,

I am writing to you with some hesitation as I have no desire to add to your burdens or to interfere with the jail administration. But I have been distressed about the reported hunger strike of two of my colleagues and friends, Mr. Vishnu Saran Dublesh and Mr. Yusuf Hussain, both of whom I have known personally for a large number of years. Mr. Dublesh has been a colleague of mine for several years on the Executive Council of the U.P. Provincial Congress Committee and I have great regard for him. I know nothing about this hunger strike beyond the brief note that has appeared in the papers, and I do not even know whether it is being continued or not. At any time this would distress me, but in this weather, it is all the more distressing. I do not know if I can do anything in the matter but I would very much like to feel that this unfortunate incident has been satisfactorily settled.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

57. J.N. Prison Papers, N.M.M.L.

April 12, Saturday

I have written a brief letter to the Supt. about the reported hunger strike of Dublesh and Yusuf. Later—I am informed that the hunger strike ended this morning.

April 15

Interview with Nan, Tara and K.T. Shah—News that Indu due to arrive at any time during the next four days.

I had a letter from Indu from South Africa two days ago.

Apparently we have to stay on here in Lucknow C.P. for another week or so.

April 18

I was suddenly woken up last night—it was after midnight—by a C.O. who told me that a telephone message had come from Bombay to say that my daughter had arrived. Odd time to telephone to a prison.

This morning the news appeared in the *Herald*—Later I had Indu's telegram from Bombay and then Nan's telegram from Allahabad.

4 p.m. I am informed that we have been transferred back to Dehra Dun Jail. We are due to leave at 5.30 p.m., that is in an hour and a half's time. And so to pack and say goodbye to our prison mates.

DEHRA DUN JAIL

April 19—Saturday

A shorter journey than the one from Dehra to Lucknow. We came by the express and reached Dehra in the morning at 7.30. We travelled in the same saloon (Conlin's) with Conlin—Interesting man Conlin with a varied experience of men and countries and languages. A Catholic from Ulster. Served in the last war—Was in the Andamans for some time.

Conlin told me that after his first meeting with me, I reminded him of a Jesuit priest! This was meant to be a compliment in a way as he admires the Jesuits. I told him that I had myself been favourably impressed by the Jesuits I had met. They were cultured, intellectual, delightful conversationists—far better and more interesting than Protestant clergymen who, though often pleasant and agreeable, seemed rather shallow. And yet, with all my admiration for the culture, discipline and self-sacrifice of the Jesuits, I felt there was an impassable barrier between them and me. I could not tolerate the idea of submitting my will to another or to any dogma.

A new Superintendent and a new atmosphere in Dehra Jail. Lucas has gone, if not to the wars at least in preparation for them. In his place as Civil Surgeon and Supt. of the jail has come R.B. Dr. Ram Sarup Srivastava who has been called back from retirement. He seems to be very anxious to be helpful in every way. So for the matter of that is the new Jailor Kazmi. The entire staff breathes more freely now that Lucas has gone.

It was good for us, and for the others, for us to live in the Lucknow District Jail and the Lucknow Central Prison. Human contacts, meeting old colleagues, and having long talks with them daily. Rather exhausting business and because of it I could do little work. Especially in the Central Prison, I could not settle down. We were daily expecting a transfer.

In the Central Prison crowds of ordinary prisoners—chiefly 'lifers'—came stealthily to visit me, and again I had a glimpse into the mind of the convict world. My stay in a big prison creates quite a commotion there as news travels to all the barracks and attempts are made to visit me for *darshan*. I had talks with many of these 'lifers'—I think nearly a hundred ordinary prisoners came to see me in L.C.P. More and more I am impressed by the ordinary 'lifer'. He is far better than the petty thief or the pickpocket.

There is no doubt that the few reforms that the Congress Govt. introduced in the jails were greatly appreciated by the jail population—Hindu and Muslim. The Congress is popular with them! And yet little enough was done—I wish it had been more.

The essence of the change was not any particular reform but more self-respect. The petty jail officials began to behave better. They were afraid of the consequences of misbehaviour. The convicts felt this change and several told me so. On the very day the Congress Govt. resigned, some of the jail officials told the convicts that now they would deal with them in the old way! It is not surprising that prisoners like the Congress.

The new I.G., Sheikh, does not appear to be a success. Ordinary prisoners at least are of this opinion and, I think, their opinion has value. They compare him, to his disadvantage, with Salamatullah, who, with all his rugged discipline, was always prepared to listen to any grievance patiently. Not so Sheikh.

April 21, Monday

Settling down, gradually. It is definitely cooler and pleasanter here than at Lucknow. Ranjit feels better—But curiously enough I have not been flourishing in body or mind. I do not know what the matter is, I feel listless and tired. My weight has gone down to 133 pounds.

I have been reading off and on for the last two weeks, Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. The book has held me, not only because of its fine writing but also because of his problems and difficulties with himself. Sometimes—not always—that problem was not unlike mine in some ways. And yet of course there is little in common between him and me. I remembered, however, what Naomi Mitchison[58] said to someone after she met me for the first time in Birmingham in November 1935—(This was before my *Auto* came out.) She said that in some way I had reminded her of Lawrence.

This afternoon I received a letter from Josiah Wedgwood—also his memoirs and another book &c. The letter was dated Jan. 5, 1941 and it had come to me through Amery, the Viceroy and the U.P. Govt.! An impressive route, likely to lead people to think that it dealt with high matters of state policy. Nothing of that kind. It was just a friendly letter of good wishes. I was glad to have it—I remembered how 19 years ago he wrote to father in prison and sent the letter through the Viceroy, Lord Reading.

April 22

Daily I have been expecting a letter from Indu. She wired to me on the 17th from Bombay that she was writing. I follow her movements from the daily papers. She has gone to Wardha.

58. (b. 1897); wife of G.R. Mitchison, M.P.; her works include *What the Human Race is Upto* and *Memoirs of a Space Woman*.

April 23, Wednesday

Indu must have reached Allahabad this morning. Possibly in another two or three days she might come here. I am glad I shall be meeting her in the Dehra Jail rather than in the Lucknow Jails. The meeting will be less formal here and possibly longer. But it is odd to meet her after two years just for a jail interview. My mind is full of what I would like to say to her and to ask of her. But I simply can't do it in a business-like way with a jail official assisting at the interview.

I spent the greater part of the afternoon in writing to J.C. Wedgwood in answer to his letter. Sent this to the Supt. who will forward it to the U.P. Govt., which means presumably the Governor, who is in Dehra Dun now.

The Jailor, for some odd reason, imagines that the Governor might visit the jail (and me) tomorrow. And so there has been a great deal of cleaning and washing and scrubbing going on.

I do not know why I feel so dull and poor spirited.

The letter I wrote to Wedgwood today was written after a gap of over two months. My last letter was written on Feb. 21st to Padmaja, just before Bapu came to Allahabad for the Hospital opening ceremony. Why have I not written all this time? Mostly cussedness, I suppose, especially after the intimation sent to me from Govt. that I can write when I choose. Partly also because I was taking interviews instead at Lucknow. But in reality I did not feel in the mood to write. Now that Indu is back it will probably be different.

I have not even been receiving letters, except occasional begging ones.

April 23, 1941[59]

TO J.C. WEDGWOOD

My dear Mr. Wedgwood,
Two days ago I received your letter of January 5th 1941 together with your memoirs, the Pelican anthology, *Forever Freedom* and the press

59. J.N. Prison Papers, N.M.M.L.

cutting containing an article by you.[60] I was happy and grateful to have your letter and these very welcome gifts. At any time I would have been glad to hear from you and have news of you; in prison this was doubly welcome. It is many years since we met and much has happened since then. When I was in England on the last occasion in 1938, you were absent, I believe, in America.

During the last two days I have read your memoirs with great interest and they have brought you near to me. Contrary to your suggestion, I do not propose to leave the book in the gaol library. Our gaols seldom have anything that can be called a library. But, in any event, I should like to keep with me this brief record of a very gallant life, the story of your ceaseless struggle for freedom and justice. You have been good enough to inscribe the copy of the book to me in generous language, and this adds to its value for me.

The press cutting I have also read though without that strong emotion which you expected it to arouse in me. I am not old enough or wise enough, in spite of what you call 5000 years of authoritarianism, not to be swept by emotion occasionally, but it is very difficult to feel angry with an old friend who is always on the side of the angels, whether he is right or wrong in the particular task he undertakes.

The anthology is a delightful treasure. It contains so many old favourites of mine and so many other fine pieces that are not easily traceable, that this little book is likely to be a close companion to me. Were you doubtful of my reaction to this collection of writings on freedom? I have grown up in this mental climate and ever sought to bring my actions in line with it. But I have often found that the magic of

60. He had written: "I send you herewith (a) my *Memoirs* to amuse you, (b) an article to make you angry.... (c) the touchstone *Forever Freedom* to test your judgement.... You represent 5000 years of authoritarianism, the Viceroy 500 years of aristocracy and Amery just philosophy like myself. Ought one to teach anarchy? Is it too dangerous to teach it to the blind?....This is only to show one prisoner that he is not forgotten and much loved even by the 'enemy'." The article, *Don't make martyrs in India—make Arms*, urged Amery to release all political prisoners; "their job for the last 20 years has been demanding self-government for India and votes for 350,000,000 uneducated people. The nearer they got to it, the less they liked it, and the more impossible they made their demands so that there should be no risks of acceptance....I should let them all out and talk to their hearts' content. We do not want Indian troops...we want only the produce of Indian skilled hands and brains... When the war does end, Indian capacity and self-respect will be a surer pledge of freedom than any juggled compromise formula blackmailed out of a harassed Viceroy."

words and ideas is used for other purposes, and sometimes, in all honesty, we twist them to our own less noble ends.

I hate anarchy of all kinds, of the mind, the body, and the social organism. I dislike a mess, and my own predilection is entirely in favour of order. And yet there are worse states than that of anarchy and disorder, and in this mad world of ours, the choice often lies between evils. War is an undoubted evil: who wants it? Very few, I imagine. And yet it comes with all its horror and brutality, in spite of us, and many who hate it and all its works are drawn into it, for fear lest a worse evil befall them. Life is a perpetual risk, a gamble, and you have yourself repeatedly condemned the 'safety first' attitude.

India has changed much during these last twenty years since you were here, though twenty years is a drop in the ocean of her long history. The outward aspect may not show this change, and foolish people, who cannot go underneath the surface, may seek to ignore it: they do so at their peril. We, who are of India, have changed also, though it is always difficult to measure and weigh the texture of our minds and spirit. Thought-riddled, we have sought to understand this world of ours; we have tried also to understand India. We have undertaken many a voyage in time and space, as well as geographically in the present, for the discovery of India. We have looked into millions of eyes and endeavoured to find out what lay behind them. It has been an amazing quest, full of adventure, full of hope-filling new discoveries, though sometimes evil and its brood have shown their ugly heads. It is this strange and powerful mixture of the past, the present and the future to be that is India today. Not an easy problem; no, certainly not. No worthwhile problem is easy of solution today. But utterly incapable of solutions except in one direction—that of full-blooded freedom. The old way of threats and compulsion and division is childish and worsens the disease.

No, I am not a Communist, nor indeed do I belong to any other 'ism'. Having failed to find anchorage in religion, I refuse to give up my mental freedom in favour of any dogma or binding creed. Yet I believe in the socialist structures; it seems to me inescapable if the world is to survive and progress.

Did you see my *Autobiography* which came out five years ago? I would have sent it to you but it is not easy to arrange such matters from prison. I mention this book because to some extent, feebly, it gives expression to the conflicts in my mind. Since I wrote this, I have grown, developed for good or bad I do not know. These last five years of horror in the world have had a powerful effect upon me, and my mind's assurance about the future of humanity has been considerably shaken. Perhaps I might write about this, a kind of sequel to my

Autobiography. But just at present with a world shattering to bits, it seems almost an impertinence to write for the future. But whatever the future may hold, one functions in the present for the ideals one has, and functions with all the strength at one's command.

Five thousand years of authoritarianism, you say; perhaps there is a measure of truth in it. But have you forgotten the generations of enforced submission to others' authority? And could not something be said for that old authoritarianism, of the mind controlling the body, of service to the community and sacrifice for it being the measure of authority, of brute force having to bow down to learning, of wealth never having pride of place, of a culture that survived many thousands of years of shock and change, of a civilization which thought deeply of the problems of life at the dawn of history and found solutions which gave it a stability and continuity for thousands of years? All that is over now, or almost over, for it will not go entirely. The new culture and civilization that will come will (or I hope it will) produce a classless society and will make Brahmans and Kshatriyas of all of us wherever we may be.

It may interest you to know that Henry George's *Progress and Poverty* had a powerful influence on me when I read it first many years ago. I cannot say that I became a single-taxer to the exclusion of all else, but I was convinced that there should be taxation of land values. In the middle-twenties I happened to be Chairman of the Allahabad Municipality and I tried to introduce the taxation of land values there. But our municipalities have no real power and the superior ones who were supposed to look after us from on high, told me not to indulge in wild and impracticable schemes. Probably they did not even know what all this was about. Anyway I resigned from the Chairmanship soon after.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya would, I am sure, welcome your book for the Benares University Library. He has grown very old and feeble.

This letter has grown unconscionably long. I have not written a letter for over two months now and so my pen ran on. The length of this will at least indicate how much I appreciated your letter. I send you all my good wishes for you personally and for the cause of freedom and justice all over the world for which you have stood throughout your life. My regards to Mrs. Wedgwood.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

April 24

Indu is coming to see me on Sunday next—the 27th. I am excited. But a vague uneasiness fills me when I read in the papers that she still looks weak and far from healthy. Still, I feel lighter and better today.

April 25—Friday

The Jailor appears to be almost as excited about Indu's visit here as I am. Anyway he shows it even more. He asked me what arrangements should be made for her stay in Dehra—at Ugra Sen's,[61] Khurshedi Lal's or the Tankhas—He had already arranged for someone's (Ugra Sen's) car to go to the station to meet her. I told him not to worry as no doubt proper arrangements would be made by Upadhyaya. I agreed, ultimately, that the Tankhas might be informed and a car sent to the station.

He is anxious also that Indu should come here at meal time (midday) so that his wife could send something specially prepared by her.

April 28—Monday

So April 27th came and went and I had the interview with Indu—a long interview. The Jailor stretched it to the uttermost.

Indu was looking bright but very frail. She had not been keeping well on board and since arrival. She was not well now and I was filled with anxiety about her future. Apart from health, other difficulties. I was very happy to see her, and yet my mind became engrossed with these difficulties. Some years back I would have worried more. Now I suppose I have developed more equilibrium and am not easily upset. We do our best and take things as they are. All good luck and happiness to her in life's way. But it is not going to be a soft way. She has determination and self-reliance, which is good. But she is so—or it seems to me—immature and perhaps tends to take things superficially. Yet she must have depths. She will reach them slowly. I hope the process is not too rapid or else there may be shocks. Delicate and sensitive people can hardly avoid shocks and upsets.

61. Businessman; resident of Dehra Dun.

My mind was full of her and of life's queer ways after she left, and at night also I had curious dreams.

April 30

Yarn figures:

Spun in April 29 hanks of 500 yards each.
No. 107 to 135—total 14500 yards.
Counts 32 to 38—average 36.
Total spun in prison since November last to end April—6 months—67500 yards.

November 1940	5000 yards
December „	10500 „
January 1941	13000 „
February „	11000 „
March „	13500 „
April „	14500 „
	67500 yards

Counts from 30 to 45
Mostly round about 32-35.

April 30th 1941[62]

TO PADMAJA NAIDU

Dear Bebee,
Your letter was delivered to me today. A day or two earlier the packet containing bulbs reached us and Ranjit immediately took charge. He has already put some of them in pots for the time being. Dehra Dun has an odd climate, hot enough now, but still not too bad for most things to grow if a little care is taken. Our chief difficulty is lack of space. While we were in Lucknow a large assortment of seeds and

62. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

seedlings came from Kashmir for us here. Ranjit has been busy with them.

Our transfer to Lucknow took place just when our little patch was beginning to show colour. We are told that during our absence it was gay and bright with flowers, but by the time we came back, most of these had faded. Only the hollyhocks were going strong.

Our 'new' quarters are exactly the same as the old! Only the roof is solider and does not threaten to come down. Why you imagined that anything else, more 'spacious,' was being put up, I do not know.

... Will you tell Bapu that I have at last received the 'Dhanush Takli.' It came in an enormous wooden box, about half the size of a cabin trunk. I was amazed. Today for the first time I tried it with moderate success. My first reactions are not in its favour—this apart from the spinning which I cannot judge without some practice and experience. The big box put me off. It was out of keeping with something that was supposed to be exceedingly simple and cheap. And then it is odd looking, queer, lop-sided and far from beautiful. It is a come down from the grace, beauty and symbolism of the wheel: the wheel is a rather wonderful thing and can be made to mean so much. The box charkha does not possess the charm of the old style wheel, but it has undoubted virtues; there is compactness & grace in it, and it has a look of quiet efficiency. So I begin with a slight prejudice against the Dhanush Takli—I am inclined to think also that it tends to make one bend the back somewhat, which with neither the wheel charkha nor the box one need do. Any thing that involves back-bending even slightly is not, to that extent, desirable either psychologically or physically. I imagine that the Dhanush Takli will tire me sooner than the others. But that, I suppose, is a question of practice.

Probably at the back of my subconscious mind there is resistance to the D.T. as my hand is now fairly set on the box charkha, and it does not fancy my trying to learn a new, a presumably slower, process. I spin fairly regularly and in spite of many interruptions—transfers &c.—have produced during the last six months about 68000 yards of yarn. I want to finish my first hundred thousand at the same rate and do not want this disturbed. My counts vary from 32 to 45.

I spent quite a long time over Lawrence's *Seven Pillars of Wisdom*. It fascinated me. I had read his *Revolt in the Desert* long ago—the memory has almost faded. Reading this bigger book now became almost a mental adventure. The fine writing of course attracted but even more so his digressions and self-analysis led me into all manner of trains of thought. He irritated me often enough because he appeared morbid or a poseur or an exhibitionist of the mind. Yet he

made me think and his problems were not always unlike mine basically, though they might differ in outer dress. I suppose I am very very different from Lawrence—still sometimes we touched....

Ranjit is definitely better here than he was in Lucknow.

Give my love to your mother and Papi.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

1/5/41[63]

FOR WHO'S WHO IN AMERICA

Answers to their card index.

Each syllable pronounced separately as written, the long vowels being marked : NEHRU, JAWAHARLAL (JAWAHAR and LAL being really two names usually tacked on together).

After school and college education in England, practised as a lawyer in India for six years. Connected with Mrs. Annie Besant's Home Rule for India movement. Then gave this up when Mr. Gandhi started non-cooperation in 1920 and gave full time to public activities, especially political activities connected with Indian National Congress and Indian freedom movement. Was jailed repeatedly for political activities—seven terms from 1921 to 1935, varying from six months to two years. General Secretary of National Congress from 1923 to 1925. President Indian Trade Union Congress 1929. President Indian National Congress 1929 and again in 1936 and 1937. Has been continuously member of supreme Congress executive—the Working Committee—for last 17 years. Has been specially identified with demand for independence of India as democratic state, and has laid stress on international problems in relation to India. Socialistic views. Belief in ultimate world federation of free states. Specially favours closer association between China & India, politically and culturally, and revival of ancient bonds between these two

63. D.G. Tendulkar Papers, N.M.M.L.

countries. Took leading part in condemnation of Japanese, Italian and German aggressions, and fascism and Nazism generally. Cooperated in international actions to send help to Republican Spain during Civil War —and arranged for Indian medical mission to visit China.

Visited Barcelona in June 1938, saw air raids. Czechoslovakia during Sudeten Crisis in summer 1938. Contacts with Wafd Party in Egypt and international organisations like International Peace Campaign, Anti-Fascist Association. Visited Chungking (China) in August-Sept. 1939.

Intimately connected with reform movements in Indian feudal states; President of Indian States' People's Conference since 1939.

NATIONAL PLANNING COMMITTEE

Arrested on Oct. 31, 1940 and sentenced to 4 years R.I. for certain political speeches. Now serving this term which is his eighth prison sentence....

Books :

Soviet Russia—1928

Letters from a Father to his Daughter—1929

Glimpses of World History—1933

Autobiography 1936—American Ed.—*Toward Freedom* 1941

India & the World—1936

Eighteen Months in India—1938

China, Spain and the War—1940

The Unity of India—1941

and numerous articles, &c.

Achievement: That I have so far kept more or less sane in a mad world.

Date of marrying 6.2.1916.

Misc.—Dislike of politics but forced by circumstances into them.

Official honours and awards are given by the British Government in India. These are not accepted by nationalists.

Jawaharlal Nehru

May 1st

Sent letter for Padmaja.

May 2, Friday

The Supt. received a letter today from Indu saying that her medical adviser, Dr. Atal, would like to have an interview with me next Sunday, May 4th. Also that Feroze Gandhi will accompany him. The Supt. has agreed to the interview, though after some hesitation (the last one having been only a few days ago and a letter having been written also). But he has permitted Atal only to see me.

3.5.41[64]

Darling Indu,

I am writing this note before seeing Madan. Presumably he is coming tomorrow morning. There was some difficulty about the interview as it came only a week after the last. Not realising the consequences, I wrote a letter about the Urdu translation of *Glimpses* two days ago and this was sent off. The publication of this book was hung up because of some references to me. Having written a letter, I could not, in the ordinary course, have an interview within a fortnight. As a matter of fact I had written a letter after two and a half months. It is all rather vague and the rules as applied to me are not clear. Anyway it is well to remember the restrictions on letters and interviews. In a very special case, the Superintendent will probably give special permission. But, as far as possible, I should like to avoid this as it might mean references to higher quarters. Probably, however, I shall continue to receive letters sent to me. There is some delay before these are formally delivered to me as they have to go for censoring to the District Magistrate, who is often in Mussoorie. I have been shown your letter of the first May but it will not be formally delivered to me for two or three days more.

The Superintendent told me this morning that he had allowed the interview with Madan as he was coming as your medical advisor, but he had not allowed it to Feroze as there was no special reason for this.

The weather is getting hotter and hotter—this is the worst time of the year and it will last for nearly two months. It will be a great trial for you to take long journeys during this weather and a risky business. I

64. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

do not propose to write any letters for the present in order to keep interviews open. But do not take this journey to Dehra Dun and back without special reason.

Puphi, when she comes, will ask for an interview with Ranjit. That is due and she can have it when she chooses. I shall meet her incidentally as it were, as interviews have to take place in our yard.

You will decide as you think best in consultation with Madan Bhai and others. I can hardly be of help to you from here. In drawing up your programme, it is best to proceed on lines which do not appear as odd to other people, especially those connected with us in various ways. Unfortunately all of us attract a great deal of public attention and our movements are chronicled in the press. This attention is a friendly and affectionate one but it creates difficulties. Then there are those, like Ladli Chacha, who have been good enough to help us in family matters for the last ten years or more, ever since Dadu died. All these people have to be treated in a friendly way and made to feel that they are not being ignored or not consulted about matters on which they are usually consulted. Life is rather a complicated business as no doubt you will realise as you grow older. To me, personally, there are few complications left and I run a more or less straight course. But for me other lives, and notably yours, have inevitably great interest, to put it mildly. They impinge one upon the other. But even so, the burden of decision will rest with you That would have been so if I was out of prison and with you. It is even more so when I am in prison and thus disabled from action or capacity to help. Age is sometimes just a passage of years with no other distinguishing feature; sometimes it is record of worthwhile experiences which may lead, it may be, occasionally to glimpses of wisdom, or an understanding of the extraordinary thing that is life and human relations on this planet. That wisdom in its fulness comes to very very few; even in part it does not come to many. It is something deeper than the facile formulae with which we often seek to confine it. And because it is deeper, it cannot be easily passed on to others who have not experienced it in their own lives and minds. And so again and again that experience has to be gone through and often the price we pay in such experience is great.

In politics, I am a little weary of those—and they are so many—who without taking the trouble to understand the intricacies of a complicated problem, seek to solve it out of hand. We are always announcing answers to questions which we have not even framed. If that is so in politics, it is even more in life itself, with its amazing diversity and complexity. As I grow older and experience upon experience piles up within me, I am appalled at my own smallness in this mighty scheme of things.

Perhaps that is the effect of age. Youth is fortunately free from this disability.

I write all this because circumstances have put you on the threshold of life and at every turn you will have to face a question mark. By your answers to these questions, your future will be moulded, and often those answers will not be entirely pleasant ones. Distress and suffering consume the world today. Nobody can avoid them. But integrity of mind and action can be ours, whatever happens. And if we are fortunate enough to possess this, then it does not much matter what else we lack.

This note or letter sounds perilously like sermonizing— It is not meant so. It is only an attempt to express some odd thoughts that came into my mind as I was thinking of you—I talk too much and write too much —I grow garrulous with age. But the period when as a father it was my function to guide you in many ways has ended, because you have grown up and because of other things. And I wonder so often if during these past years I guided you aright or failed to do what I should have done. Anyway that period of life for you and for me is past history. The moving finger has written and moved on. And now you face another period and the burden of that is much more on you.

I have written above about Ladli Chacha. Of course I do not mean that he should be taken into every confidence. What I mean is that he should not be made to feel that he was being ignored.

As for telling *puphi* or not—as you have decided for the present not to consult her on the subject, I shall do likewise, and await the development of events.

I want my old razor (Gillette type). There are two old ones in my bathroom in Anand Bhawan. Someone might bring them here—*puphi* when she comes next.

Love,

Papu

May 4, Sunday

Fairly long interview with Madan Atal this morning.

It is proposed that Indu should spend a couple of months at Solan where Madan will also be staying and can look after her.

4.5.41[65]

Darling Indu,
I have had a long talk with Madan Bhai and he will no doubt tell you all about it. Though there is not much to tell. I have already told you that under the circumstances you should decide about your programme. I cannot be of much help anyway. Madan seems to think that Solan will be a suitable place for you for two months or so and after that when the rains are well set, you will be fit enough to go elsewhere—to Allahabad or Kashmir or where you like. If you agree with this, certainly go to Solan. Madan Bhai will be there to advise you. You can decide later what to do afterwards. Even when the rains come the weather in Allahabad is very close and depressing and you will not improve under it. Perhaps it may be desirable and worth while then—some time in July or so—to go to Kashmir for a couple of months. That will tune you up and you can return to Allahabad about the end of September, just when the autumn is beginning and the nights at least are cool.

On your way to Solan you can pay me a visit, also on your way down. My next interview is due on Sunday or any day afterwards. I shall take no other interview and shall not write any letters which might come in the way of an interview. But you can write to me.

These jail interviews, even when the authorities are lenient (and this is not likely to be repeated on the same scale), are very unsatisfactory, welcome as they are. I do not know how to unlock the doors of my mind and heart, which burst with things to say. Nor do you I fancy for you have found it even more difficult to do so even outside jail. And then in my long moments of silent thought I wonder often if words are so important after all. They help of course but only slightly and when the doors of understanding have been unlocked. Otherwise they are valueless—just hot air. Having used an abundance of words all my life, I grow more and more to distrust them. Something that is vital escapes them. I wonder sometimes if my love for you has been so wanting in something as to prevent those doors from opening. I seek to find the error, to purge the fault. Meanwhile we grow older and time passes and events happen—and I draw into my own shell.

In the quiet of Solan, or wherever you may be, you will also do a lot of thinking. Try to think out things for yourself and build your

65. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

thoughts on an integral and integrated mind. There is nothing so important as integrity of thought which is not swept away by momentary gusts or rumours and hearsay. If we can keep that hard gem-like flame of mental integrity, our actions are coloured by it and we grow in the process. Else we remain petty, inconsequential and unimportant in any real analysis. We live in times of chaos or of approaching chaos. It may be years before any ordered living comes back to us. There is no chance of my coming out of prison for a long time, and I do not want to. I should like to develop more peace and strength of mind and more charity than I possess. Perhaps the Bodhisatva will help!

You might write to Birju Chacha that you will not be going to Kashmir just yet. Tell him that we have received the seeds and saplings he has had sent to us and we are tending them carefully.

Some foreign papers are being returned. *Nation* has a review of my book. This might be taken out. Ask Upadhyaya to keep them separately. *Time* had one. I enclose another.

Love,

Papu

May 7

My mind has been troubled and uneasy—constantly thinking, brooding about various matters which chiefly revolve round Indu. Restless nights.

May 8

I have sent my yarn to Betty. Early in March, I had given a lot (spun from Nov. to Feb.) to Psyche for the G.S.S. I gave her 39500 yards. I have now sent 31500 yards—upto hank No. 142 dated May 7th—totalling 71000 yards spun since I came to prison this time. In addition I asked Upadhyaya to send about 4000 yards of my yarn, previously spun. (My old yarn sent by Upadhyaya to G.S.S. amounted to 7 hanks of 667 yards each=4669 yards plus a few odd smaller hanks. In all over 5000 yards. All this spun from January to March 1940).

May 12, Monday

No news from Indu—no letter from her, nor any mention of an approaching interview— Because of her I have refused to fix up any other interview or write any letter, lest this come in the way. Meanwhile several demands for interviews: Rajan, Bijju Bhabi, Nora, and Jai Narayan Vyas (sec. A.I.S.P.C.)—I am keeping them hanging.

Nan is coming tomorrow to see Ranjit. Of course I shall see her also as I am here.***[66]

May 15, 1941[67]

Indu,

Why have I suddenly begun writing to you—and today of all days? This letter is not meant to be sent to you in the ordinary course and I do not know when you will see it. I do not know when you will come to interview me again. Yet the writing of this has suddenly become an imperative need, an urge I cannot resist, even if I would, and indeed I have no desire to do so. I hope you will see it some time.

Letters from prison, with all manner of evilly inclined folk and knaves and fools running their eyes through them and, often enough, blue-pencilling or blacking out passages. How can one write a real, intimate letter under these circumstances? For months I have hardly written a letter from here, except for one or two semi-business communications. I was annoyed at the Govt.'s attitude, irritated at parts of my letters—innocent enough I thought, they were—being blacked out. And so in sheer perversity I did not write just when Govt. relaxed the rule for me and allowed me to write frequent letters. Probably I would still have written to you but you were out of reach and expected every moment to leave England for India.

And yet this business of censorship is no new thing, although jail and C.D. aggravate it tenfold. During the last twenty years, ever since the first C.D. movement or even earlier, I have always had the idea at the

66. The entries for the period, 13 to 21 May 1941, are missing in the original.
67. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

back of my mind that my letters might be read by censors and the like. Even during the slack periods, politically speaking, some kind of censorship always continued. Possibly all our letters were not censored, but some always were, and I could never write as freely and frankly as I wanted to. My political life and methods were such that there was little secrecy about them, though inevitably there were things I did not want to shout from the housetops. But when it came to personal matters it was a different story. Not that there were any great secrets of mine which I wished to hide from the public gaze. But no one likes to undress his mind and soul in public. So, always, through all these long years, whenever I took pen in hand to write a letter, subconsciously I kept a check on myself, feeling that strangers would see that letter. I could write with a certain measure of clarity and even my restraint of language gave some evidence of the mind and thought behind. But that could only be a fleeting glimpse and sometimes an irritating one, for there was a suspicion of a veil hiding much.

Perhaps even before these iron bars of censorship enveloped us and made me retire a little more into my shell, I had developed a measure of restraint in expression and behaviour. That too, I am inclined to think, was a way of self-protection against a fear I always had of being swept away by too much sentiment. You will be surprised to find me accusing myself of sentiment, for I show precious little of it and am much more of a hard-boiled egg, now at any rate. Yet, I fear, this hardness is only at the surface and underneath lies a sea of sentiment which has often frightened me. A life-time of disciplined living and deliberate training of the mind and body to make them efficient instruments for the purpose I had in view, has thrown a hard shell over this turbulent mass and on the whole I feel fairly sure of myself. This has given me a certain degree of self-confidence and usually a crisis or difficulty makes me clearer-headed and calmer. Yet on occasions the shell bursts to my great discomfiture.

Apart from this fear of my own tendency to wallow in sentiment, there was another reason which induced me to fortify my shell—that mighty Maginot Line which could after all be so easily turned. I realised that any slackening on my part produced far-reaching reactions on others, and I was alarmed at the consequences. I could not live up to them and indeed I had no intentions of doing so. Thus I caused needless pain to others and I blamed myself for this. And so again I retired into my shell and peeped out of it.

What is Papu driving at? you will say. Why all these patches of early autobiography? Well, I really do not know myself. My mind cooped up for months past is just bursting and if, by some miracle, I could transfer

all those ideas and thoughts to paper suddenly, a fat volume might materialise! The ideas are not methodically arranged as they would have to be if I tried to write a book, and they just tumble over each other and the poor pen cannot possibly keep pace with them. But I am not writing a book and I do not just see myself writing a book for some considerable time. I toyed with this writing idea for weeks and months. I almost sat down to it. But I could not begin and it grows harder to do so, as time goes by.

Why so? Because I cannot write superficially, unless I am writing a political or non-personal article, and even then it is frightfully difficult for a person who is an active politician. He may not say everything he wants to say, he may not discuss frankly his own colleagues or his opponents, for he has to think of a hundred consequences. Every word spoken or written has to be weighed, consciously or subconsciously. How cribbed and confined and imprisoned we are by these iron bars of the spirit.

If this is so about political matters, how much more difficult it is about personal matters. Can anyone be ever really frank about oneself, one's own emotions and mental struggles, one's urges and desires and those half-conscious imaginings which float, dream-like, through the mind?

My *Autobiography* is, I think, about as frank and truthful a document, both politically and personally, as I could make it. Probably it compares favourably with others of its kind in this respect. I poured out myself in it at a time when I was going through much agony of soul. And yet, in spite of all the pouring out, all the restraints and inhibitions were there, and I suppressed much that filled my mind and heart. To that extent I was untruthful. Especially this was so in the last few chapters dealing with my personal life. It was impossible for me to lay bare my heart before anybody, much less before the world at large.

But these last six years since the *Autobiography* was written have had a powerful effect upon me. I have suffered greatly, experienced many hard knocks in my personal as well as my political life, saw some of my ideals become airy nothings and some of my dearest personal relations fade away. I have survived all this, hardened, matured, call it what you will. I am not just one and fifty years old. Somehow my body keeps healthy and fit in spite of a growing tiredness with it. But I feel as if I was hundreds of years old in mind and the weight of these centuries lies heavily upon me. If this is the beginning of wisdom, then I am on the threshold of Saraswati's haven. But I would barter this wisdom and experience, so dearly bought, for the lighthearted unwisdom of my younger days.

How can I write about these six years with any frankness and throw my naked soul before the public? And if I miss out everything that really mattered to me, what remains that is worth while? These six or seven years are bound up in my inner life with Kamala and you. Of course even before this period both of you played a major part in my personal and inner life. But one takes many things for granted in one's younger days; even our struggles have a passing quality. Apart from this, in the twenties I was totally abnormal. I had a flame-like quality, a fire within me which burned and consumed me and drove me relentlessly forward; it made me almost oblivious of all other matters, even of intimate personal relations. I was in fact wholly unfit as a close companion of anyone except in that one sphere of thought and action which had enslaved me. Gradually I woke up to other matters. I realised then, and I realised now even more, what an impossible person I must have been to get on with. My very good qualities which made me an efficient instrument for political action, became defects in the domestic field. Yet I found, to my infinite joy, that those I cared for above all else had gladly and willingly tolerated me and put up with my vagaries. As my awakening proceeded I yearned above all else for those closer human contacts of the spirit with those I loved with all my heart. Unfortunately long and trying periods of jail came, year after year, and normal life and contacts were denied. It was in those days of the early thirties that I wrote those hundreds of letters to you which came out subsequently as *Glimpses*. That was one attempt of mine somehow to quench a little the insatiable thirst that consumed me.

Dadu was dead. He had meant a great deal to me; I was infinitely proud of him and of the traditions of our family which he had set up—the traditions of great ability, great courage, great perseverance, great sacrifice, all directed to the service of India. That tradition, it was my ambition, to keep alive in so far as I could.

But father was dead. Dolamma was there, frail, ailing, enveloping me with the overwhelming love of a mother for her son. I was very fond of her, but she could take no part in the life I was living. I was anxious to give her peace and comfort during her few remaining years. There were my sisters, both of whom were so much younger than me that my relation to them was partly paternal and partly brotherly. One of them had married and was, what is called, settled in life. She had lived since her marriage chiefly in Calcutta, Rajkot and other places and had lately taken a house with her family in Allahabad. Although I was very fond of her, she had largely gone out of my life and lived her own life. The younger sister was with us. The difference in our ages was so great that I had looked upon her more as a child than as a sister.

Soon after she married and went away. My family life revolved and centred round two persons—Mummie and you. The others, however much I liked them, lived their own lives apart from ours, though there were of course contacts.

Ever since father's death I felt the burden of a new responsibility: I was the head of the family and as such must look after, in a sense, my sisters and make them feel that nothing had changed in their old home.

But I cannot go on and on with this past history—certainly not now when the lights are going out. I had not intended to write all this but it is strange how the pen becomes almost an independent entity when one writes and sometimes does just what it likes.

May 16

Last night, when I sat down to write, I was trying to explain why the urge to write to you suddenly took possession of me. And instead of doing this in a straight fashion, I wandered into the past and began to lose myself in its mazes. It is an unfortunate way I have with you—as if I was talking casually and inconsequentially. I go on and on and do not give you much time to put in a word.

What I was driving at was the extraordinary difficulty of my writing about these past six years in a book. I dared not do it and expose all my inmost feelings and torments to others. Not that there was any great secrecy about them, but some things are private and sacred because of that, especially when others are concerned. I am not a secretive person but there are limits even for me. There is much that I could tell you for you have the right to know. But even to you I could not say everything. It would hurt me and it might hurt you.

So a feeling of suppression grew upon me. In jail this is always so and I try to find a way of escape in hard work, a regular routine, spinning, reading etc. In the past, writing, being creative work, has helped me tremendously. This avenue seemed to be closed this time. I looked forward to your coming back. You filled my mind and this thought of you, tinged with anxiety about your health and journey, kept me more or less calm in spite of occasional worry.

You arrived—you came to see me. That was an event for me. It was an event for many others. It was extraordinary how odd people were interested in this. Every one in jail was somewhat excited about it. English police officials and others who saw me on business spoke about it with some enthusiasm. I felt how both you and I represent something more than our individual selves. We become symbols in the minds of countless people.

You arrived and I was happy. But soon a cloud fell on my happiness for I realised that you were not as well as I had hoped and that there were troubles ahead of you. My training held however and immediately I grappled with the new problem and gave you advice as to what you might do. You accepted it for the moment and, though I had a dull feeling inside me about your health, I felt that we were going to face the situation in the most effective manner. To take the best possible action when a difficulty confronts one itself brings relief to the mind. It is always inaction and doubt and uncertainty that crush one.

You went away. Then Madan came and I learnt that on further consideration you had decided to follow a different course. I was sorry that partly at least you had not followed my advice but I tried to convince myself that the other course might be equally suitable. Anyway Madan told me he had made arrangements at Solan and everything was practically fixed up. So nothing more seemed to be necessary. Still I did not quite like this development, it preyed upon my mind. Life is a complicated business and is always playing us tricks. I have, in much hardship and pain, learned to understand it a little, very little, and to proceed warily where it is concerned. Each act has a hundred consequences and those who would step with assurance have to keep all these in view. No one can possibly expect you to think of all these consequences and possibilities. You have not the experience. Even Madan, a dear friend and valuable counsellor though he is, is very inexperienced in the by-ways of life, or even on its highways. I am quite sure that if I had the chance and the time to explain to you and Madan why I advised as I did, you would have agreed with me unhesitatingly from your own point of view, not mine. Indeed I gave the advice from your point of view.

In spite of this disappointment I accepted the new arrangement. When I heard later, however, that the Solan visit had fallen through and that no arrangement was visible, then suddenly I was completely upset. Very casually inquiries were being made in Mussoorie for houses and even there it was not easy to get them. What was this casualness and inefficiency, I thought, when every day counted and the heat was at its worst. This was not the way to do things and if the beginning was casual what about developments later. It seemed to me clear that Madan by himself would find great difficulty in fixing things up. I grew almost ill with anxiety and could do nothing but pace up and down like a caged animal, fretting at my inability to help you. It was absurd my not being able to help my own daughter when she required this help most. A word or a whisper from me and thousands all over the country would gladly do everything in their power for you. Yet things had taken such a shape that I could do

little and had left everything to Madan. The whole thing was fantastic, absurd in its folly. Fancy everything being hung up because you had nowhere to go to!

So I raged for two days and life became a terrible burden. I could do no work, could not even spin which soothes me. I could sleep with difficulty and would suddenly sit up in the middle of the night unable to control or direct the ideas that battered my mind. Yesterday morning I got up about 4 a.m. and decided to write to Madan. I sent him this letter. This relieved me somewhat for at any rate I had taken some step.

But still my mind was ill at ease. I longed to meet you and talk to you. The desire to do so almost overwhelmed me. Yet I could not even write for an official jail letter was no good.

In the evening it struck me suddenly that I could write to you fully and frankly, even though my letter might not be sent to you. Later perhaps you might see it. This was just a subterfuge, a trick, and yet, would you believe it? my mind calmed down immediately. I grasped at this way out. Just then Ranjit and I went out for our short stroll in the evening. It had been cloudy and stormy during the day but the evening had cleared up and the outline of the hills stood out sharp and clear. It struck me how equally rapidly the stormy weather of my mind had subsided because of this new idea and I had felt calmer and more at peace.

We came back to our barrack and I was eager to begin to write to you. Ranjit spoke to me. I could hardly follow his words for my mind was with you. I must have behaved oddly. There were interruptions. At last I sat down to write to you. And this was the beginning last night.[68]

68. This letter does not seem to have been completed.

12

PRISON DIARY WITH LETTERS II
26 May 1941—4 December 1941

May 26, 1941[1]

Darling Indu,

I am very glad you are (more or less) comfortably established in your little cottage. This does appear to be rather small but even that might be an advantage. One can make a small place cosier. It is pretty dismal to live by oneself in a large place.

It is a comfort to know that you are not far from me and that news of you can reach me quickly. But I am sure that the first thing you should attend to is your rest and treatment. All this long journeying, ever since you left Switzerland many months ago, must have been exhausting and we can take no risks with your health. So rest a lot even if this is a trifle boring. Indeed for the next month or so I would not recommend even an interview with me here. I would love to see you of course as often as possible, but this business of running up and down between Mussoorie and Dehra Dun must interfere with rest and treatment. So till the end of June at least, stick to Mussoorie. We shall see afterwards about future interviews. As for your treatment you should carry on what has been recommended to you and there is Madan Bhai always there to consult. It is not necessary to refer matters to me. Madan Bhai and you can always decide any matter that arises.

I am very fond of Beethoven—But my life has been spent far from the cultivation of the graces and pleasures which sometimes accompany it. I suppose I must not complain for I have got a great deal out of it in my own way. Happiness is rather a fleeting thing, a sense of fulfilment is perhaps more abiding. The world changes and I grow old-fashioned already. All of us claim certain rights—individual, national etc.—and quite rightly so. But in the old days I was taught that rights carried obligations and duties with them, and I have got rather entangled in this sense of obligation and duty. Even so, life has been very generous to me, and even the knocks and kicks it has given me have had their lessons and have perhaps benefited me.

But I was writing about music. Get the gramophone and records by all means. It struck me that a radio might be useful. So with the help of some friends I have tried to make arrangements for a radio to be sent to you. I hope it will get there and function properly.

About money, you will remember to draw as much as you require from Allahabad. You can also, if need arises, get it from Bachhraj in Bombay (from my account, not yours).

1. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

Within a fortnight, I think, or possibly three weeks, the monsoon will reach the little hill on which is perched Mussoorie. There is a tremendous deal of rain during the first month especially. So be prepared for it.

That reminds me, I had asked Upadhyaya to bring my raincoat. He did not do so. Do not worry about it now.

Did Upadhyaya order the books I wanted? I forgot to ask him. I sent the list with *puphi*. They were chiefly Plato's and the Greek plays translated by Gilbert Murray.

Another book I have been wanting for a long time (and asking Upadhyaya for it) has been कविता कौमुदी[2] Part I. We had it in the library, but it has disappeared. So a new copy can be obtained. It is published and sold in Allahabad.

Keep cheerful and well and grow strong.

All my love,

Your loving,
Papu

26.5.41[3]

Darling Betty,

It is ages since I have written to you, or indeed to any one. It is just three months and a quarter since I stopped writing letters. During this period I have written two more or less business letters, and these too fairly recently. Why did I behave in this way? I do not quite know. A streak of perversity in my nature I suppose. But there was a more substantial reason also behind it. After our transfer in February to Lucknow there was the possibility of more frequent interviews and so I gave up the alternative of letters. To Indu I could not write in any case as she was expected to sail or was actually on the high seas. Others know well that however troubled or perplexed my mind might be occasionally my body keeps going in an aggressively healthy way. So only the ignorant need ever worry about my physical well being.

I was very happy to have news of Raja and to learn that he was carrying on well. I suppose Nasik must be pretty hot now, but I have always held that any heat is better for one's health than the enervating climate

2. *Kavita Kaumudi.*
3. *Nehru's Letters to His Sister*, (London, 1963), pp. 75-76.

of Bombay. Perhaps, as a true citizen of Bombay, you might resent this statement. I hasten to add, therefore, that in spite of its climate, I like Bombay very much and am very fond of many people who live there.

Write to me, my dear, when you feel like it—even though you do not get an answer from me. Remember that letter writing from jail depends on many factors and limitations. I should like to have frequent news of Raja and the children, and of course, yourself. Do not worry much about the petty riots that are taking place in Bombay.[4] Such things are ghastly certainly, but it is a ghastly world we live in and the sooner we get accustomed to it and come out of our glass houses the better. We shall have many shake-ups—the old life is gone, never to return.

Love,

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

May 26, 1941[5]

TO RAJAN NEHRU

My dear Rajan,

Your letter reached me some time ago. I did not answer it myself as I was not writing letters to any one just then or later, as these came in the way of interviews. I would much rather have had a glimpse of you than send you a brief note.

You mentioned in your letter that you were likely to visit Dehra Dun within four or five days. That meant the 12th or 13th. The jail authorities were agreeable to your coming on the 13th and I was told that a letter to this effect was sent to you from the jail office. I half expected you that day. Probably that letter from jail went astray and you never got it, or else you would have replied to it.

According to your programme you must now be in Kashmir or perhaps in Simla, *en route* for Kashmir. So you are far away and the

4. From 22 May 1941, Bombay city was in the grip of communal riots, in which 43 persons were killed and many more injured. Sporadic incidents continued till the 5th of June.
5. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

possibility of interviews in the near future does not arise. I envy you Kashmir. It is the one place which always calls to me.

The books that Foot[6] of the Doon School sent me through you were returned to him long ago. We were transferred to Lucknow on the last day of February and before we went we returned the books. Later, on our return here, I made sure that he had got them back.

Ranjit is well, putting the finishing touches to his translation of the *Mudrarakshasa*.

Indu is staying in Mussoorie or rather on the way to Mussoorie, in a little cottage. She is far from well yet and is supposed to have full rest.

Have a good time in Kashmir. The air of the higher valleys there is the most vitalizing thing I have come across.

Not knowing exactly where you are, I am sending this to your New Delhi address.

Fond love to you and Ratan,

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

May 29, 1941

Madan came to see me a few days ago on his way down from Mussoorie. He brought a letter from Indu. An angry, agitated letter, angry at me, angry at events. All the long screeds I had written to her and for her and which I had perhaps foolishly given to her, had a very different effect on her from what I had desired. So much for my insight into human beings and my general competence! Not learning from this, I suffered myself to seize hold of pen and paper and write on and on to relieve my fevered brain. The idea of course was to send these sheets to her later. Fortunately I held on to them and indeed there was no chance of sending them, and later was wise enough to destroy the lot.

It is terribly sad how this jail business prevents me from getting nearer to Indu just when I want to so much. And yet, would I succeed if I was out? Like Malaviyaji in politics, I seem to think that cold reason and logic must ultimately convince—an idle thought which leads to false hopes and wrong actions. How many times I have failed in this endeavour during past years, both in private & personal life as well as in

6. A.E. Foot (1901-1968); eminent educationist; first Headmaster of the Doon School, 1935-48.

public life. As my experience of life grows I feel more and more perplexed at its vagaries and complexities. I am losing confidence in my ability to cope with it in its personal aspect. I cannot even gain the confidence of my daughter! Not that I want her to do anything against her will. And yet there it is. Extraordinary. For years and years, while I was busy with my politics &c, or was in prison, or Indu was in Europe, her mind has been filled with queer ideas about me—fantastic accounts which just amaze me. And I cannot explain them away and each attempt to do so irritates her!

...Are we—am I—so completely out of touch with the younger generation as not to understand them at all? Is the gulf too wide to be crossed by either party? I wonder. And yet I had always thought that I was a link and could understand both—and indeed my own leanings were towards this younger generation. Or is Indu not representative of this generation?

...For all these long years, twenty-three years ago and since then, how much has Indu meant to me, and how many thousand times I have thought of her future. How to help, how not to hinder her growth. Hundreds of pictures come to my mind of her babyhood, infancy, early girlhood. How many talks I had with Kamala about her! And how I longed to have her show confidence in me; to come to me and ask questions, to inquire, to confide. To a slight extent she did so in childhood, and of course I was not often available. I made the most of this and referred to it in my *Letters from a Father* & in *Glimpses*. But even as I was writing, she had drawn into herself—These last ten years separated her from me, till now we look at each other as strangers almost. Ten years! I saw little of her. First I was in prison for years—then she was in Switzerland and England.

What is to be done? What is to be done? Nothing. One cannot cheat the fates in personal matters or make them hurry.

May 29, 1941[7]

TO J. R. JAYEWARDENE

Dear Mr. Jayewardene,
Your letter of the 7th May has reached me and I was happy to hear from you again. As you realise it is not possible for me at present to

7. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.

carry on an intelligent correspondence about things that matter and are in our minds. Events are marching fast all over the world and it surprises me that many people are still thinking in the old way and cannot get out of the ruts. But the future, whatever it is going to be, is not going to wait or to conform itself to their slow-moving minds.

In prison especially, when one is cut off from friends, the mind fixes itself more on the future. In the thoughts that fill my mind, Ceylon often recurs and the difficulties of the present day do not worry me much.

My good wishes to you and to the people of Lanka.

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

June 2, Monday

June, sweet June (not so sweet in India!) is upon us with all its oppressive heat but also with the promise of the rains soon. Indeed we have had a few light showers already here in Dehra and there has been a noticeable improvement in the temperature. But in Allahabad and elsewhere it is fearfully hot.

Madan, who went to Calcutta to see Bidhan Roy, wired to say some time back that Bidhan was in Shillong and so he was going there. I expected as much. Then later that Calcutta doctors wanted Indu to go there for a thorough examination &c. and stay there for a week or two. Further that he was making arrangements accordingly. This was not at all surprising to me. I could not conceive Bidhan giving an opinion without personal examination. And yet what a time to go to Calcutta—the worst time of the year for travelling and staying in Calcutta and so soon after Indu had come up to Mussoorie! All the fuss about taking a house & fixing it up for nothing! If she had to go to Calcutta she might have done so before going to Mussoorie. But Madan is not very bright where such things are concerned and lives in a world of hopeful optimism. Everyone will wonder why Indu has to go suddenly to Calcutta and anxious inquiries will pour in.

And yet after receiving Madan's telegram I felt greatly relieved. At any rate she will be in competent hands in Calcutta. For the rest, it is no good worrying.

I was expecting to hear from Madan again or suddenly to learn that he had returned But there has been no further news from him. A

short while ago I was told that Indu wanted to interview me tomorrow —Is she on her way to Calcutta? Probably.

The Supt. is very decent to me in allowing frequent interviews. Only yesterday I had an interview with Nora who came down from Mussoorie to see me—This was supposed to be my normal interview. Indu's will apparently be a special one.

June 4, Wednesday

Yesterday I did not spin!—a gap day after many months. I was expecting Indu in the morning but long before she came (she turned up in the early afternoon) the American edition of my *Autobiography—Toward Freedom*—was delivered to me. I became absorbed in it—how one likes to see one's own books in print! And I decided not to spin that day. I deserved a holiday from it after my regularity and long perseverance in it.

On the back cover of the book are given some American press opinions. They are extraordinarily eulogistic and, reading them, satisfaction and pleasure filled me. My opinion of myself probably went up—a risky business requiring careful watching!

Reading the book I felt that the abridgement was not always happy —There is a scrappiness about it and sometimes it is difficult to see the connection between one paragraph and the other. Indeed there is no connection. I am still reading the book.

Indu's visit yesterday brought me a strange peace although my mind continues to be worried about her health. She gave me a note—she is so shy of talking—and this note was entirely different from anything she had written to me for years. Evidently she had had a tussle with herself, and her previous plans having gone awry, she realised how wrong and foolish she had been to reject my advice and to suspect it. She felt, as she wrote, how helpless she was without having me for a prop, and for the first time the barriers which had grown up between her and me seemed to fade. I felt immensely relieved and yet I knew that barriers do not disappear so easily. She is easily moved and influenced by happenings and people. Still it was a good beginning and I do not think it can ever be so bad again as it has been—We had a long talk, the talking, as usual, being mostly done by me.

She left for Calcutta last evening. My thoughts are with her.

Wrote letters today to Indu, Betty and Mridula.

June 4, 1941[8]

Darling,
I hope your journey was not too bad and that you reached Calcutta fit and well. But Calcutta itself must be hot and close. Perhaps a week or so will not matter and then you can rest and recuperate in Mussoorie. My thoughts will be with you and I hope you or Madan will send me a brief letter to say how you are getting on and when you expect to be back. Now that you have gone to Calcutta, it is as well to take full advantage of your visit and have yourself thoroughly overhauled by the doctors and take full directions about the future.

If your previous X-rays are required I think it might be better for Upadhyaya to run up himself to Allahabad and get them. This will be preferable to some one else bringing them from Allahabad. The cost will be the same. Ask Dr. Roy if he wants them.

Give my love to Dr. Roy and tell him that though fortunately I do not stand in need of doctors, it is a comfort to know that such wise and clever doctors as he is exist!

I have got plenty of books with me to carry on for weeks and weeks, and besides I am just flirting with the idea to begin writing! But still the old failing asserts itself and the desire to see new and worthwhile books. So I am giving on a separate sheet a list of books which should be handed over to Upadhyaya. He might go round the bookshops in Calcutta, beginning with the Book Company, to find out if any of these are available. I doubt if you can get them there, as they are mostly new American publications. Still he can try. Some of the books have probably been published in England also. These books could not be obtained in Bombay.

All my love to you, my dear, and may you grow strong and healthy.

Remember to get a good light mackintosh for yourself in Calcutta. Ask Dr. Roy for the address of the Indian firm. If you cannot get a good readymade one, get some strong Assam silk (preferably double-thread) and have a mac made out of this.

Your loving,
Papu

8. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

4.6.41[9]

Darling Betty,
For the first time in some months I did not spin yesterday! The John Day book you sent was delivered to me in the morning and such is human vanity that I was absorbed in it. Then Indu came.

Indu has rather suddenly gone to Calcutta. I have been dissatisfied with her health. Madan Atal going to Calcutta consulted Bidhan Roy, who, as was to be expected, said: bring her here and we shall overhaul her. So Madan wrote to Indu to go to Calcutta for a week or so and in the middle of this heat, she has departed. It all seems rather crazy but I hope she will be back soon.

I have sent for another packet of my yarn. Tell Psyche that I have not yet really tried the Dhanush Takli, as other people were after it. I hope to begin seriously with it soon.

I am rather concerned at Walsh not replying to your letter. This implies that he might not have got it. One can never be sure in these days. If you have a copy of the letter, could you send it to him. Or reproduce it briefly.

Yesterday I received Pan's parcel of mangoes and as Indu was here just then, I gave her some. But I was horrified, tell Pan, to see that a parcel bearing a label from P.A. Narielwala Esq., Bombay House, 26 Bruce Street, etc., had SUNLIGHT SOAP inscribed on it in big characters on either side. How has this fifth column activity penetrated to Bombay House?

Send me Napier's letter. I should like to see it. You might also send the news about Napier to Bapu. He is interested in him and once wrote to the Viceroy about him.[10]

You know I suppose, that a small cottage—St. Clair Cottage—has been engaged for Indu in Mussoorie. I do not know how long Indu is likely to stay there but the cottage is for the season. It is a tiny affair—2 bedrooms and 2 other rooms. If at any time you would care to come up there with the children, I am sure Indu would be glad. You need not

9. *Nehru's Letters to His Sister*, (London, 1963), pp. 77-78.
10 On 7 October 1940, Mahatma Gandhi had written to the Viceroy: "I enclose herewith Pandit Nehru's letter and its enclosure. Though it relates to an individual British officer who has risen against the tradition, I think the case merits sympathetic treatment. The Pandit's letter I send in order that you may know the inner working of the mind of one who will be the future leader of all India. You will please tell me if I have overstepped the limit in sending you these papers." See also *ante*, section 9, item 42.

come because of Indu. I think a month or so of full quiet and rest will be good for her. But later if the children require a change or you feel like it yourself, you can think over this. It is just possible that in August or thereabouts Indu might like to go to Kashmir. But that is too far off yet.

I was sorry to learn about Kay. I hope she will pull herself up and keep cheerful.

Love to Raja and the children and yourself.

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

9.6.1941[11]

Darling Indu,

I have just received a note from Madan to say that you are under some treatment and that Dr. Roy has not come back from Shillong yet. I hope he will come back soon. Meanwhile it is as well that his associates and assistants should prepare the ground for him so that he might have all the data.

Madan says that you are not likely to return before the 21st as Bidhan will want to keep you under observation for some days. A few days this way or that do not matter, though Calcutta is hardly a desirable place to stay in at this time of the year. But now that you have gone all the way to Calcutta you might as well do the job thoroughly. Dr. Roy's advice must have first place. I have great faith not only in his ability as a doctor but also his sound common sense and thoroughness. He and Jivraj Mehta are the two persons I think of whenever I have to worry about medical matters. They are stolid and careful and can be relied upon. So, while I am sorry that your programme was messed up a bit and you had to rush down from here, I am glad that Bidhan Roy is looking after you and I hope you will follow his advice and directions.

Fortunately the monsoon has started early and this must have lowered the temperature of Calcutta. It is pleasant here and there is some rain almost daily. In Mussoorie, I am told, it has been dismal owing to too much rain.

I have received my raincoat from Allahabad—also some books! Murray's translations of the Greek plays. Please remember to get a

11. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

raincoat for yourself in Calcutta. All you have to do is to choose some stuff, preferably thick Assam silk, well-woven, and leave your measurements. It can then follow you, if it is not ready by the time you leave.

Mridula has just wired to say that her visit to Lucknow has been postponed to 24th. So she will come here before or after that date.

All my love,

Your loving,
Papu

June 12, 1941[12]

Darling Indu,

I wonder when you will come back this way. I suppose you will stay on in Calcutta for another week at least as Dr. Roy wants to keep you under observation. On your way up to Mussoorie you will of course come to see me. I am taking no other interviews, except for Mridula's and that is likely to be about the 26th.

Here it rains every day, though not too much so far. Considerately it clears up for a while in the mornings and evenings to allow us to walk up and down a little. The rain soon runs off or is abated by the soil which is stony. I like the rain unless there is too much of it. I suppose by mid-July I shall begin to get tired of it.

Just outside our barrack wall there is a little channel for canal water to pass through to the field. Right through the summer this channel was used once or twice a fortnight and the water pouring down it, and gurgling as it went, made a merry noise. Especially at night it was pleasant to hear this sound of running water. Now the rains fill this channel and we hear this sound more frequently, though often it cannot be heard on account of the beating rain. Yet it is a pleasant and soothing noise when it comes through.

> A noise like of a hidden brook
> In the leafy month of June,
> That to the sleeping woods all night
> Singeth a quiet tune...

12. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

I suppose in prison one's ears grow sharper and many other senses, which lie dormant during an active life outside, waken up and so open out a new world of sensation, just as a blind man becomes far more sensitive in other ways. Birds and insects and of course flowers become real companions whose acquaintance we renew from day to day. A creeper is a fascinating thing—Have you ever watched its sensitive feelers, how full of life they are: creeping on and on and holding on to twig or string or wall? In Sanskrit poetry women are always likened to creepers! Bengali names of girls are full of Lata's.

Good friends in Dehra Dun have been sending us fruit—luscious, delicious fruit grown here on the foot-hills or from other places. Grapes, locally grown, plums, pine-apples (not grown here!), *langras* and *dasehris* just beginning and fine apples. Yesterday we had a pleasant surprise when a basket of lovely cherries all the way from Kashmir came our way. They were not the choicest variety as these are too thin-skinned and delicate to travel. Still they were very good and very welcome and they made me think of Kashmir, where just a year ago I used to eat them in large quantities. So you see we have compensations in jail!

I am beginning to think again of doing some writing work. For the moment I am just playing about with the idea, revolving it in my mind, sometimes pushing it away, and then allowing it to come nearer. I know that once I give in to it, it will obsess me and my pen will become a tyrant ordering me about and interfering with my programme and other activities.

American reviews of my book have had curious reactions on me. Pleasant of course. It is so delightful to be praised and I swell up with satisfaction. And yet all this talk about style and lucidity rather frightens me. I wrote previously without thinking of style. I had to say something and I said it as simply and effectively as possible. Now I cannot forget that I have to keep up to a certain style and standard and this continuing reminder is a nuisance.

What is this much-praised style of mine, I begin to think? A certain simplicity and a certain lucidity in short sentences, partly due to clear thinking and having something to say. But partly also, I think, to a certain rhythm and a love of the sound of words. I hate an ill-balanced sentence. It jars. Why this rhythm? I do not know. It is not just an external thing, an ear for it or an eye to balance it. It has to do ultimately with a mental rhythm, or perhaps something even deeper than that. During these past twenty years or so, while you have been growing up, slowly this sense of rhythm in life has grown within me as ideas and actions fitted in, or at least approached each other. It is a soothing and comforting experience and it helps greatly in the tug-of-war

of life. The shouting and cursing become unimportant and rather silly, and much of the vulgarity that surrounds us lessens in significance and effect.

It is curious how the manner of writing (even more than the manner of speaking) betrays a person. The style is the man they say. In old China they judged people for high appointments from the style of an essay. Perhaps that is going too far, but there is a lot in it. When outside prison I get a large number of letters from strangers and I have developed a habit of drawing a mental picture of the writer from the few sentences he may have written. Sometimes just one sentence, a few words, give me an intimate glimpse and I feel drawn to the person.

How my letters taper down to absurd topics. But, as I said, when I take pen in hand, it is the tyrant pen that is master and it goes its self-appointed way. And yet what I have written is not so absurd after all. More and more I have come to think that what is important in a person is not what he says or proclaims but what he is and does. There is something after all about these ancient civilizations, like India and China : thousands of years of cultural continuity which has sunk deep into the racial consciousness. Even the poverty-stricken peasant in China and India has some impress of that on his face and in his manner.

I should like you to ask Dr. Roy about breathing exercises. Can you do them regularly? Personally I am a great believer in them, not only for bodily health but to some extent for mental health also. These exercises bring rhythm (I am at it again!) to the breathing and through it to the whole bodily system. They create the background and environment for composure and mental calm. Look at a person in a temper or one who is agitated. He breathes heavily and shortly. It is a little difficult to conceive of a person who breathes deeply and regularly to become easily agitated! So I would like you to try these exercises and hold on to them.

I wonder if you can borrow or buy any books by Admiral Mahan[13] who wrote long ago about sea power. He is an American whose books became classics. There are a number of books by him:

> *The Question of Sea Power, The Problem of Asia, The American Interest in International Problems* etc. etc.

I should particularly like to have *The Problem of Asia.* Possibly some of these books can be obtained from a library in Calcutta. If so

13. Alfred Thayer Mahan (1840-1914); naval historian and theorist.

you can bring one or two and I shall return them later. Please ask Dr. Roy if he can help.

I must desist now and stand up to my pen. So my love to you,

Your loving,
Papu

June 16, 1941[14]

TO PADMAJA NAIDU

Dear Bebee,

Two letters from you I have had since I wrote to you last. Both dated May 1941. How helpful these dates are. But they are a definite improvement on 'Thursday' or 'Saturday' which usually adorn a woman's letters. Tell me, why do women deal so casually with Time, the tyrant king of all of us? Is it that they are too afraid of him to approach close to the presence? Or is it that woman lives in the present so much that the day, with its joy or sorrow, is enough for her and the past and future just a blurred outline? Or, perhaps, with her faculty of intuition, she has somehow, instinctively, grasped the idea that there is neither time nor space, but only a mysterious combination of the two, which we, who possess just ordinary three dimensional brains, cannot easily understand? How odd time is. I read once a curious analogy which stuck in my mind. We travel, let us suppose, from Bombay to Calcutta, passing various stations one after the other, and we get the impression that Wardha, Nagpur, Raipur &c &c succeed each other in point of time. Yet they are always there. It is only we who somehow sense them in a time sequence. So also the events and happenings of our lives. There they are all the time but we experience them in what we call a time order. The future is there, like the past and the present, but our eyes have not seen it yet. Which all sounds very mysterious and rather silly. But time is odd, I repeat.

So you have been ill. How sad. It is a bad habit. Habits, any habits, are generally bad; though I think I would except the habit of

14. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L.

keeping good health. Yet that exception too cannot be accepted whole and entire. I suppose illness, some time or other, is a useful experience. People who are always aggressively healthy may develop undesirable mental traits. Still there is no doubt that the habit of keeping good health is a good one. I wish I could transfer to you some of my physical health. I hope you got over your bronchitis and are keeping well now.

You never told me that you were the guardian spirit of Ajanta. But then there are so many things you have not told me, or perhaps I have been too deaf to hear them. I am fascinated by your story of the reproduction of the Ajanta designs, and the colours and pigments. I had an idea that one of the chief colours used was derived from the *parijat* or *har singhar* flower. To succeed in getting these lovely colours from the rocks around is an achievement. I shall look forward to seeing these lovely designs and colours some day.

It is curious how little I know about ancient Egypt. I have written something about it, of course, as I have a way of writing about things I know nothing or very little about. Akhenaton is a very attractive creature and when first I read about him many years ago— I think it was in Wells' *Outline*—I wanted to follow it up.

To some extent I have been living in the distant past recently. I have been reading and re-reading Greek plays. Another book that I have read has been one of De la Mare's collections of essays. Interesting of course, sometimes very much so. And yet I was disappointed. I love some of his poems and I expected much from his prose. It fell rather flat. Too ornate—too long sentences—and apparently too much of the midnight oil about them.

About two weeks ago I received a copy of the American edition of my *Auto—Toward Freedom*, they call it. The copy sent to Ranjit early in January has not arrived yet. A bunch of six however was sent to Betty and she sent me one. I wish I could send you one but the whole six were quickly disposed of—Nan, Indu, Bapu & Tagore being sent a copy each and Betty keeping one herself. As soon as I get more copies I shall send you one— Or perhaps I shall send the copy I have got. Just at present I require it for reference.

The book is attractively got up and all that. Yet reading it I missed many of the passages left out and there seemed to me jumps and breaks. Perhaps the new reader will not notice these. I have seen very few reviews so far, but such as I have seen have been quite extraordinarily eulogistic—fulsome. One was reproduced in the press here—the *New York Times*' one. Perhaps you saw it.

My book published in London—*The Unity of India*—has not come yet. No news of it at all.

Yes, I have read Wilfrid Blunt's[15] *Diaries* and I remember being moved by Dhingra's statement.[16] I quite forget his memorandum on prison reform. Mahmud was quite a pal of his and visited him in his country house several times. I never met him or saw him. Did you notice the passage in which Blunt describes his meeting with Gokhale and Lajpat Rai? It is very revealing.

I am ashamed to confess that so far I have given no fair trial to the Dhanush Takli, the chief reason being that others were experimenting with it. I have now—for the last three days—begun using it for a while daily. I have not given up my wheel. The Dhanush is functioning fairly satisfactorily but I must try it for two or three weeks before giving a more definite opinion. On the wheel I have just completed 92000 yards. So I am well on my way to the hundred thousand. Not that this is worth shouting about. It is only about 60 miles or so—I read in Mahadeva's articles that some bright or, at any rate, frightfully industrious person, has spun at the rate of 75000 yards a month! I suppose this noble example is held up for the emulation of others. Being perverse, it has an opposite effect on me. But not really so. It takes all sorts to make this world of ours and why should I object to or be envious of others who are not like me. Anyhow I am not in the 75000 a month line. For me 15000 a month, or 500 a day, is a mighty achievement.

Ranjit finished his translations some time ago and has since been busy with notes &c. He wants to send a copy of the whole thing to you for your critical opinion. Probably he will do so soon. Delay has been caused by the slowness of the typing. There is not much left—perhaps 3 days honest typing work—but it is not easy to say how long this will take.

All the bulbs you sent have prospered—dahlias, gladioli &c. Just before we got your batch, we received a large variety of seedlings, bulbs &c from Kashmir. So there is some competition between the two. Now that the rains have started, they are all looking up and should flower within a month.

Indu went off to Calcutta some days ago with Atal to have herself fully examined by Bidhan and others. It was not a happy time to go,

15. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt (1840-1922); diplomat; author of *My Diaries*, in two parts, published in 1919 and 1920.
16. Madan Lal Dhingra (1887-1909); sentenced to death for the assassination of Sir Curzon Wylie, adviser to the Secretary of State for India, in London on 1 July 1909. At his trial, he stated: "... I am proud to have the honour of laying down my humble life for my country. Poor in wealth and intellect, a son like myself has nothing else to offer to the mother but his own blood, and so, I have sacrificed the same on her altar."

just before the rains. But she wanted to go. I expect she will be back in Mussoorie soon.

Nan is at Khali. She will visit us on her way back—probably in the second week of July.

Where is your mother? I have not heard anything about her for some time. Give her and Papi my love.

Keep well and smiling.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

June 16, 1941[17]

TO RAJAN NEHRU

My dear Rajan,

Your letter reached me. I am sorry you have been unwell and have had to give up the visit to Kashmir and other places. Why are young people like you so frail and delicate when the aged, like me, are so tough? Think over it and get tough.

Your parcel of mangoes reached us and we enjoyed them. Thank you.

We keep fairly busy, Ranjit and I, and go through our day's programme with unfailing regularity. It is not, naturally enough, an exciting programme, but it keeps us busy enough and perhaps it does us good. Ranjit's efforts are just beginning to bear fruit in our little garden. Within a few weeks it ought to be a mass of flowers. I try to function as an assistant to the head gardener.

Your account of the Bombay meeting of the Women's Conference Committee amused me. Women are odd, especially when they meet in numbers, intent on doing themselves and others good. But, as a matter of fact, human beings are odd, both men and women. Whether I meet them individually or in the mass, their strangeness impresses me more and more. Even when we are supposed to be intimate with anyone, the stranger so often looks out of his eyes. This is disconcerting sometimes, and yet it adds to the adventure of life. Life is a difficult business at best, but I could never understand why anyone should ever be

17. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

bored with it. I am not bored with it even in prison! Sometimes I enjoy it thoroughly, sometimes I am angry and disgusted with it—but bored never, or hardly ever.

Look after yourself and keep fit.

Love to Ratan and you,

Yours affly.,
Jawaharlal

19.6.41[18]

Darling Indu,

Your letter of the 16th has just been delivered to me. I was happy to get it. A few days ago I received a telegram from Madan to say that you were well. That was comforting. There is no indication in your letter of the date of your return. Calcutta, as you say, is cool now and so it does not matter much. But I am looking forward to your return. That depends of course on Dr. Bidhan's advice....

I have had no letter from Krishna ever since I came to prison this time— Indeed for two or three months earlier even. I have had no letter from anyone in England for ages now. Oh, I was forgetting, I have received a letter from Dear Miss Rathbone[19] recently. Agatha wrote to me once about six months ago or more. It was to tell me that you were leaving Switzerland.

Mridula is likely to see me here on the 25th or 26th of this month. She has a *Herald* directors' meeting to attend at Lucknow on the 24th and she will come immediately after. I wrote to her suggesting that she might spend a few days with you when she comes up. She has willingly agreed, subject to unforeseen developments in Ahmedabad. But I do not know where you will be then. I hope you are back. I should have liked Upadhyaya to meet her at the Dehra Dun station and to give her all necessary help. Or, in case you are coming up about that time, Upadhyaya could meet her at Lucknow.

I should like you to get to know Mridu. She is a remarkably fine young woman, a tremendous worker, a great organiser and with amazing grit and courage. I take some personal pride in her because, to some

18. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.
19. Eleanor F. Rathbone (1872-1946); interested in social reform; Independent M.P. for Combined English Universities, 1926-46. She wrote an *Open Letter to Indian Friends* on 28 May 1941.

extent, I have helped and advised her during the past few years. She lacks one thing—her formal education was never completed as she plunged into work from the days of her early girlhood. This lack of intellectual training has been a drawback, but how much bigger she is than so many of those who have received this intellectual training.

Do not bother about books for me. I have plenty.

Puphi and the children are likely to come down from Khali about July 12th. Probably they will pay a visit to Dehra Dun on their way down.

The rain has held off from here for the last 3 days.

You will probably receive money from Bachhraj by telegram. They have their agents in Calcutta.

Two parcels of mangoes addressed to you have finally reached us and have been consumed by us. One was sent by Feroze from Bombay. The other was the produce of our garden at Anand Bhawan and very good they were.

All my love,

Your loving,
Papu

June 22, 1941[20]

TO ELEANOR F. RATHBONE

Dear Miss Rathbone,

The Secretary to the Governor of the United Provinces has sent me through the Superintendent of the Jail, a copy of the letter you have addressed to 'Some Indian Friends.' Some days ago I read the letter in the newspapers. It struck me as odd then that you should thus publicly address people who were in prison and incapacitated from answering in like manner. Your letter was perhaps meant more for the public than for those to whom it was apparently addressed.

In the course of that letter, however, special reference is made to me and to what I have written, and you have further taken the trouble to send me a special copy of the letter. I feel, therefore, that some kind of an acknowledgement is due from me.

20. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

I find some difficulty in answering your letter. That difficulty is partly due to my being in prison and subjected to prison regulations forbidding me from taking part in any public activity. Partly also it is due to the tone and content of your letter, for it can hardly be considered an appeal to reason or a dispassionate consideration of a difficult and vital problem. It is an indictment admittedly partial, and it exhibits the anger and passion of a war mentality. That is perhaps natural under the circumstances for, as is well known, truth and reason are the first casualties in war time. Nevertheless it does not help and it adds to the bitterness and confusion. Perhaps you have already seen some of the reactions to your letter in Indian minds, more especially the statement issued by one who is not a politician or a member of the Indian National Congress, but who is revered and admired by every Indian and large numbers of people in other countries—Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.[21] Tagore has just passed his eightieth year and is far removed from the dust of politics and the heat of controversy. Yet he felt compelled to come out of his retirement to challenge and repudiate the charge you had made. If such was the reaction of a calm-eyed sage, who long years ago left the narrow confines of nationalism and devoted his life and precious gifts to the love of beauty and truth and art and the promotion of international understanding, what then would be the reaction of humbler mortals? So you will notice that the effect of your public letter has been the reverse of what presumably you intended, and you have succeeded, unwittingly, in adding to the bitterness and ill will which unfortunately are as broad and deep as the oceans which separate India from England.

I would not like to say anything in reply which might add to this bitterness and widen the gulf between us, for I am deeply conscious of the vital issues at stake, which should transcend human passion and pettiness, and I am fully aware of the agony of spirit which you and others in England are passing through. I would not willingly add to this. Yet what am I to say or to write if I am to avoid the very controversial issues that you have raised and the charges you have

21. On 4 June 1941, Tagore had stated: "I have been deeply pained at Miss Rathbone's open letter to Indians....The lady has ill-served the cause of her people by addressing so indiscreet, indeed impertinent, a challenge to our conscience.... The British hate the Nazis for merely challenging their world mastery, and Miss Rathbone expects us to kiss the hand of her people in servility for having riveted chains on ours.... I should have thought that the decent Britisher would at least keep silent at these wrongs and be grateful to us for our inaction, but that he should add insult to injury and pour salt over our wounds passes all bounds of decency."

brought against me and my people? Indeed, your indictment is so carelessly wide flung, so far removed from facts, so ignorant of India and the fire and sorrow that have consumed us, that even to venture a brief reply would mean my writing at great length, and no letter can contain what I have to say.

There is another difficulty that faces me. In approaching any subject, there must be at least some common ground, some accepted basis of discussion. Otherwise we talk in different languages unintelligible to each other. I fear greatly, judging from your letter, that there is hardly any common ground between us when we consider the relations of England to India. Some of the so-called gifts of Britain to us, which appear to you as blessings, have been to us insult and humiliation which we have rejected and condemned. You refer complacently to the steps towards Indian self-government culminating in the statute of 1935, the promise of Dominion Status and the latest offer that the framework of India's future constitution should be drawn up by Indians themselves. I am afraid you do not know much about all this or else you would be deeply troubled. And certainly you do not seem to know anything of how the people of India have reacted to all this pompous language, full of sound and meaning little. It is not merely people like me who have rejected all this patronising insult to a great nation, but the moderate of moderates, the over-cautious, and even those whom we consider reactionaries in India. Do you know how these very moderate gentlemen have viewed the present crisis and the answer they have received from the British Government?

It is true that I owe a great deal to English thought, to English literature, English history, English men of science, sociologists, etc. I owe a great deal also to the inspiration I have drawn from the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Russian Revolution; to the magnificent record of Chinese thought and culture. But most of all I owe to India, to Indian thought and culture, to that amazing continuity of a many-sided culture that has been our glorious and proud tradition and heritage for five thousand years. I am part of it and, howsoever humble, a symbol of it. It is a debt I can never repay: but it is an obligation that I cannot forget and which I shall seek to discharge to the end of my days.

I have tried to weave these numerous strains into one organic pattern for my country and for the world, for I am convinced that in the modern world there must be some such joint pattern, taking the best from each and removing all causes of disharmony. I have looked forward passionately to the emergence of a world order, wherein each culture has a place and combines with other cultures to produce a rich,

colourful and harmonious pattern for all, and wherein our narrow nationalisms and petty hates have ceased to be. That language of internationalism I am prepared to talk to any person, and for the sake of that ideal, India, I am sure, will give much.

But Empire and all that goes with Empire, vested interest and exploitation, poverty and misery, the thwarting and crushing of millions of people, the children who have no joy in their lives, the men and women who never smile but labour continuously so that others might prosper—that Empire I hate and I shall have none of it whatever the consequences. You, perhaps, look at this picture from a distance with rose-coloured glasses. But I am not a spectator: I am a victim, an actor in this tragic drama.

I have admired much in English thought and learnt much from English history. It may surprise you to learn that I have tried to apply those lessons to India, and even in my present action. I have found help and justification in English precedents. Do English thought and English history justify Empire and the crushing of fine institutions? Do you think that the India Office or the Government of India or their underlings represent that thought and history? I would have thought otherwise: that these authoritarians represent the very ideas and institutions against which, in earlier times, the English people rebelled and rebelled with success. In India today the speakers of provincial parliaments, those who have been prime ministers and ministers, and many hundreds of members, are in prison. These parliaments are suspended and not allowed to function. No new elections are held, and if there is any difference in theory or practice, between Hitler's *Gauleiters* and those whom we have to suffer as viceroys and governors, I am not aware of it. I would ask you to remember what English history teaches us when a king or his representative suppresses parliament and attempts to rule autocratically.

I do not want to injure England or interfere with her in any way. It is India and her future that concern me. You seem to forget that fact and the further fact that it is the British Government that is continually interfering with us, humiliating us and injuring us. If we cannot get on together, why does not the British Government leave us to our own devices? Do you think that self-respecting individuals and nations can ever agree to be coerced into any action? Can friendship and cooperation be secured by the whip or the knout or threats of future punishment?

England stands now for the independence of Abyssinia: we welcome it—England vicariously offers independence to Syria: we are glad of it,

though it is odd to notice how England can be generous at other people's expense. England guarantees every little Balkan country its future freedom. But where India is concerned, independence becomes an evil thing, and we have instead platitudes and insults and a riveting of all the chains that hold us in bondage. For us to ask for independence is to help Hitler, to take advantage of England's difficulty. It seems to be forgotten that most of us have spent our youth and manhood in prison for a generation now in making this very demand. Hitler was not heard of then. Now that Hitler has become a menace and a danger, we are told we must forget that demand, forget the all-consuming passion of our lives, and fight for and in the name of an empire which has crushed us and which we have been combating in our own peaceful way all our lives. Does all this seem to you reasonable? Do you realise how the word 'Empire', which Mr. Churchill is so fond of using, hurts and angers us?

You have referred to my mention of Amritsar in my new book: *The Unity of India.* I am afraid I have not seen this book yet. Perhaps the censorship here does not think it desirable that I should see my own book. I do not, therefore, know the context of the reference. But it surprises me that you should object to my casual reference to Martial Law and Amritsar as something that followed the last Great War. It is a little difficult to deal with such matters briefly as your knowledge of the course of events in India appears to be very limited. As a matter of fact since the Amritsar massacre we have repeatedly had far worse and more horrible experiences in India. I did not even mention these in my writings. But it is inevitable for any person not swept away by momentary excitement to consider events, their causes and consequences, and to learn from them. It was inevitable for us to think of the war of 1914-18, the promises made and broken and what followed. We have had enough of these resounding words meaning just less than nothing.

I do not for an instant challenge your personal goodwill to the people of India or that of many other Englishmen and Englishwomen. But if there is one vital lesson which recent years have taught us it is this: that well-meaning individuals and groups have no influence whatever on state policy or on predatory imperialisms. The last Great War shouted out this lesson and all the intervening years with their tragedies have done likewise. Only a fool or a half-wit refuses to profit by previous experience, and a nation that is so foolish deserves to perish.

In these days of horrible and inhuman bombing from the air, do you remember the repeated bombings in the North West Frontier of India? This was a regular and continuing operation for years. And when it was sought to ban all air bombing (in the League of Nations or the

Disarmament Conference) the British representatives came in the way of this as they wanted to make a reservation in favour of what they termed 'police' bombing in the Frontier Province and in other colonial areas.[22] I am sure that the average Englishman disliked this reservation intensely but he was powerless before the system which governs him.

Do you also remember what Mr. Amery said about Manchuria and India eight years ago, when Japan was invading Manchuria? Mr. Amery, speaking in the House of Commons, defended Japan's action as according to him it was based upon fundamental realities, and Japan was quite right in acting "with the object of creating peace and order in Manchuria and defending herself against the continual aggression of vigorous Chinese nationalism. Our whole policy in India, our whole policy in Egypt, stand condemned if we condemn Japan". So said Mr. Amery. I do not usually agree with him, but I do agree entirely with his comparison of Japanese aggression in Manchuria with British policy in India and Egypt. If that is so, then the whole of British policy in India and Egypt and the colonies, in other words the whole British imperialist policy, must be abandoned and liquidated in favour of an utterly different policy, if Britain has radically changed her attitude towards aggression. If, however, her imperialist policy continues unchanged, then we are led to doubt whether there has been any fundamental change in her attitude towards aggression. The fact that Mr. Neville Chamberlain's appeasement policy was ended does not lead to the conclusion that Britain's policy underwent any basic change, though the results, in the shape of war, etc., were far-reaching. Appeasement ended not because it was thought bad but because there was nothing more left to be handed over to the aggressors, short of vital interests and bits of the British Empire. So long as appeasement could be carried out at other countries' and other peoples' expense, it was continued—when payment had to be made out in one's own coin, it ended and war came. All this does not indicate any vital difference in outlook, though the mere fact of war itself was a revolutionising factor in the situation.

I have endeavoured, in the preceding paragraph, to analyse the attitude of the British Government. That, I know, was not the attitude of the average Englishman, and this is just my difficulty: the well meaning do not count in national and imperial matters, except very rarely when some wave of excitement sweeps them. Usually they are completely taken in by the statesmen and politicians who use fine and resounding phrases which enthuse people, and who later on revert to their old sharp practices, and it is too late to check them then. Disillusion results.

22. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 8, pp. 457-462.

That was the story of the last Great War. That is likely to be the story of this one unless people are more wary. With this difference that this war is much more vital and far-reaching in its consequences and events are likely to take charge of themselves, as indeed they are doing, unless there are men who can understand them and to some extent control them. It is worse than folly to blind ourselves to these events of revolutionary significance for to do so is to lead ourselves to disaster. This war is much more than a military contest, though it is that of course. It is moving men's minds in all manner of revolutionary directions and is upsetting the old world, for better or worse. Do you expect to gain the adherence of these millions all over the world by telling them that you are fighting for the *status quo ante bellum*, when that *status quo* meant slavery and misery for them? Do you expect to satisfy people's yearnings to be rid of this slavery by telling them that you will look into this matter when the war is over and won? That is not the path of wisdom and it comes very seriously in the way of winning the war itself.

It is obvious from your letter that you do not know what the Indian Congress has been saying and doing during the past dozen years. You accuse us of taking advantage of England's difficulty, of reviving civil disobedience, precisely at the time of your greatest peril after the fall of France. Every careful observer, English or Indian, knows that that is precisely what we did not do.

It was in December 1927 that we first laid down our policy in the event of war. We stated that under no circumstances could we submit to being coerced into a war and this question must be decided by the people of India. Further that we could not join any imperialist war. This attitude was consistently held by us year after year. With the advent of Hitler and later, we condemned Nazism and all aggression—Japanese, Italian and German. But always we made it clear that the only way to deal with Nazi or other aggression was to do away with the earlier imperialist aggressions and to liquidate the Empire and replace it by freedom. We could never separate these two for to us they were twin brothers. And in any event, no policy which supported the old imperialisms and attacked the new Nazi or fascist imperialisms could be logical or effective.

This warning we repeated time and again, year after year. It was not our fault that the wise people who sit in Whitehall or in Simla or Delhi did not attach importance to what we said. Then, a few months before the war started, we learnt that Indian troops had been sent overseas. We were taken aback and saw that this was a prelude to India being dragged into the war that seemed to be coming. We passed a resolution of course reiterating our old attitude to the war. But we did much

more. In protest, we withdrew all our members from the Central Legislative Assembly at Delhi. We could not have made our attitude to war clearer and more emphatic. Yet ignoring all shades of Indian opinion, including our assemblies and provincial governments, the Viceroy declared by a fiat that the three hundred and seventy millions of India were at war.

A wave of anger passed through India and we were asked by our people to give effect to the Congress resolutions which had been repeatedly passed. We resisted this demand, we hesitated, we made every effort to avoid conflict, for the issues were of the gravest. There was no question before us of prestige. Where the fate of nations and the whole future of millions of people are involved, prestige is the cloak of fools and weaklings. We had to consider the future of our people in the context of world freedom. That we could not give up or bargain with just because the very crisis had arisen which might decide these mighty issues one way or the other. At no time could we give up the very essence of our being, the sheet-anchor to which we had held for so long; much less could we give it up when the necessity for holding on to it was greatest. We tried therefore to find a way out of the difficulty and to give the British Government a chance of retrieving their grievous error. We asked for a declaration of war aims in regard to Empire and imperialism and more especially in regard to Indian independence; also for implementing this to the utmost in the present.

Was that an unreasonable demand? We had not asked for anything which the British Government could not itself agree to, if it so chose, or anything that depended on the issue of the vast conflict that was going on, except very indirectly. Right in the middle of the war, the British Government has seen fit to proclaim the independence of Syria over which it had no dominion. But India which has so long been its own preserve, and about whose future no other power can have any say, must not be mentioned.

The British Government's answer to us was clear, definite, uncompromising. We withdrew our provincial ministers as they could not cooperate in a policy which was forced upon them from above. They were popular ministers answerable to their majorities in the legislatures and to the electorate at large. They could not ignore their mandates and the will of the people who elected them.

Yet we took no other action and continued to seek ways of settlement, often to the great resentment of our own people. Every effort we made was thwarted by the Government of India or the British Government. Meanwhile our colleagues including many members of the Legislatures were being arrested in large numbers and often detained without trial.

This was long before civil disobedience was started. Our organisation was attacked in various ways and every disruptive tendency in India was encouraged. It is our belief that deliberate attempts were made to create conditions in India which could only lead to civil conflict on a wide scale. Our desire to avoid conflict with the British Government and our attempts to restrain our people were contemptuously dismissed by Whitehall and Delhi and were considered to be obvious signs of weakness and incapacity to take any action.

Were we to look on passively and see our country go the way of ruin and all the dynamic and progressive elements in it crushed? That has not been our way and I hope it never will be. Even so the action we took in the shape of selected individual civil disobedience for a specific object (right of speech to declare our attitude towards the war) was such that it was meant to interfere as little as possible with the actual conduct of the war. Of course it attacked the moral basis of the war so far as India was concerned. This action was taken fourteen months after the war began and nearly 5 months after the fall of France.

You ask me what our answer would have been in the event of our having been previously consulted regarding India's participation in the war. Our answer would have been precisely what it has been, that is, we would have asked what we were fighting for, and we would have asked to be masters in our own house. You call this, strangely enough, trying to gain a tactical advantage and of having the satisfaction of paying off old scores against England. Is it part of the heavenly order that Britain should rule and exploit India? And is it satanic for us to want to free our country and get rid of the octopus of imperialism which has sucked us dry and made our poverty a byword among nations? How does our freedom lead to our callously sacrificing the interests of every other country to our own? I despair of understanding you or making you understand me. May I not say that even in this hour of peril Britain's ruling classes are prepared callously to sacrifice the interests of every other country, or even the masses of their own people, of a free world order, but on no account will they agree to give up their imperialist hold of and vested interests in India. Suppose, as you say, that India's attitude were to prove the last straw that turned the scale in favour of Germany, would not that be a terrible responsibility for the British Government and Britain's ruling classes? For that would mean that they prefer to risk defeat in this war, with all its terrible consequences, rather than give up willingly the domination of India. Am I not justified in saying that by this selfish and short-sighted policy, the British Government is playing into the hands of Hitler?

You compare us to the men of Vichy. I have been unable to grasp where the comparison comes in. But there does seem to me a possible comparison in regard to imperial policy between the men of Vichy and the British Government. Can there be anything more despicable than the talk of continuing to retain their Empire by these men of Vichy, who have betrayed and sold their own country to the enemy, and humiliated themselves and their great country beyond measure? The British Government has put up a magnificent fight against its enemies and all honour to the British people for their courage and endurance. But when the British Government talks of Empire, and it does so frequently, something of the Vichy tone creeps in. Strange how this love of domination and Empire has entered the very blood of ruling classes, even though that Empire must cease to be. How it imperils the freedom of their own people for which they are so gallantly fighting.

It is not just a theoretical adherence to the cause of Indian independence that makes us put forward that demand not only now but for long years past, and refuse to tamper with what is called Dominion Status, and much less the promise of this in the distant hereafter. It is not theory with us, it is solid fact, for on it are based all our hopes of solving the terrible problems of poverty, unemployment, insecurity and widespread misery which have been the heritage of British rule. It is patent that the root cause of the disease cannot cure it by its own continuance. It is also obvious that we can never agree to being members of a group which treats us like helots in many of its homelands and which imposes all manner of disabilities on us in our own country.

But there is something more to it just now in war time. If this war was really India's war, it would be essential to stir the public imagination and harness popular goodwill and effort to it, as has been done in England. No wars can be fought effectively in the present age without that widespread popular cooperation. No foreign government, even if it were efficient, could possibly stir a people's imagination or gain their cooperation. That is an absolutely impossible task for the British Government in India for it is associated in the people's mind with two hundred years of travail and suffering and scores of national tragedies. You object to a casual mention I have made of Amritsar. But Amritsar is just an incident in a long and sorry record. Living in a world cut off from reality so far as India is concerned and getting their ideas from fantastic and one-sided accounts, the English people have no conception of what India is and how her people feel. If you go to the villages and gain the confidence of the people, you will still hear songs and tales of the inhumanities perpetrated on them during the suppression of what has been called the Indian Mutiny.

How is one to eradicate this deep-seated racial consciousness of barbarous oppression and humiliation? How is one to change this widespread hostility into goodwill and cooperation? And unless this was done no war effort would be popular and effective. It was a very difficult task and it was not a question of some of us deciding to do this or that. We are not miracle workers. We are human beings working with the material we have got and in the historical setting in which fate has put us. Yet the task might have been attempted, but only on one condition: that some tremendous idea was realised giving a shock of pleasant surprise to the people. Only then could they get over their age-old complexes and hostility. That great idea, the realisation of which was necessary from the point of view of the war, if no other, was the idea of Indian freedom and independence. That would have electrified the masses and produced an atmosphere in which great things were possible. Without such a psychological change, our efforts would have been largely individual and ineffective in any big sense. With it, not only our own people would have been thrilled, but the whole world would have seen this war in a new perspective, realising that imperialism had been laid low in its oldest and mightiest domain. Do you not think that if this had taken place, a fresh wave of hope and enthusiasm would have coursed through all countries and all peoples and a vital difference made to the war?

There is yet another point to be considered. The present Government of India is notoriously inefficient in carrying out any new or big undertaking which lies outside the scope of its routine business. That routine business is to collect taxes and to repress people opposed to it. It is the perfect police state with the policemen's mentality behind it, and relying on a widespread secret service net-work, which might be compared to the Gestapo. Some individuals in the governmental framework may be good-intentioned or efficient, but the whole system is not only hostile to the Indian people, but incapable of big action in any constructive field. The fault is not so much of individuals as of the system and of the whole background and environment. The atmosphere which surrounds us in India and chokes us is wholly different from what you are used to in England. And this atmosphere and background inevitably lead to the deterioration of the individual officials who have to function in it. It is well known how lamentably the British Government in India has failed to tackle any of the major problems of India—poverty, education, public health, industry &c. They have not succeeded even in regard to defence which, from their own point of view, ought to have been important. They failed because they

always functioned in a vacuum, and treated the Indian people as a hostile people inhabiting an invaded country.

Do you remember the famous Mesopotamia muddle of the last war when the Government of India came in for severe condemnation and castigation from a British Commission for its complete inefficiency and incompetence? The Minority Report of the Mesopotamia Inquiry Commission went even further and charged the then Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief in India with something much more serious than even error and incompetence. This report states: "It is precisely Lord Hardinge[23] and Sir Beauchamp Duff[24] whom I cannot merely charge with honest human error. Throughout their conduct of the war, they seem to me to have shown little desire to help and some desire actually to obstruct the energetic prosecution of the war." That was a very serious charge. But the fault lay not so much with any individual: it was the whole system which was rotten to the core. The British Government in India has been called (by an eminent Englishman) the refuge of fossilized traditionalism. It is a relic of ages gone by.

Do you expect these slow-witted and slow-moving representatives of an authoritarian tradition, living in the mental climate of the eighteenth century, to do anything big in peace or war? Their whole past record is against it, and even the past twenty-two months of war have demonstrated how completely incapable they are of arranging effective help for the war. India can produce much that was needed at a great and ever-increasing pace. There is enormous room for expansion in her industry and nearly all the material for it is here. Only the goodwill and active assistance of the state was necessary. But that goodwill was lacking for the Government does not like the idea of Indian industry growing too big and perhaps, later on, challenging the hold of English financiers and industrialists in India. Even in war time, therefore, progress was checked and obstructed, and I have known cases when high Government officials frankly said that they did not wish to help Indian industry to compete with Imperial Chemicals and similar British concerns. These are not a politician's views. Hard-headed Indian businessmen, eager to expand Indian industry by manufacturing goods needed in war time, are full of resentment today at the treatment they have received.

One would have thought that in war time at least every encouragement would be given to the manufacture of automobiles, ships and aeroplanes. You know well how vastly important the last two are now.

23. (1858-1944); Viceroy of India, 1910-16.
24. (1855-1918); Commander-in-Chief, India, 1913-16.

Yet Government has been obstructing these three and putting every conceivable difficulty in their way. Their treatment of Indian shipping has long been a public scandal. War or no war, they prefer to keep down the growth of Indian shipping lest this might come in the way later of the great British shipping lines. Most revealing of all was the way the Government of India dealt with an offer to start an aeroplane factory in India. Indian industrialists came to terms with a well-known American manufacturer (who has already set up such factories in China) for the manufacture in India of aeroplanes. All that was necessary was the permission of the Government of India. This permission was asked for in December 1939 by cable and it was stated that within nine months of the permission, aeroplanes could be supplied. No answer or even acknowledgement was received. Another cable was sent: still no answer. Months later a leisurely correspondence took place and the Government viewed the scheme with disfavour. Meanwhile war was raging in Europe and elsewhere and France had fallen and the cry was for more planes everywhere. Our Government took the cool air in Simla and was deaf to those vulgar noises.

It is astonishing that such things could be when the whole course of the war seemed to depend on planes and more planes. But then we have long ceased to be astonished at anything that the Government of India might do or, more often, might not do. It is in a class by itself and believes in masterly inactivity except where its own perquisites and privileges are concerned. There is nothing like it in the whole world and I am afraid we are not at all impressed by the pomp and circumstance that surround it. Resounding titles and amazingly high salaries and allowances do not necessarily signify competence or efficiency in India.

The whole official attitude to industrial development in India is further exemplified by the orders of Government prohibiting me from having any dealings in writing or otherwise from prison with the National Planning Committee of which I happen to be Chairman. This Committee which consisted of experts, industrialists, economists, engineers etc. from all over India and on which various provincial governments were represented, had done very good work for two years through its twenty-nine sub-committees. We were just reaching the stage of drafting our report. My imprisonment naturally interfered with this work, but it might have been possible for me to help by drafting or revising other drafts. I was told I could do no such thing or have any dealings with the Planning Committee. The Committee, under the circumstances, is not functioning and its two years labour cannot be taken advantage of just when the need was greatest.

This is the fossilized, slow-moving, devoid of ideas and energy, and out of date structure of government that is perpetuated in India, both in the central government and in the provinces. We were asked to function under it and accept its general direction when we knew that this direction was entirely wrong, and indeed was hardly a direction or any movement at all. It was just sitting still and carrying on as before, occasionally having the sensation of movement. This was not our way of running a war or of meeting a world situation pregnant with revolutionary possibilities. Can you expect intelligent people full of ideas and brimming over with the desire to carry them out, to yoke themselves to this medieval chariot? Quite apart from our desire for freedom, the necessities of the war itself demanded that this chariot should be scrapped and a more modern and swiftly moving conveyance take its place.

The Government of India and the provincial governments as at present constituted (which means an autocratic Viceroy and autocratic governors) are no doubt interested in the war and desire to help, but their limbs through long inaction cannot move and their minds can only function in set grooves. They are afraid of the very people whose cooperation they demand, and spend all their energy in police and secret service activities to suppress them. Unfortunately the war and the international situation are far from running in set grooves. And in any event, war is a secondary question for our rulers: the first question for them, as always for an authoritarian Government, is to put down those who criticise them or oppose them. To arrest and imprison, with or without trial, increase their jails, have special concentration camps and the like. In spite of our discouragement of indiscriminate jail going and only selected persons being allowed to do so, there are, I think, about 25,000 or more political prisoners in India at present. There are also large numbers of others who are arrested and kept as common criminals without even a formal trial. The treatment accorded to both prisoners and detenus has shocked people in India. It is cruel, vindictive and full of meanness and pettiness. We do not complain of suffering: that has been our lot for long years now. There is an infinity of suffering in the world today and death has cast its grim shadow over millions. But deliberate and calculated cruelty to helpless people in prison is not a pleasant thought to contemplate, and it shows up the mentality of those who govern us and creates bitterness, the consequences of which it is terrible to contemplate. In a recent speech President Roosevelt said that freedom from cruelty and inhuman treatment is a natural right. It is not a grace to be given or withheld at will by those temporarily in a position to exert force over defenceless people. Our present rulers evidently do not believe in this doctrine.

Sir Reginald Maxwell, the Home Member of the Government of India, has publicly stated that he would in any event give preference to German and Italian internees in India rather than to Indian internees and detenus (those kept in concentration camps without charge or trial) the great majority of whom, according to him, being indecent and utterly worthless persons.

This is the atmosphere we live in. Do you expect us to cooperate with these people who, on their own showing, prefer Nazism and fascism to Indian freedom? According to whom those who labour for India's freedom and a change in the social order are the scum of society who must be crushed? We think differently, and nothing in the world, and no fear of consequences, will induce us to cooperate with a Government which is truly represented by Sir Reginald Maxwell and his kind. This is something we cannot do. Whatever the future may hold, there is no going back for us to the old order, no submission to British authoritarianism and totalitarianism in war or peace.

That future is dark for all of us the world over. You have yourself pointed out that the victorious Allies will give short shrift to us and will no doubt endeavour to crush us. If Hitler or Stalin had their way, it is quite possible that men like me would find ourselves ranged along a wall, facing a firing squad. We have no illusions on either count, and no expectation from the Allies or others. We have long learnt the lesson that nations are made through their own efforts and through suffering and self-reliance. Whatever disasters there may be in store for us of the present generation, India will survive as she has survived in her long past many of those who sought to do her injury. The only wound that is difficult to heal is the self-inflicted one, when we forget our principles and our country's honour, when we betray the cause we have pledged ourselves to further. All other wounds are temporary and heal, and though we may not live to see that process, others will take our place and carry on the good work.

It was no boast I made when I said that we will shift for ourselves and do not need the so-called protection of the British Army and Navy. I did not mean that suddenly we shall build up a military machine capable of resisting successfully Hitler's hordes or any other major army that might invade India. I know that the British have made us incapable of doing this for the present and in the near future: and, indeed, in the process have made themselves incapable also. We do not want the British army in India because it is not here to defend our rights and liberties but to suppress them. It is always an army of occupation in conquered territory. At present instead of offering an adequate defence to a major invasion, it is more of a danger and an invitation for this.

So long as it remains in India it will prevent us from acquiring the capacity to defend ourselves. It is only after it goes that we shall begin moving in the right direction.

I am not a pacifist or a conscientious objector, though I hate war with all my mind and heart and I am convinced that no civilised life can function in the world of the future unless war is ended. To that end of abolishing war by establishing a political and social order which does not lead to periodic wars, as the present order does, I trust India will address herself in common with other countries. I do not believe that war is something inevitable or a biological necessity. But I do believe that it is inevitable under the present political & social system in the world. Therefore this system must be changed.

Still I am not a pacifist. If I had been an Englishman I have no doubt that I would have taken my part in defending my country against invasion. Even so I would not have done it as a mere upholder of the *status quo* but as one demanding fundamental changes. As an Indian, if unfortunately necessity arises for it in the independent India of the future, I shall help in building up efficient defence services. But that future is yet distant and a great deal will happen to us all before we reach it. In the present we are incapable of offering effective armed resistance in India to a foreign invader. But do not delude yourself into thinking that this means surrender by us. If we have to face such a contingency, we shall not give in, as a great armed nation like France and so many other smaller nations have given in. We shall die, peacefully defiant and unyielding, and Hitler has yet to find a weapon which can subdue the spirit of man which refuses to bow down or submit. True, in spite of all this, India may be invaded and occupied. Everybody is not a hero. Even so we shall not submit and our case, in any event, will be better than that of France, and we shall find regeneration sooner. Do not imagine that a human being can retain his dignity and self-respect only by brandishing a sword. The wielder of the sword, we have seen too often, surrenders before a bigger sword.

No, we are not satisfied with a policy for India of "Sinn Fein—Ourselves alone." We have never believed in a narrow nationalism, although it would have been natural enough for us to do so after our cruel subjection of nearly two hundred years. We have dreamt of and worked for a new world of which India would be a free and equal partner. We would gladly agree to the abolition of national sovereignties on that basis. For us the problem of India is a part of the larger problem which includes China and the rest of Asia, Europe, America, Africa, and the present war. But it does not mean for us the preservation and continuation of the British Empire or any other empire, or the

subjection of one people by another. Would it not be more true to say that the British Government is following, very foolishly, the policy of 'Ourselves alone' and 'Our Empire' at all costs? Why can they not give up this evil thing that is imperialism but continue to hold on to it, even as the men of Vichy do, whatever befall? A time will come when the passions of today have subsided, when the people of England and other peoples will realise and recognise the service that India is rendering, in the midst of war's horror and tumult, to the larger cause of human freedom.

Is the British attitude to Empire today your interpretation of English thought and English history and struggles for freedom in the past? It is not ours, and perhaps we are carrying on that tradition now far more than you are, though you are defending your own freedom with magnificent courage and fortitude. But freedom is not a monopoly of England and Europe. It is dear to us also: dearer because you have deprived us of it. We can compromise about anything but not about our freedom and independence. What would you think of England if she compromised away her own freedom and honour? We are human beings also with the same urges and desires. To ask us to present this claim or that for the beneficent consideration of England, now or later, is to insult us. India is not an appendage of England, even though we may have been forcibly subjected to her rule for many years. India is a great country with a magnificent tradition, with resources, with ability, and a will now to freedom which nothing in the world will finally overcome.

Have we failed you in the hour of your trial? If so, is not that itself a judgment on the long record of British rule in India? That rule itself has created the conditions which led to that failure. But may it not be said that it is your Government that failed not only us, but the British people and the world at large? What a magnificent opportunity it had to cut itself away from the chains of imperialism and give leadership to the world! But it chose otherwise, and may we not say that it is bitter for us to think that even in the hour of supreme peril, the British Government not only failed us but the great cause to which it had given lip sympathy?

I do not blame the British people and I am full of admiration for their heroism and fortitude during the past year of horror. I hope they will survive successfully through this terrible ordeal. But sorrow fills me that all this magnificent courage should not have been yoked to a right cause which would have inspired the world. England's Government must shoulder a heavy responsibility for this; and who can judge how much this has affected, and will affect in future, the course of the war?

In this hour of supreme trial for all of us wherever we might be, when death overshadows everything, and the future is dark with unimagined perils, every person must search his or her conscience from day to day and seek to be guided to right thought and right action. I have searched my conscience time and again, and I hope my colleagues and I have the courage to retrace a step if subsequent thought proves it to be wrong. We have done that in the past; our great leader has never hesitated to do so, whatever the consequences and even if this has brought public disapproval in its train. In past years sometimes I have been in doubt about the correctness of a step taken and I have, through pain and anguish, struggled within myself. But during the past eight months I have never doubted that we did the right thing—there was no other way for us. It was not only logically straight and correct and in perfect tune with our policy and declaration; it was right also for reasons which transcend logic. And, therefore, in spite of the horror that surrounds us and increases in intensity, my mind has been strangely at peace. You would not have me, I am sure, give up what I believe in from the innermost core of my being; just as I cannot ask you to do any such thing. For to give up what we believe in can never be right. And so, even if we think differently and act differently, let us at least give credit for sincerity to the other and hope that the future might bring our thoughts and actions more in line with each other.

I have written to you at very great length and in all frankness. You must forgive me both for the length of this letter and for anything in it that might distress you. For nearly eight months now I have been in prison and have naturally felt bottled up. When I started writing this letter my pen flowed on and I could not easily restrain it. I felt also that I owed it to you and to myself to let you see what I had in my mind Whether you and other friends agree with me or not, you should at least know how we feel and what are, for us, the springs of action.

I do not know whether this letter will reach you. A prisoner can only hand a letter to the Superintendent of the Prison.

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

June 23, Monday

A long gap— That itself shows that I was carrying out my routine duties without any marked mental upsets. News of Indu from Calcutta

was satisfactory and the one letter she has sent me from there was pleasing— She is still in Calcutta— What a long stay! I wish she would come back soon.

I have been regular with my spinning and have rather suddenly made marked progress. My speed has gone up to over 450 yards an hour. I have begun with the Dhanush takli now and am beginning to get over my first depressions— It is rather fun.

News came that Narendra Deva was going to be transferred here from Agra. We expected him from day to day and everything was ready for him in this *gora* barrack. But he has not come and the papers say that he will not be transferred now owing to ill health.

On the 18th I was given a copy of Miss Rathbone's letter addressed to 'Some Indian Friends.' I had seen this previously in the papers. The letter was sent through the Governor— Probably it came to him through the India Office. For a day or two I was not clear whether I should reply to it or not— Then I decided in favour of replying. The reply turned out to be prodigiously long—probably the longest letter I have ever written. I made a draft of it first and then the terrible boring business of copying it out— There were 22 closely written foolscap pages! I sent it to the Superintendent today.

Last evening and night I had a novel and rather terrifying experience —a fierce headache. I had never experienced anything like it before and it made sleep impossible. The Amrutanjan I applied was no good. I could not make out why this attack came. I think it must have been neuralgic—I was all hot and perspiring after badminton last evening and I went and had a cold bath. Perhaps this did the trick. But even so, it is annoying that such a thing should occur. Today I have been much better but the head is a little heavy.

So Germany and Russia are at war![25] In spite of some previous preparation for this development, it came as a thundering surprise. Somehow I expected war between the two some time or other—but much later. For Hitler to attack Russia at this stage and without any real or ostensible reason is extraordinary—What will happen, it is rash to guess —Probably early German victories, even big victories— But this seems to sound the death knell of the Nazi regime some time or other.

News of this invasion came last evening when I was busy copying out my letter to Miss Rathbone. Suddenly I felt how futile that letter was after this development. Yet I decided to leave it as it was and rush it off before anything else happened which made it completely out of date.

25. On 22 June 1941, Germany attacked the Soviet Union without declaring war.

Mridu is coming in two or three days' time to interview me. I wish Indu was here then to meet her. I should like the two to know each other better. I had suggested to Mridu to spend a few days with Indu at Mussoorie.

June 26

Indu is coming tomorrow at last.

Yesterday Pratap came to interview Ranjit. It was pleasant to have him here and we feasted together.

Mridu not coming yet.

Feeling tired and bored—otherwise fit.

June 29, 1941[26]

Darling Indu,

It was a joy to see you day before yesterday after three and a half weeks. The interview ended all too soon. I want to make up for all your long absences from me. There is so much I want to ask you, to tell you, to discuss with you. Not argument and debate—the less we have of that the better. I have enough of it in my life outside and I am weary of it. But just a calm consideration of all the odd little & big things that surround us and make life so rich and yet sometimes so distressing. Today in the world it is distressing enough. Fate in many ways has been kind to us. Yet in some ways it has been most unkind and its greatest unkindness to me has been the enforced separation it has brought repeatedly between you and me. All these long years in prison with only an occasional interview thrown in, and then your years in Europe. Now again I have to wait for each coming interview. I am looking forward to your next visit already. Suit yourself about the date. Probably round about the 9th July, as you suggested, would be suitable. Remember to avoid Sundays for interviews. They are busy days in jail. I have no news of Mridula.

Some little time after you left us day before yesterday we sat in our little yard as the evening glided into the night. I searched the skies (it was rather misty) for the new moon and discovered it bashfully peeping

26. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

through a veil of mist. It was not very new as it must have been three days old; but it was lovely enough and so arch! You know of course, your pet name Indu means the moon. I told you this when you were almost a baby. I have always been fascinated by the new moon. Lately it has become somehow connected with my imprisonment for I was arrested on the first day of the moon. And so whenever I see the new moon it means another month gone by, another month begun. Possibly not exactly as the calendar goes, but it is good enough for me, and it is far pleasanter to judge of the flight of time by the waxing and waning of the moon.

I am writing today to Dr. Zakir Husain of the Jamia Millia of Delhi to send you some elementary books in Urdu. I am also asking him to send some books to me. The account for all this will be sent to you.

Apart from Urdu and Hindi, it might be worth while for you to start on a voyage of discovery of India. For many years now I have been travelling in these oceans of time and space. I have seen a great deal of the physical aspect of this country of ours and met thousands, and indeed millions, of its varied people. It is a fascinating journey, not so much in just sight-seeing but in its mental aspect, when the past and present get strangely mixed together and the future flits about like an insubstantial shadow, or some image seen in a dream. The real journey is of course of the mind; without that there is little significance in wandering about physically. It is because the mind is full of pictures and ideas and aspects of India that even the bare stones—and so much more our mountains and great rivers, and old monuments and ruins, and snatches of old song and ballad, and the way people look and smile, and the queer and significant phrases and metaphors they use—whisper of the past and the present and of the unending thread that unites them and leads us all on to the future. When I have the chance—and alas! it is not too often—I like to leave my mind fallow and receive all these impressions. So I try to understand and discover India, and some glimpses of her come to me, tantalise me and vanish away.

The real voyage of discovery cannot be confined to books. And yet books are essential for they tell us of the past—of history, of culture, of the way people lived, thought, acted. So why not dip into this treasure and try to understand what our forefathers were?

There are many books which I could suggest to you, though unfortunately good books about India or Indian history and culture have yet to be written. But we cannot wait for them. We must profit by what we have got. Indeed there are far more books now on the subject than there were when I was a boy. I remember well still the excitement with which I saw and read Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*. I was

very young then and did not understand all I read. But this book suddenly opened out vast vistas before me and India's past, which had been a blank in my mind, became filled with great deeds. That book of Vincent Smith's, though far from good (no English I.C.S. man can write a really good book about India) was the first of its kind and it created, not only in me but in others, a new outlook and a certain pride in our past. That book is still a standard book though it is out of date because of recent discoveries. For instance, it does not mention Mohenjo Daro. Still it is worth reading and you might get it. Our old copy at Anand Bhawan disappeared long ago and so a new copy had better be purchased. It is worth having and keeping.

Havell's *History of Aryan Rule in India* is not very good history (official historians dislike Havell intensely) but it is a good book, imaginative, understanding and based on the artistic record of India. Havell was an artist. There are many other books I could tell you of but they must wait. One book worth reading for the British period is Thompson & Garrett's *Rise & Fulfilment of British Rule in India.* (Thompson is our old friend of Boars Hill.) This is a hefty tome but light reading. We might as well know something of this sorry record of British rule which we want to displace. The book is in Anand Bhawan.

It would also be worth while for you to go to our oldest history book —the *Rajatarangini* which Ranjit translated in prison. This book is a big one. Many parts of it are dull reading, some parts are very interesting. As a whole it is a *tour de force* of Kalhana, the author. Ranjit's translation has many appendices &c., which are important.

Have you read Kalidas's *Shakuntala?* Or the *Mrichhakatika?* The play Ranjit has been recently translating—the *Mudrarakshasa*—should be read also... Perhaps he will be able to let you have a spare typed copy when you come next. It is peculiarly interesting just at present as it deals with politics and war and spying and fifth column activity &c.—all over 2000 years ago!

Apart from Ancient Greece, India was the only country which developed a regular drama, which was performed, in the old days. No other country has anything comparable to these two.

I have received three big bottles of excellent honey from Psyche. You should take at least one of them away when you come next.

Write to Amma (Nani) some time. When you do so send her my love.

Love,

Your,
Papu

June 29, Sunday

Indu came and we had a long interview—and yet not long enough. I felt happy and we seemed to come nearer to each other. She has gone up to Mussoorie and probably I shall now see her at least two or three times a month.

I have now been nearly 8 months in prison. What is the total output of work during this fairly long period? Precious little—The only solid output is nearly 1,00,000 yards of yarn (97,000 to be accurate). I have not even read very much. It is really surprising how little has been done—There has been no real writing work, no progress in Urdu or Hindi —the three things I had in mind. I have written far more and far longer letters than I used to during previous terms. Also I spend more time on newspapers. We get more papers and then there is the war! I must pull myself up.

No rain for three weeks now. The monsoon seems to have dried up after an early burst—or perhaps the real thing has not come yet. Our little garden pants and suffers.

June Spinning: 30 hanks Nos. 167 to 196
= 15000 yards counts c 27 to 32
(of these 2 hanks on Dhanush takli.)
Coarser owing to faster spinning.
Total since November last: 98000 yards

July 3rd, Thursday

Mahadeva and Mridu coming tomorrow. I am very glad Mahadeva is coming. He will give me some idea of how Bapu is feeling and thinking.

Nan & children coming on 10th July.

Mahadeva's visit tomorrow will synchronize with my completing my 1,00,000 yards of spinning. This is purely accidental. I have done my 199th hank today and have over 300 yards left over. So the 200th hank tomorrow is easy.

Some odd things have been happening in the jail to satyagrahi detenus. I give some facts below briefly:

1. Ghanshiam Singh Rawat (member D.D. District Board & ex-dictator Dist. Satyagraha Committee)

Arrested 7.4.41 under sec. or rule 129 D.I.R. & kept in D.D. jail for 2 months. This period was to expire on 6th June. On 5th June an

order from U.P. Govt. dt. 27/5/41 under rule 26 (c) (d) (e) (f) D.I.R. conveyed through Supt. Jail directing him to

1. Reside & remain in his village Azadpur.
2. Report his presence in person once a week at the police station.
3. Submit to check of his presence in village Azadpur through police officers visiting the village.
4. Refrain from any activities in any way connected with the satyagraha movement.

He stated immediately to the Supt. that he would not abide by these conditions. Therefore he was not discharged then (as he would have been otherwise) and his objection to the Govt.'s directions was conveyed to the Jail Supt. and the District Magte. Although his two months' period of detention expired on the 6th, he was not released till the 8th —2 days over detention, in spite of full warning being given to the local authorities. On the 8th a magistrate came and read out the Govt. order to him and he signed it in token of having heard it.

On 23 June he was rearrested for non-compliance of condition No. 2 above. Tried & convicted the following day in DD Jail by P.F. Barrett I.C.S. Jt. Magte.—S.D.M. Dehra Dun—6 months R.I. & Rs. 1000/- fine, in default 6 months R.I. No defence.

2. L. Mithan Lal

Case as above—rearrested—same sentence.

3. Pt. Shanti Prapanna Sharma[27] Chairman District Board D.D.

Ex officio jail visitor—

Arrested 16th April—on 5th June order similar to one on Rawat conveyed to him in D.D. Jail. He refused in writing to abide by it. His discharge (for which arrangements made on 5 June) put off till last day, 16th June—when Barrett Jt. Magte. came to jail office and read out Govt. order to him—This order did not bear the signature of the Chief Secretary (the only lawful issuing authority)—This defect detected then—Shanti P.S. signed on being pressed, in token of having heard it read to him.

Released on 16/6. Rearrested on 1st July for non-observance—Case twice adjourned already without accused being produced before Magte. Probably attempt being made to remove defect in Govt. order.

Shanti P.S. has taken steps to defend himself in the case—not to get off, but to show up ways of local authorities.

27. (b. 1912); Minister for Industries and Transport, U.P., 1969-70, for Power and Parliamentary Affairs, 1970-71 and for Cooperation and Cane Development, 1976-77.

The whole manner of serving new orders to people in jail—their refusal to abide by it, releasing them & rearresting them a few days later—farce of a trial and heavy fines of Rs. 1000/- on very simple & modest people, who get C class treatment, indicates a shameful frame-up. The Rs. 1000/- fine was the maximum which Barrett could give—He had no further powers.

9.7.41[28]

Darling Indu,

I have been thinking about our conversation of yesterday's, or at any rate of the fag end of it. A little before you went away you put a question to me which rather surprised me in the manner it was put and the impatience that lay behind it. Otherwise there was no occasion for surprise.

I am writing this to you so that you might be able to think about it calmly, have talks with Madan Bhai (to whom you can show this letter if you like) and then, when you come here next, we can have a further talk.

You will remember that when you were going to Calcutta you gave me a note and also said something to the effect that you felt very muddled and helpless in dealing with many things that crop up and wanted my help. That help, my dear, you have always had and always will have so far as I am concerned. It depends upon you to take it and profit by my advice or not. Sometimes I have felt, and indeed you have told me frankly and directly, that you distrusted me and imagined things about me which naturally made it very difficult for me to help you in any way. Those were perhaps moods of the moment which passed. Still, every mood we experience, every thought we have, leaves its impress upon us and moulds our future. It is the letter you gave me on your way to Calcutta that impels me to give you advice again so that your way in life may be as far from difficulty as possible. Life is a difficult enough job and it never forgets or forgives our mistakes.

I have made it clear to you repeatedly that in no way will I obstruct you in following your own decisions about yourself. That is not only a general principle I believe in but I came to this decision about you long ago and have held to it. Naturally as one who is intensely interested in

28. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

you and attached to you, I have thought about you and your life and future ever since you were a child. I have made innumerable plans about you; I have thought again and again how to help in making you a person who can face life and its problems serenely and with confidence; who can make good in any department of activity that you might take up. What this activity might be, what work you might take up was not for me to determine. As you grew up the choice would be made by you. About your marriage I never worried as that, above all, would depend upon your own choice. What I was most interested in was your bodily and mental development, keeping pace and harmony with your emotional development and thus creating and building up what is called an integrated human being. Once that is achieved or partly achieved it does not much matter what one does or who one marries, for one's choice comes out of a well-regulated and ordered scheme of the body, mind and emotions.

I had hoped that after your formal education at a university was completed, you might supplement it by some travel in various countries and especially by specialising in two or three languages, other than English. I wanted you to go to Russia to see things there for yourself. This background of mental training and intellectual experience and knowledge would just be the foundation on which you would build your future life and growth. College etc. does not teach very much but it serves an important purpose by training and developing our minds and making us capable of self-educating ourselves in life's ways later on.

Then with this background of mental training and a wider culture I expected you to return to India and discover the fascinating thing that is India. In this task I wanted to help you personally and I expected you to help me somewhat also. There are very few persons in India, I think, who could give effective help not only in public life but almost for any activity, other than technical, better than I could. Hundreds and thousands of young men and girls have wanted to serve with me as secretaries or in some way to get this training. I have never encouraged anyone and have shouldered my burdens alone, for I had always imagined you to occupy that niche. Till you come, that niche had better be left empty. No one else could take your place.

It was with this idea ever hovering in my mind that I wrote piles and piles of historical and other letters to you. I wanted gently, slowly but yet surely to train your mind in that wider understanding of life and events that is essential for any big work.

Of course I did not think of you just as a secretary to me or otherwise attached to me all the time. That would have been excessively selfish of me. I knew you would marry and I wanted you to do so and thus to live your own life. I only wanted to give you some special

training which would stand you in good stead in later life. It was a training for which many people hanker and hanker in vain.

All these and hundreds of other ideas passed through my mind day after day, month after month, during these past years. There were so many interesting and odd kinds of work that I could find for you, which would help you in developing and becoming more efficient. So that when the time came you could with assurance tackle any big national job. And the time for this will surely come for our people before long.

Somehow things did not turn out as I had hoped. Your ill health came in the way, your education was interrupted and the world's troubles and wars and conflicts, and our own national difficulties were always intervening. This has to be accepted and all one can do is to adapt oneself to it all and still forge ahead to achievement. Difficulties and obstructions should not frighten us or upset us. Often they train us and harden us much more than the soft things of life.

All this is the past. It is largely over. I mention it so that you may realise how I have pictured you to myself and woven tales about your picture in my mind. It takes a good deal of adjustment for me to throw all these tales and fancies into the scrap heap.

All this again had little to do with the question of your marriage. Having left that to you, I gave no thought to the matter.

Gradually what began to worry me was a feeling that you were very far away from me, from my thoughts, my fancies and ideas, my hopes and dreams. A gulf existed between these thoughts and ideas of you in my mind and you. I thought it was a passing phase and that as soon as we could be together again the gulf would disappear and I could tell you about my dreams and share them with you.

Then I realised that some things that meant a great deal to me had little significance for you. Our sense of values seemed to differ vastly. That hurt. For a sense of values lies at the very basis of life and governs it. All culture is after all a sense of values, certain restraints, certain responsibilities joyfully undertaken.

What pained and surprised me was the casual way in which you were prepared, and even eager, to discard very precious traditions and heritage, some things that were part of my being and which I hoped would be yours. It was rare good fortune for us to have this heritage and I, for one, was proud of it.

Life does not give its gifts over and over again, and we kick away its valuable gifts at some peril to our future.

All this as a background. Now for the present.

I should have thought that the obvious thing for you or anyone else to do on return from abroad, after a fairly long absence, was to look

round and get your bearings. Try to understand your environment, the changes that have taken place and so gradually adapt yourself to them, and then go ahead. This was the normal course for any student returning home. It was perhaps more necessary for you and at this particular time of war and conflict. You have been seriously unwell. You require physical and bodily rest. Above all peace of mind to consider all problems especially those relating to your own life, calmly and without excitement. Marriage is an important thing in life. It may make or mar one's life. And yet marriage is something smaller than life. Life is a much bigger thing. It is difficult enough to understand it, still one has to try.

So I had thought it natural for you to have a period of rest from conflict in your mind. Why any conflict? If you want to marry Feroze, well go ahead and do it. No one will stop you. So why worry about it? Therefore no conflict or worry was necessary.

As it happens even your present health indicates, I believe, an avoidance of marriage for some time, some months at least. But that is for doctors to say. Apart from that, from most points of view there is an element of absurd haste in your returning from Europe in frail health and suddenly marrying.

It is always important to do a thing in the right way. Indeed how one does anything is as important as the thing itself. If in our attempt to solve a problem we create half a dozen new problems, we have not acted very wisely. Therefore, let us pay heed to the manner of doing it and avoid anything that leads to future difficulty. To create irritations and ill will in others is never worth while. Give them time and opportunity to adjust themselves. Avoid also breaking as far as possible with old contacts and ways. You do not know what the new ones will be like and you might well be landed high and dry. I am not referring to Feroze but life's other contacts, including Feroze's family. Of course one does not marry a family; yet one cannot ignore it either and it can make itself pleasant or unpleasant. I know nothing about his family or other contacts.

All these and so many other matters require careful consideration by you. There is too much of casualness in your approach to the question.

If you have decided upon any course of action, it is up to you to inform and discuss it with some of those who are intimately connected with you. Not only courtesy demands it but ordinary good sense. You smooth your way in this manner and if you do not remove oppositions, you tone it down. Also every important matter should always be discussed with others. It does not matter if you agree or disagree with them. The discussion always throws fresh light on many aspects and

helps our own thought. To avoid such discussions is to admit the weakness of one's own thoughts and positions and allow oneself to drift or be driven—and both are bad. Each one must be master or mistress of one's own fate.

Therefore do not worry yourself. Remove any burdens you have in your mind and look at the world and every one with clear and bright eyes, unafraid and uncowed. Remember that every vital decision rests with you, not with others. So why worry? Take your time, develop calmness and restraint and when the moment comes take the step indicated openly and after telling your friends. Any other course will inevitably add to future worries and be a burden to your mind. It is not worth while. Also try not to break with your past and the world you have lived in. That will be painful for you and for others and will bring fresh problems in its train. Besides it is not necessary. There is so much worth while in that old world, so many people who would do anything to help you, that to walk away from them, as if they did not count for anything, is unjust to you and to them.

I would suggest therefore your trying to have a peaceful rest in Mussoorie for the next three months or so and trying at the same time to free your mind of your worries and problems. Do not go out to meet a problem or trouble. Meanwhile have a talk with Madan Bhai. Such talks with friends relieve the mind and bring peace.

I would also suggest, later on, your inviting Amma to stay with you for a few days at Mussoorie. So far as you are concerned, two persons count for me more than anybody—Amma and Bapu. Bapu because he has been very intimately associated not only in public life but in private life with mummie and me. Also, apart from his other activities, he is one of the wisest men I know. He understands and appreciates the other's viewpoint and his advice is always valuable, even if we cannot always follow it.

So have Amma with you. That is due to her and she will help you.

Afterwards in October or thereabouts return to Allahabad. I hope you will be much stronger and fitter then. A little after your return write to Bapu that you would like to pay him a visit. Go to him and spend three or four days with him. Have frank talks. For frankness is essential when you are dealing with men like him.

On your return to Allahabad you should have brief talks with Nan and Betty—or better still you can go to Bombay from Wardha and meet Betty there. It will be advisable if you go to Bombay to have a talk with Psyche also. She can be very very helpful. On coming back to Allahabad speak to Nan. I should also like you to speak to Ladli Chacha and Mohan Chacha—not that I expect much advice from them. But

they are senior members of our family and good men. They have always been very decent to all of us and ordinary courtesy requires that they should be consulted.

These are the persons I would like you especially to talk to. It is also desirable, at this stage, for you to write brief letters to Kishan Chacha and Birju Chacha, as you are not likely to see them.

When you go to Wardha, I would very much like you to meet and have a frank talk with Jamnalalji also. He has been a particular friend of the family and in many ways he can help you. On your return from Wardha come & see me.

After all this come to your decision and act accordingly. It is likely that many of the persons I have mentioned above may disapprove of the step you contemplate. You should be prepared for this and not avoid a talk because of it.

When you come to any decision think out the future consequences in detail, in so far as you can. It is not good to jump into any action without previous thought about the consequences.

I have given you above my ideas on the subject. Think about them —discuss them with Madan Bhai—and then forget about it all for the present and do some regular work in Mussoorie.

If you want to discuss this matter with me further when you come next, I shall gladly do so. But I have had my say in this letter and told you how, I think, you should act, feeling as you do. To that for the present I have nothing to add.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

July 10, Thursday

A week gone by—a full week as time goes by in jail. We have had three long interviews. On the 4th Mahadeva and Mridula, on the 8th Indu, and today Nan and the children—Yet I have written nothing in this diary although my mind was full. Why? I do not know—Not the mood for it perhaps. Laziness—a feeling of lassitude. The only thing I have been fairly regular in doing has been spinning—a regular 500 yards a day. (Today was a gap day.) As it happened, on the 4th of July, when Mahadeva and Mridu came I finished my 200th hank, that is 1,00,000 yards. I gave that particular hank to Mahadeva for Bapu.

Mahadeva told us much about past happenings and Bapu. Nothing very new in any vital matter, and yet all this filled in the background of the past eight months. While generally agreeing with Bapu's policy, I have had a vague feeling of uneasiness about certain trends. Difficult to define, except that it is becoming static. The dynamic part of our movement is gradually lessening or disappearing. To some extent this was natural after so many months. Also new developments in the war —the Russo-German conflict—make some difference and divert people's minds and confuse them. Still there is far too great a lack of clear thinking and clear exposition in the newspapers and statements made by Congressmen who are out. Being full of ideas, my mind itches to throw them out—to speak and write. But what is the good of writing on a topical subject for publication in the distant future when the world may have changed?

It is clear that some of our prominent Congressmen—Bhulabhai & his like—are fed up with this slow motion and have had enough of prison. They want satyagraha to be wound up. Bhulabhai indeed has made privately a remarkable suggestion—that symbolic satyagraha should continue but the movement should be called off otherwise. Symbolic satyagraha, according to him, need only necessitate Vinoba's and my remaining in prison! We are the two symbols—non-political and political. Thus honour will be satisfied and most people can return to their normal lives and businesses!

How Bhulabhai must hate Bapu's insistence on a long—five-year—struggle and on no peace except with independence! He had not bargained for this— But how can he get out without breaking with the Congress? Poor Bhulabhai! His is a sad case. I suppose people in Nasik Jail must be full of stories about his moods and unguarded utterances. Raja has recently been released because Harsha was ill. Perhaps he will come here with Betty and the children to see me. He will be full of Bhulabhai. And Bombay must be teeming with stories about him. There may be some others like him. But not many. Munshi's resignation from the Congress may serve to bring some others out also.[29] Good thing.

But it is not the Bhulabhai mentality which is going to make much difference to the Congress or the country. What is more important is a general malaise, a confusion of ideas, a feeling that not enough is

29. K.M. Munshi resigned from the Congress on 26 June 1941, saying that while he accepted in theory the principle of *ahimsa*, he felt the greatest difficulty in acting up to it.

being done, and yet no clear notion of what should be done. Communal riots and Bapu's statements in regard to them has added to this confusion.[30] There is a feeling that India is slowly disrupting and we are not doing anything to check this rot.

Then again there is the reaction to the Russo-German war. Probably this is most marked among the Communists and near Communists, but it affects large numbers of others also.

Mridula told me about the affairs of the *National Herald*. A dismal tale. What a poor lot our editors and others are— They continue quarrelling among themselves and adding to their own as well as our worries. Then the financial side which continues to be bad. The paper's tone has been rather feeble also, sometimes apologetic.

Indu's visit. As usual I talked and talked. How foolish it is to talk so much— When will I learn to believe in silence? Jail might have taught me this lesson, and to some extent it did on previous occasions when I was alone for long periods and had very few interviews. But this time there are too many interruptions to settle down in the old way. Some time or other I must return for a while to the high mountains, preferably in the higher regions of Garhwal about which I have been reading so much.

So I talked a lot to Indu about India, the world, the war, socialism and all manner of subjects, when very probably her mind was elsewhere. As she was leaving I discovered, with a little shock, that her mind had been elsewhere.

How frightfully difficult it is to reach a person. And yet sometimes how easy. I am terribly keen on reaching Indu, on becoming really intimate with her, but I do not make much headway. Foolishly I imagine that talks and long letters will help. And then I discover that I am where I was. How is one to overcome the gap and the gulf of these years and all that has happened in between?

After Indu's visit, I was worried over this matter and thought a great deal about it. She makes me feel so lonely. She is so far.

The interview today. Somehow all these children, jolly and cheerful, made me feel lonelier still. Slowly I thawed and enjoyed their childish prattle.

30. On 7 May 1941, Mahatma Gandhi had said : "Hindu-Muslim riots that have broken out in many important places in the country must have saddened all people. My grief, however, is special. The Congress influence seems to have been practically unfelt during the dark days.... If the Congress has no control over the masses on such occasions, there is not much value in Congress non violence as a positive force. The Congress cannot take charge of the government if the British suddenly withdraw...."

Mridula is staying with Indu for a few days. She might visit me again on her way back.

So many people want to see me, some on business, some just to see me, some because they think that I might help them in their domestic entanglements. Curious how I am asked to help others, when I have not been a success in my own domestic affairs.

July 11, 1941[31]

TO PADMAJA NAIDU

My dear Bebee,

Two of your letters have reached me, one accurately dated 23rd June, the other with a reversion to old habit, July 1941.

So you have had another accident! What a number you have had and mostly connected with automobiles. I have a way of escaping them, though I come near enough. Is it luck? But I often wonder why there are so few motor accidents in India. Drivers here are usually quite amazingly careless and reckless. They have something of what one calls the Latin temperament in Europe. I do hope you have quite got over your injury.

About *Glimpses*, I quite agree with the arrangements made by the Maktaba Jamia. I have not the book with me but I imagine the division is sensible. Do they intend selling the different volumes separately or in a bunch? I think the former method is far the preferable.

I have written to Walsh myself. He seems to be worried about the royalties and to whom to send them. I have had messages from Nan and through Gertrude Sen. Evidently he has been writing to various people and only some of his letters have got through. Of the 10 copies of the book he sent only six reached Betty. Ranjit had none. The reviews have also not come.

I have asked Walsh to send the royalties to Bachhraj & Co. and probably Nan will cable to him to this effect also. But to make sure you can write also and tell him to send them to: Bachhraj & Company Ltd., Jehangir Wadia Building, Mahatma Gandhi Road, Fort, Bombay (Post Box No. 179). For cable purposes the name and Post Box 179 would be enough (cable addresses being barred.)

31. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L.

I am not at all sure what the rules are about dollar remittances and I have an idea that they are not permitted without special licences. That is for him to find out.

I have sent Walsh a list of corrections to be made in the book when the opportunity offers itself.

I have not seen Rushbrook Williams' book called *Great Men of India*. Ever since I knew him slightly in Allahabad about twenty-two years ago (what an age has passed since then!) I took a dislike to him. That of course has nothing to do with his book.

Ranjit has not quite finished his appendices yet though he has been at work at them. He has not been keeping too well. It seems to me that he spends too much time and energy on the appendices. It would be far more sensible for him to write a separate book, say on the Sanskrit Drama, than to push all this information at the fag end of a book. With a fat book like the *Rajatarangini*, a number of appendices are necessary and do not spoil the balance of the whole. The tail is not bigger than the dog itself. But a play of the size of the *Mudrarakshasa* might well be overweighted by this tail. I have not so far read the appendices. I am sure, however, that they will be interesting and will add to my knowledge greatly.

Nan and the children visited us yesterday and we had unusual excitement in our little yard. They were all looking well and Rita of course was full of Uday Shankar.

When you write to Walsh, you might mention to him that I have asked the *Atlantic Monthly* people to pay them $150 on my account. This sum was sent to me for an article about a year and a half ago but the cheque was lost in transit. So now I have asked them to pay the sum to the John Day Company.

Our little garden is progressing but the long absence of rain has had a bad effect. The Kashmir dahlias have grown enormously—over 7 feet—without flowering, except for one small specimen. The dahlias you sent are likely to do better. Gladioli have done well.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

July 14, Monday

Three lines in the papers—a cable from London that I was on the point of being released. I am almost sure that there is nothing in it, except

the efforts of some earnest souls in London whose conscience pricks them but whose minds fail to grasp the situation in India. It is absurd to release me with things as they are; and even to release the whole W.C. makes no difference.

And yet when I read those three lines immediately and spontaneously my mind began functioning in a different direction. Jail and the daily routine of jail was forgotten for a while; I had important work to do. What was I to do on release? All manner of problems rushed through my head and it was only gradually that I quietened down.

Tara, Rita & Amma came to us for a little while on their way to Allahabad from Mussoorie. It was pleasant to see them. They also said that the papers had a good deal about my forthcoming release.

I received a letter from an American girl today which moved me. She had been greatly affected by reading my *Autobiography*.[32]

Two or three days ago I received a list of forthcoming publications from John Day. To my surprise I noticed that *Glimpses of World History* was included in it and is due to come out in September next. I was pleased at this.

Today in an article by Arthur Moore[33] it was stated that during his air journey from England to India in an American Clipper, he had noticed Americans reading my *Unity of India* very earnestly. Also that the book was prominently displayed in book shops in New York, Washington and Los Angeles. Surprising to find a book published in England so displayed and sold in America. Not a single copy of the book has so far reached me or probably anyone else in India.

This piece of news again tickled my vanity! I seem to take political booming up without much excitement, having got partly used to it. (Not that it is not gratifying!) But praise of my books is still an experience the novelty of which has not worn off. I always feel bucked up when I come across it. One of my present grievances is that the bunch of American reviews of my *Autobiography* (*Toward Freedom*), which Walsh sent me, has not reached me—The censor I suppose thought that they were not good for my soul. Perhaps he was right. The few

32. On 15 April 1941, Jean Frost had written: "I have been reading your *Autobiography*.... It has made me feel thoroughly ashamed of myself. I have wasted so much time in the past wallowing around in a personal slough of despond and disillusionment.... I have at last learned that past happenings cannot be altered yet I feel that perhaps in some small way I can atone for... that thing that was me.... I do have you to thank for this change in attitude on my part."

33. William Arthur Moore (1880-1962); managing editor, *The Statesman* (Calcutta), 1933-42; president, Indian and Eastern Newspaper Society, 1939-43.

extracts I saw were extravagant enough. And one review—in *The New York Times*—was so eulogistic that I felt quite puffed up.

Today some of the Agra detenus have started their hunger strike. This is troubling me but I do not quite see what I can or should do in the matter. It is difficult to carry on normally when one's colleagues are starving.

I wrote brief letters today to Rafi (Gorakhpur Jail), Betty, Nandu & Govind Prasad Nautiyal who has been sending me delightful books on mountaineering in Garhwal. What a wonderful place is Garhwal, especially the higher valleys and the mountain peaks. It hurts me to think that I have never been there and possibly might never go. For I grow too old for high mountains and mountaincering. What years I have wasted in going to hackneyed hill stations!

Here in Dehra Jail, I sit at the very feet of Garhwal and look at the well-remembered outlines of some of its foot-hills.

Quatorze Juillet today! Only a name and a memory.

July 20, 1941[34]

TO MRS. S. PARTAB

Dear Rajkumari,

Thank you very much for the lovely fruits and other articles that you have been sending. We have enjoyed them greatly. But please remember that we are only two of us and so too many eatables should not be sent.

Two or three days ago you sent some biscuits etc. They were all of foreign make. Do you know that for more than twenty years I have avoided buying or using such foreign articles, except when I am in a foreign country? Some foreign things I get, such as books, medicines and a few others. But anything that is obtainable here that is of Indian make or Indian produce, I prefer to the foreign article. This is for obvious reasons which you no doubt know. But apart from these reasons, there is the additional very good reason that any kind of food (like biscuits, jams &c) that comes from abroad is not so fresh or so nourishing as the stuff made here. We usually make our own jams at home and

34. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

very good they are. Or else we get jams and marmalades from Mussoorie where they make excellent jams, better, I think, than the foreign ones, though the tins are not so attractive. Indian biscuits are also very good. Indeed one can get now most things of Indian make.

I am pointing this out to you as perhaps you had not thought about it previously. There is no reason why you should not yourself patronise good and relatively fresh Indian goods rather than old and stale foreign ones.

Thank you again,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

20 July 1941[35]

TO SYED MAHMUD

My dear Mahmud,
It is ages since I have had news of you. I had hoped to have an interview with you when I was in Lucknow Jail but unfortunately you fell ill and could not come. I hope you got my message to the effect that you must look after yourself and get well, and not worry about other matters till you were well enough to do so.

I shall be glad if you will write to me and let me know how you and the children are and what they are doing now.

I am keeping fit and well, as I always do in jail or outside. But Ranjit has not been so well. He is troubled with his breathlessness occasionally.

When you are quite well enough to do so and have the leisure for it, I should like you to visit me and have an interview. But you must not come till you are well enough. I just want to see you and have a chat with you, in so far as one can do this in prison. The interview is not meant for any business. When I know that you can come here and what time suits you, we shall try to fix up a date. This cannot be

35. Syed Mahmud Papers, N.M.M.L.

before the fourth week of August as I am having an interview on the 12th August.

Indu is at Mussoorie and sees me from time to time.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

July 24, 1941[36]

TO KRISHNA KRIPALANI

My dear Krishna,

Disquieting news about Gurudeva's health have again been appearing in the press. Could you send me just a few lines to say how he is? And give him all my love and homage.

I see in the *Visva-Bharati News* the announcement of a *Tagore Birthday Number*. I should like to see this.

All good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

July 24th

Yesterday I finished reading Hitler's *Mein Kampf*—a full and unexpurgated edition. Previously, when Hitler seized power in 1933, I had read long extracts from the book and had formed a very unfavourable opinion of it and its author. What had struck me particularly was an element of vulgarity about him.

I must say that I have been impressed by the book now. Not by its main argument and thesis, but by the power behind it. I think I can understand Hitler better now and can appreciate how he has been instrumental in bringing about the mighty changes in Germany. It is astounding what he has done in seven years since he took control.

36. Krishna Kripalani Papers.

The first thing that struck me was his burning sincerity—fanaticism. Secondly, his thorough analysis of the German people, their strength and weaknesses, and the amazingly clever approach to them. He may be an idealist in his own way but he is intensely practical. The very weakness and falsity of the argument—its racialism and the position of a master race allotted to the German people—was just such as to appeal to the Germans.

It is not surprising that this approach, *mutatis mutandis*, should be welcomed by England's ruling classes as well as other ruling classes. It said plainly what they thought and felt about themselves but which they could not say openly because of untoward consequences and the democratic cloak which they had fashioned to hide their imperialist ventures. But in the Empire itself there was, and is, not even this cloak, and the full-blooded Nazi gospel has long prevailed. That's what we have to contend against today in India. And it is far more dangerous as it does not proclaim itself frankly and openly. Yet if anyone is deluded by the soft-spoken words which sometimes accompany harsh deeds, they must be fools and half-wits, or else they deliberately want this state of affairs to continue. Why should they want it to continue? Either because they profit under it to some extent and are afraid of losing their special position and privileges under a new and totally different order, or because they are so conscious of their own weakness and the British Empire's strength that they think it the height of rashness and folly to challenge this power, or simply because they have the coward's mentality. Hitler's description of the German bourgeoisie is singularly applicable to many of our people. How contemptibly they behave from time to time! But the prize for cowardice, lack of intelligence, and degradation must surely be awarded to some of the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha.[37] It makes me sick to read their contemptible and disgusting fulminations.

37. On 2 July 1941, B.S. Moonje condemned the Pakistan scheme of the Muslim League and appealed to the Hindus to organise themselves and join the army in their thousands, setting aside class and caste distinctions. If Sikandar Hayat Khan could promise the British Government 5 lakhs of Muslim recruits, "why could not Hindus with a population of thirty crores recruit one crore and a half;" and on 5 July, pointing out the impracticability of nonviolence, he said untouchability was a wrong ideal, the charkha an ineffective weapon and Hindu-Muslim unity an impossible proposition. He exhorted the Hindus to shoulder the responsibility of the defence of India in cooperation and association with the British Government, "therefore the Hindu Mahasabha offers unconditional cooperation to the British Government in the realisation of its objective of militarisation of the Hindus."

My personal feeling at present is this—and I am sure that is a representative feeling: civil war is very bad, a foreign invasion of India would be deplorable but I am prepared to face the risk of civil war and invasion. But I am sick and utterly weary of British rule in India and I am not prepared to put up with it any longer. Whatever may happen I cannot cooperate with it or reconcile myself to it. I can only keep on rebelling against it.

The British will go. They must and will have to. But what are we to do with the traitors and quislings and lick-spittles that abound in this country? That is the problem.

24 July 1941[38]

My dear Bapu,

...I have been taught self-restraint about my personal feelings and emotions and the habit of confessing to people or taking them into one's confidence is totally alien to me. I live a lonely personal life and the only person who could occasionally peep into it was Kamala. Few people even know or realise how I felt about Kamala. It seems rather silly to say so and the expression is a trite one, but throughout our married life I was very much in love with her. Why this was so, I do not know; such feelings are spontaneous and often utterly unreasonable. It was not just because she was my wife or because she had certain good qualities. Neither of these facts lead to a man's love for a woman. Affection there may be, a feeling of contentment with each other and all that through close associations and mutual interests. But love as I conceived it and as it came to me was something different, something electric, something often painful. It was not the conception of duty owed or an obligation to be discharged. I would hate to have someone feel that it was his or her duty to love me. I want no such purchase....

My conception of marriage and sex may strike you as odd; they certainly differ from yours. In my own married life there was this unusual fact (I think it is definitely unusual in sedate and long-married people) that while I might be irritated with Kamala or quarrel with her, her touch would always thrill me. I was the worst possible husband for any woman owing to my intense public activities, preoccupations, absences and jail. Yet always there was a certain magic in our relationship. She

38. J.N. Papers. Extracts.

was a mystery to me and I was a mystery to her and something of the initial novelty and surprise never wore off, and though we grew older in years, we remained very young in our outlook. It is rather odd that I should make this confession to anyone, and more especially to you, whose ideas of the relationship between man and woman seem very extraordinary to me. I am a pagan at heart, not a moralist like you, and I love the rich pagan culture and outlook on life of our ancients, their joy in beauty of all kinds, in richness of life and a wise understanding of human nature with all its virtues and frailties.

India grows upon me more and more and I am ever discovering something new in her. It is a voyage of discovery which has no end. And yet people call me, because of my ways and outlook, a European and an Englishman. They are right in a way and yet only superficially so. I do believe intensely in India, though it would be hard to define this belief. I have never yet been disappointed in the common people of India perhaps because I did not expect too much from them. But I am irritated and disgusted often enough by our middle classes (my own kind) who have lost all sense of values, of beauty, of what is essential in life. Their vulgarity and weaknesses and limited outlook appal me. Always they seem to be willing to sell their immortal selves for a dirty mess of pottage.

I am at peace here and, as usual, quite fit and feeling absurdly young for my advanced years. The realisation that I am over fifty-one always surprises me. I can't quite believe it! I do not worry at all, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, that I worry seldom. At no period previously in jail have I had this feeling of inner calm. The days pass easily enough with reading, spinning and various other activities. The present does not engage my attention much; whatever I might be doing, my mind tries to probe into the future, to imagine what this mad world will be like tomorrow and how and where India will fit into it. Why do people worry so much about getting something quickly and now, and fear that if they do not get it, it might elude their grasp? Do they not realise that we have come to the end of an age and there is no further room for quibbling and political trickery and manoeuvre and all the arts of the average politician? Only strength counts in this naked age which lays bare all weaknesses. It may be the strength of armed might, which is above law and lawyers, or some other form of inner strength, which also is above law and lawyers. A people or a nation which still thinks in terms of law and lawyers is lost.

With my love to you,

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

July 27th, Sunday

I have been writing a long note for Bapu—a very long one. It is about Indu as I wanted to tell him all about recent happenings. I have suggested to Indu to visit him when she goes down from Mussoorie next October or November and seek his advice. So I wanted to prepare Bapu with such facts as I knew. In writing about Indu I touched on many other personal matters about which I had never previously spoken to anyone. I feel lighter after putting all this before Bapu—though I do not know when my letter will reach him.

We have had a delightful visitor yesterday and today—Saleha, a seven or eight year old girl. She is the daughter of a prominent Shia leader from Lucknow who is staying in Dehra. She comes to the Jailer's house on holidays & so visited us. She is bright, intelligent and attractive. Yesterday she told us all about her school routine—she is a boarder. Today she came with a takli and wanted to learn how to spin on it.

Day after tomorrow Amrit Kaur, Nandan and Raksha are coming to visit me.

July 28, 1941[39]

Darling Indu,

...I have had no news from you since we met last. I hope you are keeping well and putting on weight. At last we have had some rain here. Our plants were badly in need of it. I suppose you are having a good deal of rain also.

During the past few months I have read many books on mountaineering in India—almost always among the Garhwal mountains. This has been fascinating reading. I was surprised and pleased to find that there is complete agreement among those Englishmen & Americans who have taken part in these expeditions that Garhwal has the most beautiful mountains and valleys in the world. The men who gave this opinion were widely travelled and knew what they were talking about. This really applies to the higher regions of Garhwal and not to the dusty and rather bare valleys and hillsides below. In these upper regions there is an extraordinary and enchanting mixture of magnificent snow peaks, thick forests and valleys carpeted with lovely flowers. Indeed of one

39. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L. Extracts.

such valley, appropriately named the Valley of Flowers, it is said that it has no rival anywhere.

I have been to Garhwal only once for a few days. It is not easily accessible as even roads are lacking, except bridle paths for pilgrims. I only visited some of the towns in the lower regions. I had a glimpse however of the whole vast area and beyond from the air. For we took a plane from Hardwar and flew right over Badrinath till we seemed almost to collide against the huge snow wall of the mountain barrier which separates India from Tibet. That flight lasted a few hours only—there and back—and I carried away vivid impressions which endure. Two impressions especially: the snowy range, with its mighty peaks, majestic and fiercely beautiful, and the silver thread of the Alaknanda river, winding its way deep down below through the mountains. The Alaknanda, as perhaps you know, is one of the principal source streams of the Ganga.

You and I, in our respective abodes, are on the verge of Garhwal. I can see the Garhwal foothills from here and a longish walk will take you to the district boundary. The knowledge of this surpassing beauty so near us and yet so far from this warring world, so peaceful and unperturbed by human folly, excites me. Those strange people who were our ancestors in the long ago felt the wonder of these mountains and valleys and, with the unerring instinct of genius, yoked this sense of awe and wonder to man's old yearning for something higher than what life's daily toil and conflicts offered, something with the impress of the eternal upon it. And so for two thousand years or more, innumerable pilgrim souls have marched through these valleys and mountains to Badrinath and Kedarnath and Gangotri, from where the baby Ganga emerges, so tiny and frolicsome, but to grow and grow in her long wandering till she becomes the noble river that sweeps by Prayag and Kashi and beyond.

Shall I ever go wandering again in these mountains, and pierce the forest and climb the snows and feel the thrill of the precipice and the deep gorge? And then lie in deep content on a thick carpet of mountain flowers and gaze on the fiery splendour of the peaks as they catch the rays of the setting sun? Shall I sit by the side of the youthful and turbulent Ganga in her mountain home and watch her throw her head in a swirl of icy spray in pride and defiance, or creep round lovingly some favoured rock and take it into her embrace? And then rush down joyously over the boulders and hurl herself with a mighty shout over some great precipice? I have known her so long as a sedate lady, seemingly calm, but for all that, the fire is in her veins even then, the fiery vitality of youth and the spirit of adventure, and this breaks out from time to time when her peaceful waters seem angry and tumble over each other and spread out over vast areas.

I love the rivers of India and I should like to explore them from end to end, and to go back deep into the dawn of history and watch the processions of men and women, of cultures and civilisations, going down the broad streams of these rivers. The Indus, the Brahmaputra, the Ganga, and also that very lovable river of ours—the Jamuna.

Heigh ho! How many things I would like to do, how much there is to see, how many places to go to! What wonderful dreams we can fashion out of the past and out of the unknown future that is still to be! Men come and men go but man's dreaming and quest go on, and when failing hands can no longer hold the torch, others, more vigorous and straight, take hold of it, and they in their turn pass it on to yet others still.

How I begin musing when I write to you.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

July 28th, Monday

Two incidents happened yesterday which upset me a little. A few days ago an undertrial was brought to this jail. I heard vaguely that he was mad. Some said he was pretending to be so and had actually been caught with stolen goods. Then I learnt that he had been beaten rather badly before he came to jail—who by it was not clear. Possibly by the police. His eye was swollen. He was not treated well here and the jail doctor paid no attention to him. He behaved oddly.

Last evening when I went inside the jail proper for badminton (Ranjit & I have been doing this for some time) I heard talk of this man and some complaints of his treatment. I spoke rather strongly to the Jailer and said that whether he was mad or not, he had obviously been injured and required care and treatment. If he should die, a heavy responsibility would rest with the jail staff.

My words had effect and the Jailer rushed to find the Superintendent, who had just returned from Mussoorie. The Superintendent, tired as he was, came to the jail and gave some injections to the unfortunate man.

This morning we learnt that the man had died in the course of the night. There was much feeling about it among the prisoners, especially the satyagrahis who complained that no proper attention had been paid

to an obviously serious case, and demanded an inquiry. Many of them refused to take their morning meal.

The Superintendent promised to refer the question of an inquiry to the District Magistrate, passed strong remarks on the inefficiency of the jail doctor, and, after a post-mortem, reported that death was due to injuries in the head received before the man came to jail. Possibly the head injury had affected the brain. All this calmed down the other prisoners—But the Superintendent was worried over these recurring troubles. He is a retired officer, oldish, and the work he has to do as civil surgeon and Supt. of the jail is fairly heavy.

All this led him, as we learnt this evening, suddenly to send his resignation. The Jailer was much put out by this. I shall be sorry if he really goes for he has been very decent and has tried to do his best under difficult circumstances.

The other incident: our dog Captain or Koela as I now call him, bit the Deputy Jailer's son, a sweet little boy of about seven, last evening. The injury is not much and it is not clear whether it was caused accidentally in play or was a deliberate bite. Anyway one cannot take risks and the poor little boy has to take injections and the dog has to be watched carefully for the next ten days.

Ranjit has had trouble again with his breathing today. This is becoming more frequent.

July 29, 1941[40]

TO THE SUPERINTENDENT, DISTRICT JAIL, DEHRA DUN

Dear Mr. Superintendent,

I shall be grateful to you if you will kindly make the undermentioned reference to the Inspector General of Prisons and seek his directions in regard to it.

I have, in my home in Allahabad, a considerable number of letters which belonged to my father, Pandit Motilal Nehru. They are letters written to him and letters written by him. A great deal of this correspondence took place between him and me in the course of a large numbers of years; some of the letters and papers were unfortunately lost or destroyed by white ants, but many still remain. Such as remain have

40. J.N. Prison Papers, N.M.M.L.

been kept all mixed up together without any order or arrangement, and, ever since my father's death ten and a half years ago, I have not had the chance to arrange them properly.

I should like to know if it is possible for me to send for these letters and papers from Allahabad and keep them for some time with me in prison, so that I might sort them out and arrange them in proper order. Probably they will fill a moderate sized trunk.

I shall be obliged to have the Inspector General's directions in regard to this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

July 29

Interview with Amrit Kaur—Nandan & Raksha. Amrit full of Sevagram and Simla gossip. How the Australian representatives on the Eastern Group Supply Committee are fed up with Simla's ways and astonished at its attitude towards India. They are keen on having an interview with me but hesitate to approach the Govt. in case the latter might refuse.

The Australians also told Amrit that the Anzac reports of the fighting in North Africa, Greece, &c. were full of admiration for the Indian troops who were probably the best of all. German officers captured also expressed their admiration for the Indian soldiers and added that if *they* had this magnificent fighting material, they could conquer the world easily!

Simla governed by the trio, so they say: Linlithgow, Laithwaite[41] & Maxwell—Maxwell a dyspeptic always in a temper.

Amrit & Nandan, both with stories of how some of our leading folk are behaving or rather misbehaving—Always they do the same thing over again, and yet, for fear of being pushed out of political prominence, they cannot keep out of the fight. They go to prison, because they must, and then start grumbling and creating trouble. The rank & file and even the middling workers & leaders do magnificently. Our province has not suffered much so far as leadership is concerned, though I understand that Balkrishna Sharma has gone off his head again and tried to

41. Sir John Gilbert Laithwaite; private secretary to the Viceroy, 1936-43; Assistant Under-Secretary of State, India Office, 1943; Under-Secretary (Civil) of the War Cabinet, 1944-45; Deputy Under-Secretary of State for Burma, 1945-47.

send a telegram from Naini Prison to Bapu, requesting him to call off the satyagraha movement because Russia has entered the war. Govt. refused to permit this telegram being sent—a deserving snub for Balkrishna but no doubt he will survive it and misbehave again.

But Balkrishna, in spite of his repeated follies, is a brave though emotional man. He is not afraid. Not so others. Satyapal is a good riddance in the Punjab;[42] Munshi in Bombay.

What an utter mess Bhulabhai has succeeded in making of Bombay so far as Congress work is concerned! He has done what seemed hardly possible—scotched the fine spirit of Bombay by his petty ways & intrigues during the past three or four years. And now, his son, Dhiru,[43] is Bombay's Congress chief! Anything more ridiculous it would be difficult to imagine.

The old Congress or the old W.C. cannot continue. It must undergo a vast sea-change.

July 30th, 1941[44]

Darling Indu,
Your note and the bundle of Urdu books. What a bunch! I have not seen them separately yet but the number itself was impressive. Curiously enough Raghunandan Saran yesterday also brought a number of Urdu books for me. So now I have a respectable Urdu library—quite enough, I imagine, to last me for the rest of my term!

I am sending you a basket of fruit—chiefly apples from Amrit Kaur's garden in Simla, which she brought yesterday. Also some foreign newspapers and Arthur Koestler's new book: *Darkness at Noon*. I liked this book. It is amazingly well written (although it is a translation).

About our next interview—my dear, I would like to see you every day. But that would be sheer extravagance even if it was feasible, and it would mean far too much trouble and fatigue for you. I think we might have these interviews roughly once a fortnight, unless there is some special need for an interview in between or you wish to see me. Suit your convenience. In jail almost all days are alike. It is already 12

42. He resigned from the Congress on 14 July 1941 as he was "extremely disappointed with the inactivity and inertia that dominates the Congress policy at the present moment" and had no faith in the satyagraha movement.
43. Dhirajlal Bhulabhai Desai (1908-1950); President, Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, 1941; Ambassador to Switzerland and The Vatican, 1947-50.
44. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

days since you came. Perhaps some day towards the end of the first week in August, say round about the 6th or 7th, might suit. But this is for you to decide and to let me know.

I have had no further news from Betty. My interview with Mridula & Nandan on August 12th holds. Perhaps *puphi* (Nan) might come on that day also. As for Upadhyaya coming to meet Mridula, it will hardly be necessary if others are accompanying her. I do not know her programme—where she goes to from here.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

July 31, Thursday

A bunch of Urdu books from the Jamia—Also some Ahrari literature which Nandan brought. So I am abundantly supplied with Urdu books, if only I would read them.

A letter from Padmaja—She has again been ill and in great pain owing to an accident—What a record of illness and pain! For some days past my mind was worrying about her and I sensed that she was ill.

Nine months completed today! Very poor from the point of view of work turned out. Health good—feel very fit and supple.

At any rate a fair amount of yarn produced—All this is being sent to the G.S.S. in Bombay and piling up there.

Here is the record for the nine months (really it is 8½ months' effective spinning):

1940—November	.. 10 hanks	Nos. 1 to 10	.. 5000 yards
December	.. 21 „	„ 11 to 31	.. 10500 „
1941 January	.. 26 „	„ 32 to 57	.. 13000 „
February	.. 22 „	„ 58 — 79	.. 11000 „
March	.. 27 „	„ 80 —106	.. 13500 „
April	.. 29 „	„ 107 —135	.. 14500 „
May	.. 31 „	„ 136 —166	.. 15500 „
June	.. 30 „	„ 167 —196	.. 15000 „
July	.. 29 „	„ 197 —225	.. 14500 „
9 months	— 225 hanks	Nos. 1—225	—112500 yards

JN 31/7/41

The dog — Koela — is still going. I feel relieved.

		During 1st and 2nd quarters several transfers from one prison to another	
First quarter	28500 yards	monthly average	9500 yards
2nd quarter	39000 „	„ „	13000 „
3rd quarter	45000 „	„ „	15000 „
	112500 yards		

Monthly average for the nine months: 12500 yards

August 5, 1941[45]

TO THE SUPERINTENDENT, DISTRICT JAIL, DEHRA DUN

Dear Mr. Superintendent,

You were good enough to inform me today of the answer received from the Inspector General of Prisons regarding my enquiry relating to father's letters. I understand that I am permitted to get all the letters under reference. The District Magistrate is, however, to be "requested to go over these prior to these being handed over".

I should like to know what this signifies and how this process of 'going over' is likely to be accomplished. As I informed you, there are a very large number of these old letters and papers and they are all mixed up without any order or arrangement. Some of them may be 40 years old or more and are in a semi-torn and faded condition, on the point of going to pieces. The latest of them are over eleven years old. Any person attempting to read through all these letters would probably find it difficult to arrange even many of the single letters in proper order, and, in any event, it would take him a long time to read many hundreds of manuscript letters. If the District Magistrate intends reading them himself, it may well take him several weeks to do so. He might perhaps appoint someone else to do so on his behalf, but unless that person is particularly careful as well as efficient, his handling of these old letters might well result in injury to them. You will no doubt appreciate that these letters and papers are very valuable to me and to many others and I would not like to risk any injury to them or the loss of any of them. The signing or even initialling of them by anyone would go some way

45. J.N. Prison Papers, N.M.M.L.

towards spoiling them. I am very anxious to preserve them properly and it was for this reason that I requested facilities for arranging them. If there is the slightest chance of loss or injury or defacement, then I would rather not send for these letters. As I have already stated, none of these letters or papers is dated later than the year 1930, and most of them are of a much earlier date.

I should be glad to have some light thrown on the above points, so that I might decide whether it is worth while for me to send for these letters etc.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Aug. 6, 1941[46]

TO PADMAJA NAIDU

Bebee dear,
I had some kind of a premonition that you were ill. Perhaps your previous letter had disturbed my mind; perhaps I thought that you would write about Ranjit's translation and as no letter came I felt something was wrong. What a terrible time you have had, and all because you were foolish enough to carry on with your tour and write reports when you should have been in bed and being treated. That was not very wise, surely, even from the point of view of the work you were doing. But that is over anyway and now you are slowly recovering. How we have to pay, pay in terms of pain and suffering.

Thank you for the Ajanta pictures and Yazdani's[47] lecture. I was happy to have these reproductions. After keeping them some time with me, I am passing them on to Indu, who has unfortunately never been to Ajanta.

I am sorry I forgot to mention in my previous letter the catalogue of books in Anand Bhawan which you sent me. This reached me and I was amazed to find how much trouble you had taken over it. It has been useful to me here. I do not know how far you have rearranged the books to fit in with this catalogue. I am afraid it is not possible for me to keep any order in most of my books, at least for any length of time.

46. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L.
47. Ghulam Yazdani (1883-1962); writer in Urdu and English; archaeologist and historian.

My life is too irregular and I am too much of a bird of passage. I struggle between two impulses: the desire to hold on to my books, and the desire to make others read them. The two being obviously contradictory, the result is no definite line is adopted and I drift, at least in regard to this matter. It seems to be extremely selfish and asocial for large numbers of books to be kept in purdah when there are so many people wanting to read them and unable to get them. Large libraries should always be open to the public.

I have lost many books—usually the newer ones and such as I would have liked to keep. But I have also given away many hundreds to the A.I.C.C. library. It was my intention to give almost all my old books to the A.I.C.C., except some personal ones. But then I was alarmed to see the empty shelves in the library. The place began to look desolate and I stopped the transfer of books. Some time or other, however, the transfer will take place.

The Unity of India has not reached me yet. I suppose you have not got a copy either. I asked the publisher to send you one. Strangely enough I find that the book is being well displayed in America, which is unusual for books published in England.

You need not trouble to write to Walsh. I am dealing with him directly. But I suppose you have already written.

We have had unusual weather—much too little rain. Indeed in parts of the province there are famine conditions. Dehra Dun is 22 inches behind normal. For the last three days it has been raining intermittently. All this has not been too good for our little garden. Still it flourishes in its own way. One of your dahlias produced a very lovely flower, the colour of a lotus. Indeed from a slight distance one might almost think it was a lotus. The Kashmir dahlias go up and up—they are about 9 feet high—and seldom produce flowers. One of our sunflower plants has also gone up to about 9 feet and is still growing.

Ranjit has definitely not been well. He has frequently been troubled with breathlessness. He is carrying on still with his innumerable appendices. I suppose some time or other they will end.

Indu is still in Mussoorie and likely to remain there till October or November. She is making progress and putting on weight. I see her about twice a month.

Let me have news that you have got rid of your pain and are up and about again.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

August 7, Thursday—Raksha bandhan.

So Gurudev has passed away! News came in the afternoon today through the Radio and the Jailer came and told us. Indu was with me then. For two days news had been discouraging and the end seemed to be near. Yet we hoped that he would get over this crisis as he had overcome other crises.

Ever since I came to jail this time the thought haunted me that I would never see him again. The long sentence confirmed this. Whenever there was any whisper of my release I decided that I must take the earliest opportunity to visit him.

It is almost two years now that I saw him last—when I was returning from China early in September 1939. Half a dozen times I have seen him during the past five years and every time I drew ever nearer to him. He was magnificent still and yet he was very old and the weaknesses of age were upon him. His memory sometimes failed him in the course of a conversation, and then he would say something which showed how clear and active his mind was.

Two or three months ago, in the course of his 80th birthday celebrations, I sent him a message through Nan—Word was sent to me that he was greatly pleased and indeed affected by this message. He said he wanted to answer it himself when he was well enough to do so. And so he would not allow Krishna or Anil to write in answer. He was never well enough—the answer never came. I learnt that he had this in mind and was rather worried over it. I was looking forward so much to that letter of his, which I knew would be his last to me.

Such a letter, if it had come, would have been very precious to me. And yet, I wonder, if it was not largely vanity on my part to desire to have this letter from him, for it would undoubtedly have been immensely pleasing to my vanity. Anyway it has not come.

But could I have a better message from him than the few lines he wrote to me in 1936 on reading my *Autobiography*?[48] How thrilled and proud I felt when I got that letter.

And his wonderful little speech about Kamala.[49]

The past few years brought me much nearer to him and I grew to admire him and love him as I had never done previously. How I wish I could have been more with him. Yet the time was past for that perhaps.

I sat this evening as the shadows lengthened and thought of Gurudev

48 & 49. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 7, p. 134 & p. 166.

and then my mind wandered to Bapu. Life had thrown me very close to Bapu and for the last 22 years we had worked together and saw each other function through many a crisis and difficulty. I had grown tremendously attached to him, and in spite of my persisting differences, I admired him vastly. What a mighty man he was. And yet spiritually I was, I suppose, far nearer to Gurudev. I loved his love of life and all things beautiful; with him I was a pagan. How different is Bapu!

So Gurudev is dead—An age seems to be over. Perhaps it is as well that he died now and did not see the many horrors that are likely to descend in increasing measure on the world and on India. He had seen enough and he was infinitely sad and unhappy. He seemed to have little faith left in his people, especially in Bengal. Eighty was a noble age to die after the magnificently full and creative life he had lived. Why live longer and submit to slow decay?

During the past few months all his pent up anger against the British Govt.—against Western civilisation also to a large extent—came out in a number of deeply moving statements. His message on his 80th birthday[50]—his fighting answer to Eleanor Rathbone.[51] He grew more aggressive; he went back more to India's ancient wisdom.

In the message I sent him through Nan, I pledged myself to do my utmost for Santiniketan. I know that he was troubled about the future of Santiniketan and Visvabharati and nothing would please him better than such an assurance from me. That pledge I must keep.

Gandhi and Tagore. Two types entirely different from each other, and yet both of them typical of India, both in the long line of India's great men. How rich and extravagant is India to produce two such men in a generation—just to show what she can do even in her present distress and lowly state. Judged as types of men, I have felt for long that they were the outstanding examples in the world today. There are many of course who may be abler than them or greater geniuses in their own line. Einstein is great. There may be greater poets than Tagore, greater writers. Gandhi, of course, is so different from others that it is difficult to compare him with the modern brand of men. He is the prophetic type and yet the man of action. Some are attracted to him

50. On 14 April 1941, Tagore said : "... One day I saw the English as a healthy nation, full of youthful vigour....and today I see them prematurely old, worn out by the plague of evil that has surreptitiously robbed the nation of its well being....It is now no longer possible for us to retain any respect for that mockery of civilisation which believes in ruling by force and has no faith in freedom at all."

51. See *ante*, p. 620.

because of this prophetic aspect; others (like me) because he is a man of action and a man who does not bend or falter.

It is not so much because of any single virtue but because of the *tout ensemble*, that I felt that among the world's great men today Gandhi and Tagore were supreme as human beings. What good fortune for me to have come into close contact with them.

Gandhi and Tagore. Who else have I met whom I would put in the category of greatness? Father and C.R. Das were both magnificent men and they were limited in their own ways. Who else? I can think of no other in the present generation of politicians in India or men and women in other fields of activity—although many of them were and are first rate.

Outside India? Mrs. Besant I would certainly put in the first rank, though she deteriorated greatly in her old age. I think I would put Madame Sun Yat-sen in the very first rank, little as I know her. But even my brief meeting with her thrilled me and affected me powerfully. Chiang Kai-shek and Madame Chiang are both undoubtedly great in their own way. Yet Chiang is curiously limited and circumscribed.

I have met a large number of prominent Englishmen and Englishwomen and liked and admired some. Many were first rate, but none, so far as I can make out, truly great. Winston Churchill I have never met. He has something of greatness in him certainly but I do not think it is the real stuff. So also Roosevelt probably.

Hitler has definitely proved himself to be an extraordinary man by his deeds. His achievements in Germany during the last 15 years have been truly amazing. He has greatness but the greatness has a terrible bent towards evil.

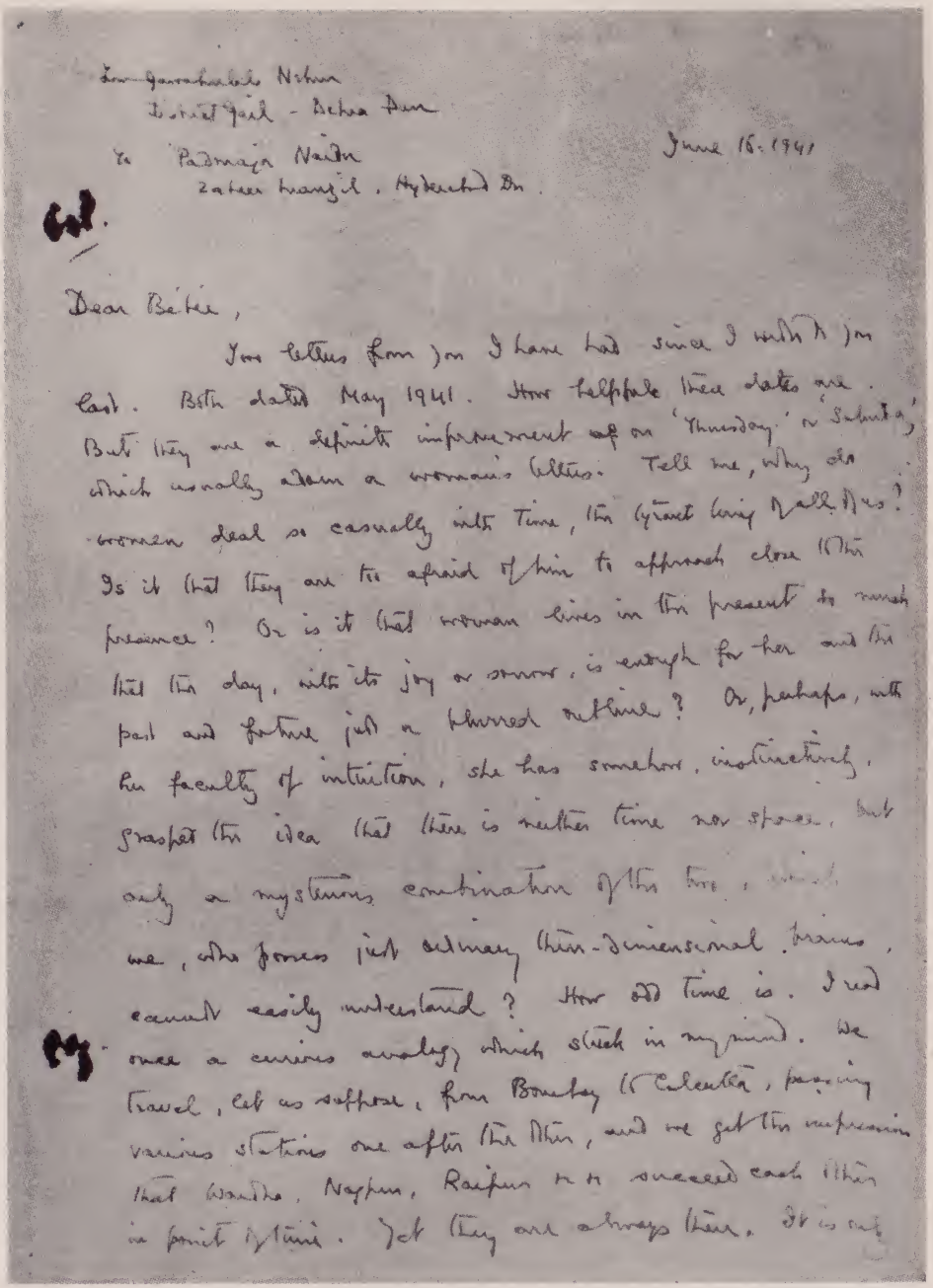
I sent a long message by telegram to Rathindranath Tagore[52] today.

7 August 1941[53]

TO RATHINDRANATH TAGORE

Gurudev's passing away has left us all who have grown up in the shadow of his genius and mighty personality and enveloped by his great tradition forlorn and in the dark. India's greatest star illumining not only

52. (1888-1961); only son of Rabindranath Tagore; author of *On the Edges of Time*.
53. J.N. Prison Papers, N.M.M.L.



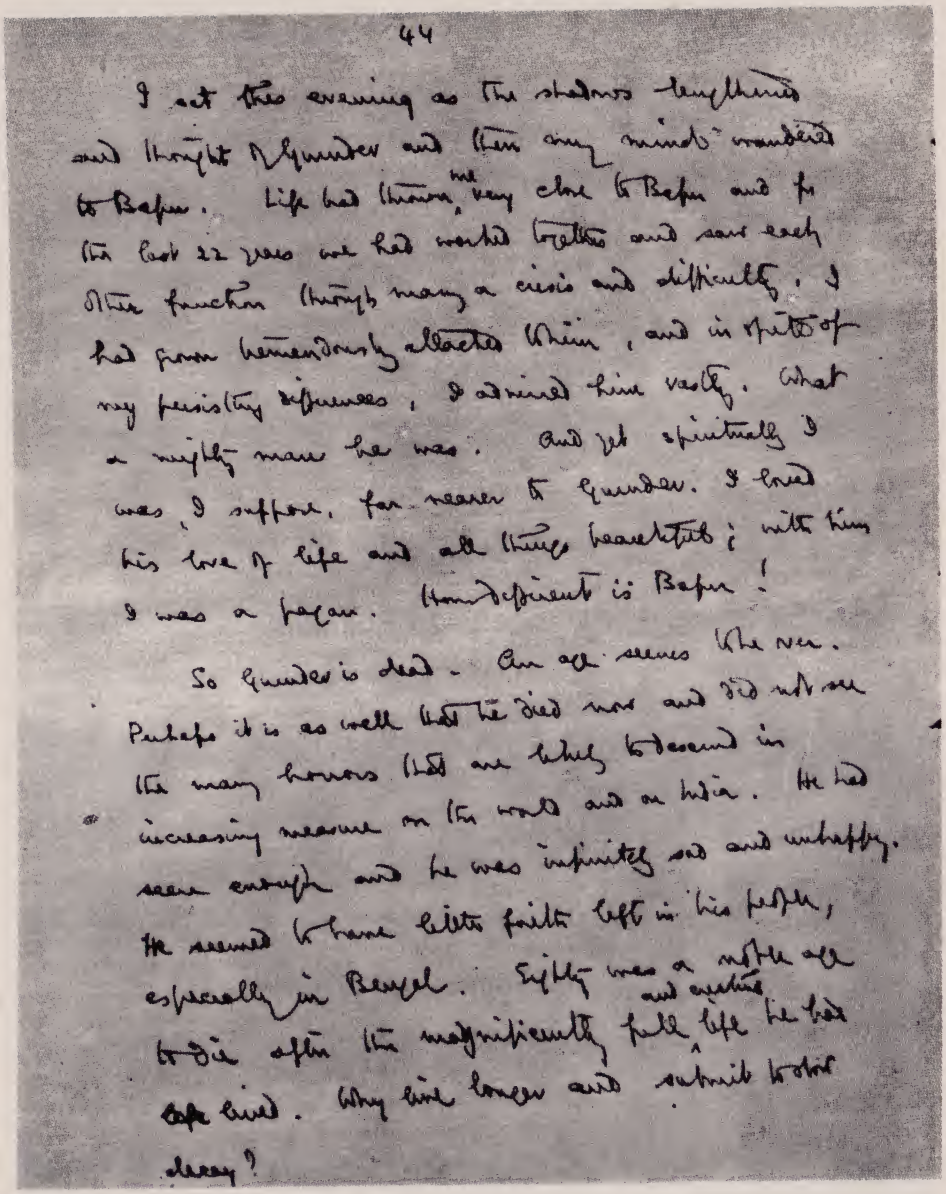
Lt. Jawaharlal Nehru
District Jail - Dehra Dun

To Padmaja Naidu
Zafar Manzil, Hyderabad Dn.

June 16. 1941

Dear Baba,

Two letters from you I have had since I wrote to you last. Both dated May 1941. How helpful these dates are. But they are a definite improvement on 'Thursday' or 'Saturday' which usually adorn a woman's letters. Tell me, why do women deal so casually with Time, the Great King Pelleas? Is it that they are too afraid of him to approach close to his presence? Or is it that woman lives in the present so much that the day, with its joy or sorrow, is enough for her and the past and future just a blurred nothing? Or, perhaps, with her faculty of intuition, she has somehow, instinctively, grasped the idea that there is neither time nor space, but only a mysterious combination of the two, which we, who possess just ordinary three-dimensional brains, cannot easily understand? How odd time is. I had once a curious analogy which struck in my mind. We travel, let us suppose, from Bombay to Calcutta, passing various stations one after the other, and we get the impression that Wardha, Nagpur, Raipur etc succeed each other in point of time. Yet they are always there. It is only



44

I sat this evening as the shadows lengthened and thought of Gandhi and then my mind wandered to Bapu. Life had thrown me very close to Bapu and for the last 22 years we had worked together and saw each other function through many a crisis and difficulty. I had come tremendously attached to him, and in spite of my persisting differences, I admired him vastly. What a mighty man he was. And yet spiritually I was, I suppose, far nearer to Gandhi. I loved his love of life and all things beautiful; with him I was a pagan. How deficient is Bapu!

So Gandhi is dead. An age seems to have ended. Perhaps it is as well that he died now and did not see the many horrors that are likely to descend in increasing measure on the world and on India. He had seen enough and he was infinitely sad and unhappy. He seemed to have little faith left in his people, especially in Bengal. Surely was a noble end to die after the magnificently full and eventful life he had lived. Why live longer and submit to what decay?

A PAGE FROM THE PRISON DIARY, AUGUST 1941

our own country but the world with a synthesis of the wisdom of the past and of present has set and our hearts are empty. Yet his voice sings in our ears and the flaming message of his recent utterances will be our guiding star. In line with the great Indian sages of the past he has left us an imperishable inheritance and even at his passing away we think with pride and gratitude and love and reverence of this magnificent life and its achievements. That precious inheritance we shall treasure and I earnestly trust that every Indian will consider it his duty to help in the development and growth of Santiniketan and Visvabharati which embodies Gurudev's ideals.

My sorrowful homage to the memory of the beloved founder.

Jawaharlal Nehru

August 10, 1941[54]

Darling,

You asked me in one of your letters if it was necessary for Upadhyaya to come down to Dehra Dun when Mridula or Betty come to visit me. I forgot to say anything about this during our last interview. It is not necessary but it might be desirable if he came. Anyway it is perhaps too late for him to come down on the 12th when Mridula, Bharati & Raghunandan Saran are expected. About Betty I do not know yet. If Upadhyaya is otherwise engaged, he need not come. But I suppose it will be a change for him to descend from Mussoorie. It is easy enough for him to take the bus. Or, if he prefers, he can roll down to Rajpur on foot and take the bus from there. In the old days when there was no motor road beyond Rajpur, I used to walk down from Mussoorie to Rajpur. When going up I always took a pony and treated it rather mercilessly in the sense that I wanted to canter or gallop most of the way. But coming down on a horse was no good and I disliked a *dandy*, the only other alternative conveyance. So I walked. Once I walked from Lyndale to Rajpur and Lyndale is a good 3 miles beyond the Library. That meant a walk of 11 miles and I had to do it in very quick time as, owing to a misunderstanding, I started very late and had to catch a train.

I remember well earlier days still before the motor car had appeared on the Rajpur Road. There were *tongas* in those days to carry us from

54. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

Dehra to Rajpur and then a halt and rest before the next stage, which again was broken at Half Way House—Poor Half Way House! I suppose it has ceased to exist now. The automobile has killed it.

I mentioned something to you about making inquiries from some publishers of my books regarding royalties. I enclose a note giving addresses &c. Please write to Ladli Bhai first and having got his answer, then have the other letters written. Upadhyaya can send these other letters, but you might revise them.

I hope you will visit Prakash and have your teeth examined. There is no decent dentist in Allahabad and it is as well to take advantage of your stay in Mussoorie. If nothing else is needed, a general cleaning will be worth while.

When you come next please bring a bottle of Dettol with you. Also an Aryan tooth brush (adult *hard*) and one youth's size also hard. There is no hurry for either.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

August 14, Thursday, Janmashtami

Two days ago an interview with Mridula, Bharati & Nandan. All manner of stories about Congressmen in jail & outside—chiefly in Bombay & Gujarat. In Bombay the Congress under the brilliant leadership of Dhirajlal Desai does not function at all—not surprising! Indeed it has hardly functioned, except for occasional public meetings, during the past few years. I was forgetting—there have been quarrels and conflicts in abundance. The inevitable and preordained price to pay for Bhulabhai. How he has throttled all vital & progressive elements and held on like a vice to his office of president B.P.C.C. The surprising part is that Bapu and Vallabhbhai should have pushed him on all these years, especially Bapu. How I remember my objection to the inclusion of Bhulabhai in the W.C. after the Lucknow Congress. I was on the point of resignation from the presidentship chiefly on this issue. But I surrendered as I usually have done to Bapu in the end.

I wonder if it would not have been better for me to have resigned then and brought matters to a head. I still think I acted wisely, for

then the conflict would have been in a way with Bapu and his particular group and Bhulabhai would have taken shelter under Bapu's wings and presented himself to the world as a staunch Gandhiite fighting subversive tendencies. Now he has himself made it almost impossible for the Congress to give him a responsible position. Soon the public at large will understand.

It is clear that he is over-eager to get out of this satyagraha & jail business. But how is he to do it? Like Munshi? But Munshi has been a damp squib and is probably feeling sorry for himself. He is, I understand, now blaming Bapu for driving him out of the Congress! 'I follow the Mahatma'! How comic & ridiculous it all is.

All manner of intrigues going on, chiefly in Bombay & Gujarat. Probably elsewhere too, only news has not reached me fully. The Bombay Chief Justice[55] has long interviews with Congress leaders in Yeravda, or to be more precise with Bhulabhai. The other interviews with Vallabhbhai, Kher &c. were brief and probably not to his liking. But in Bhulabhai he met softer and more malleable material, more after his own heart, and he had over an hour with him. Apparently Bhulabhai did not divulge what transpired during this interview.

In Gujarat the Congress hierarchy—Vallabhbhai's creation—is misbehaving in some ways and going against Vallabhbhai's directions. Vallabhbhai greatly annoyed and distressed and sending out frequent directions which are ignored! Mridula complains she is not allowed to work and no one else doing any solid Congress work or satyagraha. Most people pretend to be busy with relief work—floods &c.

Gujarat has demonstrated how wrong has been Vallabhbhai's approach to Congress work— Too much bureaucracy, too much leadership from above. With all our faults, and they are many, the U.P. shines in comparison with the other provinces.

Sarojini, it appears, also carrying on some indirect propaganda against the satyagraha movement—and she is adept at this kind of thing, full of hints and suggestions without any definite attack.

Rajendra Babu very ill. Rajagopalachari apparently not overpleased with developments, though he is not likely to do anything against Bapu's wishes. But it is doubtful if he will go back to prison after release.

Maulana Abul Kalam also is said to be dissatisfied. What exactly he wants I do not know, except that he sticks to the old Poona resolution still. That makes no difference to anybody as nobody, and least of all the Govt., is thinking in terms of giving effect to it. Probably he is distressed at the stress laid by Bapu on the far-reaching implications of

55. Sir John William Fisher Beaumont (1887-1974).

nonviolence.[56] Therein I agree with Maulana to some extent. But all this is more a question of theory and the distant future than today's technique. So far as present action is concerned I have very little fault to find with Bapu's technique. Where he has erred, I think, is the unnecessary emphasis on certain personal aspects of nonviolence. The result has been to direct many people's attention to this question when they should be made to think of one fundamental question only—India's independence and the removal of British control completely.

In all this welter and confusion among the higher circles of the Congress, Bapu stands like a rock. He has sent a message to Bihar to say that while he had often doubts during previous movements, this time he was quite contented and *nishchint*.[57]

Curiously enough I feel that way also. I worry very little. I have accustomed myself to think in terms of long perspective and the petty conflicts and arguments of the day do not trouble me overmuch. This war will go on and on and changes will come one after the other upsetting the old order here and elsewhere.

At any rate the old order in the W.C. is over, or largely so. I can hardly conceive of the old W.C. surviving without major changes.

The *Herald* carries on, not very brilliantly though. Nandan has been a tower of strength to it. And Mridula has been very helpful. But what a second rate and quarrelsome staff we have got.

Tomorrow Nan is coming for an interview with Ranjit, and tomorrow is her birthday!

I suppose she will be full of our troubles in the U.P. Mutual jealousies, quarrels, lack of money, and disillusion about people and things! Yet if one analyses all this, most of the trouble is of middle class origin— And it is due to our trying to function in a low key—just carrying on somehow without faith and vital energy. If the right person appears and, throwing discretion to the winds, acts with faith and energy the clouds vanish and people roll up.

Every evening, and this is the tenth month of my imprisonment, crowds gather at the jail gates just to have a glimpse of me when I go out for my evening walk in the jail compound— They see me from a

56. On 7 July 1941, Mahatma Gandhi had stated: "... the present civil disobedience is not only not designed to embarrass the authority but care is being taken as far as possible to avoid all embarrassment...since our struggle is going to be indefinitely prolonged, I give no less than 5 years, there need be no hurry to fill jails. Mere filling of jails can bring us no nearer our freedom than we are now. Virtue lies in the people learning through restricted civil disobedience the necessity of discipline, suffering and self-sacrifice."

57. *Nishchint*—Unperturbed.

distance and we salute each other silently with नमस्कार.[58] Then they go away— Right through the monsoon they have come and stood there for hours, getting thoroughly soaked in the process, just for that distant glimpse— Many women come, usually Punjabis— Why do they all come day after day? Probably it is a new lot every day. There is something very significant about it all. It gratifies me of course; it strengthens me also to see all this faith—faith not in me personally but in the thing I have come to represent in their eyes. And that is uncompromising adherence to an objective, to India's independence.

Come to think of it, I have a fairly good record and during the past 22 years I have held on fairly consistently. Changes took place in my mind, and conflicts, but in action I carried on doggedly without giving in. It is this persistence and consistence, regardless of consequences, that has produced an impression on the public mind.

This is a week of interviews, an abundance of them. On the 12th Nandan, Mridu & Bharati; on the 15th Nan and also Zohra Ansari; on the 16th Betty, Raja and the children, and also Jamnalalji.

Nan's interview is with Ranjit; the other two with me— That is I am having my two allotted interviews in a month within four days of each other— No more interviews during August, except Indu of course— She is not included in the normal routine.

Whenever there is an interview, I am asked about my writing work. Why do I not write something? I must do so. I suppose I should. Repeatedly I have come near it and then edged away. Again the idea is buzzing round my mind. Then frequently interviews upset the mind. And the war. And so many other things!

Ranjit has not been keeping well. His asthmatic trouble, and, it is said, chronic appendicitis. Yesterday and today he has been taken to the local hospital for X-rays to be taken. He goes tomorrow again.

Our jail is celebrating the *Janmashtami* today & tomorrow—*bhajans, kirtan* &c,— Or rather the jail officials & warders are celebrating and Dehra Dun residents have been invited to attend.

Our dog, Koela, has not appeared for 24 hours—a very unusual occurrence.

August 15, Friday

A long interview today with Nan and Chand—Chand was a very pleasant surprise as we were not expecting her. Ranjit's X-rays were not

58. *Namaskar*—salutation.

over yet. He had to go again this morning to the hospital. This matter of going to hospital has appeared in a somewhat alarming form in a press message. So Nan came early in the morning, soon after Ranjit's return from hospital. She and Chand stayed till tea time. Zohra joined them in the afternoon.

It was a very pleasant day and I feel the better for it. Odd news, all kinds of news, yet nothing very new after all! The world goes on much as it did—the Indian world—while vast armies fight for mastery in the plains of Russia. And satyagraha goes on with all its weaknesses and strength. And people worry. How strange it is that I do not worry.

Tomorrow Betty & Raja & Jamnalalji expected. And after that the quiet of jail undisturbed for a while.

Two days ago I had a letter from Louise from Dieulefit. It was dated 15th! I was happy to get it.

Koela has not appeared. I am afraid some mischance has befallen him. I am sad and miss him.

Nan told us that some notable astrologer has informed her, after an examination of my horoscope, that from next November onwards I shall be on the upgrade, whatever that might mean. Three or four months of that more or less slow movement and then the pace quickens and I go up and up! So that's that!

August 16—Saturday

Today's interview was preceded by an unlucky and very unfortunate accident. Near Doiwala station Raja cut his finger very badly—the shutter falling upon it. He was taken to the hospital immediately on arrival in Dehra Dun and his finger was attended to. No bones broken but the finger is likely to be permanently deformed. Meanwhile it is very painful. And so the whole interview had this background of his pain.

Raja, Betty, Harsha, Ajit & of course, Agnes the nurse. Later Jamnalalji. Harsha thin and weak-looking but still somewhat better than I expected.

Raja full of Bombay gossip—Bhagat (the V.C.)[59] has been telling them a lot about conditions in Abyssinia, north Africa &c. The high points were: the Indian troops and their officers have fought remarkably well, indeed they were better in this respect than all the other 'Empire'

59. Lt.-General P.S. Bhagat (1918-1975); Director, Military Intelligence, 1959; Commandant, Indian Military Academy, 1962; Army Commander, 1970-74.

troops. The Australians & New Zealanders good fighters as individuals but not enough discipline (which the Indians possess) and hence not so good as an army. The British troops not much good. The order of fighting: Indians in front, then Australians, New Zealanders and last of all British troops! On one occasion on the frontiers of Abyssinia & the Sudan, a sudden flank attack by Italians frightened the Britishers so much that they ran away with the greatest speed taking possession of all the lorries belonging to other regiments. The Indian troops left stranded. The British rout and flight was so bad that the British C.O. of the Indian regiments threatened to get the Britishers machine-gunned by the Indian troops— This stopped the rout to some extent but many had already escaped in the motor lorries. These went on and on, so long as petrol lasted, and only stopped when they were 250 miles on the Sudan side of the frontier!

The whole fighting in Abyssinia practically done by Indian troops. They conquered Abyssinia for the British, and yet the South Africans got all the kudos. South African casualties (or deaths) 26 only. Indian casualties (or deaths) 6000. In the triumphal displays in Addis Ababa and when the Duke of Aosta surrendered the Indian officers & troops in the background.

Round about Tobruk also brunt of the fighting done by Indian troops.

In spite of all this, treatment of Indian troops very bad. Plenty of whisky for the Britishers, not even enough water for the Indians. Good food for the former, not so for the latter. Great resentment among the Indian officers and troops. Many court-martialled & punished.

The story of how Bhagat got the V.C. illuminating. He became fed up with the treatment he was getting. Month after month he and his troops chosen for the hardest job—perhaps because they were supposed to be grumblers. At last in sheer despair he wanted to put an end to his existence and did the most reckless & dangerous things. And so, he earned the V.C.! But even so no promotion for him; he remains a Lieutenant, while British officers of the same standing, living comfortably in Poona, have developed into captains, and one is even a major.

On getting leave at last, partly because he was injured, Bhagat & his men were to travel back to India on the same boat as some British troops. The British troops bagged all the available cabins, and the Indians left on the deck. Bhagat refused to travel by that boat unless his men were treated in the same way as the Britishers. The boat left without him & his men. They came some weeks later.

Trouble also in Singapore over discriminatory treatment. Many Indian officers & men sent away to African fronts.

Bhagat has already succeeded in profoundly irritating British circles in Bombay by his outspoken remarks and criticisms—Probably Army headquarters have been informed— He was invited by some big gun to dine and bathe at the Beach Candy Club in Bombay, where Indians are not admitted. He refused to go.

So much for the military mentality in India and elsewhere in regard to Indian officers and troops. The political background is even worse. Hodson,[60] the new Reforms Commissioner, is stated to have explained to select British audiences that after the war it would be inevitable for the British to occupy Palestine, Syria, Abyssinia &c. In India their policy was to encourage the Muslim League to the furthest possible limit, so as to create conditions in India which would compel the Indians themselves, or many of them, to ask for British protection.

Jamnalalji's reports of Simla gossip. Rather nervous atmosphere—Worried over developments in Iran & Kabul. The relief at Russia being dragged into the war now waning as fresh dangers approach.

Jamnalalji had an odd story of Subhas, who is said to be in Germany now.

Raja & Betty & children staying in Dehra for another 3 days because of Raja's finger. Then Mussoorie—Kashmir is off.

Jamnalalji met today Anand Mayi Devi—the *mataji* of whom Kamala used to speak.

Tomorrow is Gurudev's *shradh* day. We shall fast.

18.8.1941[61]

TO RAJAN NEHRU

My dear Rajan,

Your letter came some little time ago and I was glad to have it. I have delayed in answering it as I have to regulate my letters.

Going down to Allahabad after visions of Kashmir is a bit of a comedown. Personally I do not mind the hot weather and I think there is far too much shouting about it. I thrive during it. I like the mountains of course but that has nothing to do with my desire to escape the

60. Henry Vincent Hodson (b. 1906); Reforms Commissioner, Government of India, 1941-42; Editor, *The Annual Register of World Events*, since 1973; author of *The Great Divide*.

61. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

heat. And the mountains I like are not the hill stations with their crowds of excessively dull humanity but rather the higher regions, beyond 9000 ft. or so.

Yes, I have received the American edition of my *Autobiography*. A copy came to me some months ago. It has had a very remarkable success in America and the reviews were extraordinarily good.

I am glad you liked the hospital. From all accounts it has got on very well and already there is talk of enlarging it. I am told that Dr. Mazumdar is an excellent surgeon but is nevertheless not an easy person to get on with.

I have not read the *Diary of a Staff Officer*.

As usual, I keep very well. But not so Ranjit, who has been frequently troubled with breathlessness.

Love,

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

August 18, 1941[62]

TO AMAL HOME

My dear Amal,

Some time back I received your *Tagore Birthday Special Supplement* and I appreciated it very much. It was a fine production. Now your second letter has arrived asking me to send contributions for the *Tagore Memorial* Number. I am afraid that you do not realise that a person confined in prison has to live within all manner of limitations and restrictions. Anyway I am not supposed to send contributions to papers or magazines for publication. Even if there were no such bar, I would hesitate to do so from prison, for I cannot write within the narrow ambit of numerous censorships. So I cannot send you anything.

My mind goes back to nearly ten years ago when I was in this very jail and you wrote to me for a message for the *Golden Book of Tagore*.

62. *The Calcutta Municipal Corporation Gazette*, 13th September 1941. Also printed in *Tagore Memorial Special Supplement*, Vol. 34, p. 31.

I sent you then a few lines.[63] A few lines, or many lines, of formal appreciation or sorrow now would almost be an impertinence to the memory of Gurudeva. When the time comes, I suppose I shall write about him.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

August 23, Saturday

My calm has been ruffled today, or rather, the ruffling process attained a climax today. This has nothing to do with happenings here. It is due to news about happenings in the Lucknow Camp Jail where, it appears, the treatment of the satyagrahis has been barbarous in the extreme.[64] I have written today about this to the Inspector General of Prisons, through the Jail Supt. It is a stiff letter and I have hinted at my giving up various privileges &c. I must be prepared for all this.

For some days past I have been thinking of beginning some writing work. At last I have actually begun today—6 foolscap pages for a start. Now that the ice has been broken, I suppose I shall get on with it soon and keep it up.

Muniji—Narain Prasad Bhargava—has been transferred to Agra Jail today— He has been treated disgracefully by the District Magistrate here. It is a long story.

Our dog, Koela, has not appeared. We must bid goodbye to him in our minds. What has happened to the poor thing?

63. This read : "For those who have grown up in the Tagore tradition in India it is a little difficult to measure the great influence it has exercised on them and on the country. I cannot venture to do so. But I wish to pay my deep homage to one who has been as a beacon light to all of us, ever pointing to the finer and nobler aspects of life and never allowing us to fall into the ruts which kill individuals as well as nations. Nationalism, specially when it urges us to fight for freedom, is noble and life giving. But often it becomes a narrow creed, and limits and encompasses its votaries and makes them forget the many-sidedness of life. But Rabindranath Tagore has given to our nationalism the outlook of internationalism and has enriched it with art and music and magic of his words, so that it has become the full-blooded emblem of India's awakened spirit."

64. On 18 August 1941, about 200 policemen lathi-charged the 1700 political prisoners in the Lucknow Camp Jail for protesting against the roll call and the treatment meted out to them. As a result 300 prisoners were injured.

August 23, 1941[65]

TO THE INSPECTOR-GENERAL OF PRISONS, UNITED PROVINCES, LUCKNOW

Sir,

For some time past various complaints have appeared in the public press in regard to the bad treatment accorded to the satyagrahi prisoners in the Camp Jail in Lucknow. Recently some very amazing charges have so appeared, which state that on at least two occasions lathi charges were made on the prisoners by orders of the jail staff and a large number were badly injured; that the conditions prevailing in the jail are abominable in the extreme; that food is frequently not given and when given is utterly unfit for human consumption; that about 200 of the prisoners were put in fetters and a large number in solitary cells; that prisoners are deliberately starved and kept in such a manner that they grow faint and utterly weak; that threats are continually being held out to them and are sometimes translated into attacks upon them; that sanitary conditions are non-existent; that there is no proper medical arrangement; that no newspapers or books are provided or allowed; that letters are seldom, if ever, received or despatched; that two deaths recently took place among the prisoners, who were removed to King George's Medical Hospital on the point of death, where they expired within a few hours; that even when the Inspector General inspected the jail, the prisoners were locked up in their barracks and were thus unable to approach him. These are some of the charges made. I am not aware of any official denial of these charges, and, in any event, such official denials seldom err on the side of veracity and little faith is attached to them.

I have refrained from addressing you on this subject, in spite of repeated complaints appearing publicly about the Lucknow Camp Jail and other jails in the province, as I had no desire to interfere in any way with the jail administration of the province. That administration, and the Provincial Government behind it, are notoriously backward and incompetent, and the ideas that govern them in regard to the treatment of prisoners are reminiscent of the middle ages. But when gross, deliberate and inhuman ill-treatment is added to the general incompetence, it becomes difficult to tolerate this state of affairs and to submit to it with quiet resignation. You have been good enough to accord me various conveniences and privileges which ordinarily are denied to the average

65. J.N. Prison Papers, N.M.M.L.

prisoner. But these very conveniences and privileges become hateful to me when I realise that my friends and colleagues are being subjected to a treatment which can only be called barbarous. As you are no doubt aware, it has been our general policy to submit to jail discipline, unless this is considered humiliating. On the whole, we have all done this, and we have even put up with conditions which were deliberately meant to harass and annoy, but there is a limit to this and I fear, that if the conditions in the Lucknow Camp Jail are any indication of the policy of the Government functioning at present, it may become necessary for us to revise our policy and to refuse to submit to jail discipline, and invite the consequences of such disobedience.

I have ventured to write to you on this subject as it is of considerable importance and likely to have far-reaching consequences. I cannot remain a silent spectator of the insults to and the sufferings of my colleagues.

Yours faithfully,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Aug. 25, 1941[66]

TO MOULVI ABDUL LATIF

My dear Latif,

I was happy to get your letter though the contents of it were not pleasing. I am very sorry to learn of your ill health and the illness of your son. I hope both of you are progressing towards health.

I am keeping well as usual. I have often thought of you here in Dehra Dun Jail where we were together for so many months eight years ago. How much has happened since then and how much more is likely to happen in the future!

With all good wishes to you,

Very sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

66. Abdul Latif, *Latif Ki Kahani* (Bijnor, 1964), between pp. 184 and 185.

August 25, Tuesday

My letter to the I.G. was sent on to him yesterday, so I was informed. This has naturally ruffled the Supt. & Jailer somewhat. They are worried not because of the occurrences in Lucknow Camp Jail or because I have written to the I.G., though the strong language of my letter is disturbing to them. Their main concern is where they come into the picture! They might be asked how I managed to get news of these occurrences, why were the newspapers delivered to me not censored? Why the particular items not blacked out or cut out?

So the Suptd. sent Shanti Prapanna Sharma on to me yesterday morning to say that he would send on my letter to the I.G., but that in future particular passages in the newspapers relating to other jails would be removed. I was angry as it was, full of indignation, and Shanti's message did not improve matters. I burst out at him and cursed the jail administration and all its works, and of course the Provincial Govt. & the British Govt. I told him that if any newspapers, with parts cut out of them, were delivered to me, I would hurl them out of my barrack. I was going to put up with no insults. Did they think that they could buy my silence or acquiescence in this evil deed by giving me a few so-called privileges? To hell with all these privileges. Did they think that they could separate us from our comrades and treat the latter as they wanted to? Every insult to the latter was an insult to me, every lathi blow to them was a blow to me. I was at war with the British Govt. and all its underlings and I wanted no consideration and would give none ——and so on. Poor Shanti was paralysed, and standing behind him the Deputy Jailer, in all his official glory of parade-day uniform, was also somewhat unnerved.

So Shanti went back, apologising profusely, as if he had been in error or was in any way responsible! Later the Supt., Dr. Srivastava, came round on his parade day inspection. He referred briefly to having sent on my letter to the I.G. and to the fact that newspapers were already censored by the Press Department of Govt. and so no further censoring was necessary! And then he went on to speak to Ranjit about his health &c.

The *National Herald* came with a lurid tale of Jungle Law in Lucknow Camp Jail giving details of the number of persons injured during the lathi charges—over 300 casualties, quite a large number of them serious. Other particulars. Anger blazed up within me and for the rest of the day

kept smouldering. What should I do? What could I do? Just writing to the I.G. was ridiculously little. Yet what more could I do?

Towards evening a new idea formed itself in my mind—I should send out a statement for publication in the *Herald*, without the knowledge or approval of the jail authorities. That is, I should smuggle out a statement and thus deliberately commit a breach of jail discipline and an offence under the Prisons Act. The statement to be published under my name of course, and therein I would invite the jail authorities and the Prov. Govt. to take action against me, to deprive me of my so-called privileges, in fact to do their damnedest. In that statement I would unburden myself on the Lucknow Camp Jail occurrences, other happenings in jails, the behaviour & incompetence of the Govt., and my contempt generally for the breed of quislings in this country!

How was I to send this out? Nan might come to visit Ranjit on the 30th or thereabouts and she could be made the messenger. Yet I did not like the idea of involving her directly. But whatever step I took, others would be involved—Ranjit of course.

And then my mind went on to consider choice phrases for this statement. The Battle of Lucknow Camp Jail! It was an angry and slashing draft that framed itself in my mind. Later it began to tone itself down —when the action was in a way strong, why use strong & undignified language—I would be making a public statement after ten months. It should be dignified.

Having thought of this method of taking action, I felt more at ease. And then it struck me that my days of writing and receiving letters were numbered. All this would be stopped soon enough. Therefore I hastened to write a few letters last evening and by tomorrow or the day after I shall finish off all that are necessary. Interviews also will stop.

Meanwhile I had an interview. Indu came yesterday. It was as well that she came and I could tell her how I was feeling. I warned her that this might be our last interview. I also asked her to write to Bapu briefly that I was upset & angry at these happenings in Lucknow Camp Jail and had written to the I.G. about them—possible developments.

I wrote last night to: Richard Walsh; Times Book Club; Amma; Indu (sending her a cheque for Rs. 150/-); Abdul Latif; and the Urdu Encyclopaedia people in Hyderabad Dn. who were sanguine enough to expect an article from me.

The new moon last night—not very new but new enough—It was three days old. The clouds drifted away and we could have a full view of it. That marks the end of ten months of my imprisonment—ten lunar months.

Aug. 27, 1941[67]

TO PADMAJA NAIDU

My dear Bebee,

Your two letters have come and the flower seeds, and the book—*Four Faces of Shiva*. We have now an abundance of flower seeds, for our own efforts have also yielded us rich results. Our space, as you know, is limited and we have to think hard and deep about utilising it to the best advantage. A long gap in the rains and then too much rain has rather spoilt many of our pots, notably carnations. The lotus-dahlia has been blooming though the later flowers did not quite catch the magnificence of the first hour. Another of the dahlias you sent produced flowers of a very beautiful pale gold colour. Our giant sunflower has now attained the height of 13 feet or so, but the flower is not very big.

You need not be anxious about Ranjit. The press message was inaccurate and misleading. He has had, as I wrote to you, trouble off and on with his breathing—a kind of asthma. This is distressing enough when it comes but it need not alarm. In order to find out the basic cause of this, various examinations were made, including X-rays. It was suggested that perhaps there might be some chronic appendicitis—nothing, anyway, involving an operation in the near future. The X-ray, however, did not seem to indicate this. His heart also is fairly sound. There appears to be some digestion trouble. He is being treated for this as well as for the breathlessness. For the last few days he has been much better. Probably the slow change in the weather has something to do with this.

In view of your suggestion, Ranjit has made some changes in the translation of the *Mudrarakshasa*. I have myself felt all along that he has been too literal. Sanskrit constructions are involved and full of clauses and sub-clauses, the verb coming at the end. The genius of English is entirely different. German construction is somewhat nearer to the Sanskrit. Ranjit has also finished his numerous appendices and he is sending the full book to Nan. He wants you to send your copy of the translation to Nan also.

The dog has disappeared. Vanished without leaving a trace behind. Either it has met with some accident (there are plenty of motor lorries

67. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L.

about) or someone has kidnapped him. It is now quite a fortnight since he failed to turn up. I miss him a little.

I am well. There is just a breath of autumn in the air and it grows pleasanter day by day.

Perhaps I might not be able to write to you for some time.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

August 27, 1941[68]

TO KRISHNA KRIPALANI

My dear Krishna,

Just a month ago you wrote to me and soon after I received the *Tagore Birthday Number* of the *Visvabharati Quarterly*. I liked this *Birthday Number* very much and some of the pictures and articles were good.

How long ago it all seems! People must die some time or other and Gurudeva could not have lived much longer. And yet his death came as a grievous shock to me and the thought that I would never see his beautiful face and hear his gentle voice again oppressed me terribly. Ever since I came to prison this thought had haunted me. I wanted to see him once again so much. Not that I had anything special to say to him, and certainly I had no desire to trouble him in any way. Perhaps the premonition that I was not fated to see him again itself added to the grieving.

However all that is over and, instead of sorrow, let us rather congratulate ourselves that we were privileged to come in contact with this great and magnificent person. Perhaps it is as well that he died when he was still pouring out song and poem and poetry—what amazing creative vitality he had! I would have hated to see him fade away gradually. He died, as he should, in the fullness of his glory.

I have met many big people in various parts of the world. But I have no doubt in my mind that the two biggest I have had the privilege of meeting have been Gandhi and Tagore. I think they have been the two outstanding personalities in the world during the last quarter of a century. As time goes by, I am sure, this will be recognised, when all the generals and field marshals and dictators and shouting politicians are long dead and largely forgotten.

68. Krishna Kripalani Papers.

It amazes me that India in spite of her present conditions (or is it because of it?) should produce these two mighty men in the course of one generation. And that also convinces me of the deep vitality of India and I am filled with hope, and the petty troubles and conflicts of the day seem very trivial and unimportant before this astonishing fact —the continuity of the idea that is India from long ages to the present day. China affects me in the same way. India and China: how can they perish?

There is another aspect which continually surprises me. Both Gurudeva and Gandhiji took much from the West and from other countries, especially Gurudeva. Neither was narrowly national. Their message was for the world and yet both were 100% India's children, and the inheritors, representatives and expositors of her age-long culture. How intensely Indian both have been, in spite of all their wider knowledge and culture. The surprising thing is that both of these men with so much in common and drawing inspiration from the same wells of wisdom and thought and culture, should differ from each other so greatly! No two persons could probably differ so much as Gandhi and Tagore!

Again I think of the richness of India's age-long cultural genius which can throw up in the same generation two such master-types, typical of her in every way, yet representing different aspects of her many-sided personality.

My love to you and Nandita.

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

August 31, Sunday

Yesterday I was completely upset. I read in the *Herald* the statement issued by Nan & Kripalani on the Lucknow Camp Jail happenings.[69] To

69. This said : "We interviewed representatives of the prisoners in the camp jail, Lucknow. We had a long and detailed talk with them and also with the jail authorities. Our main purpose in seeking this interview was to bring about, if possible, a better atmosphere. We hope that we have been successful in our effort. The prisoners have assured us of their desire for this. The prisoners feel that they have certain grievances and it is our intention to bring these before the government and we trust that they will receive favourable consideration. We were naturally obliged tp inquire into the happenings of the last few days, but as our main objective has been to restore peace, we feel that no useful purpose will be served by dwelling on these painful incidents."

say that I was amazed at this naive and apologetic statement is to put it mildly. I was angry, very angry. Then followed the news that Nan had interviewed Sloan, the Adviser. This put the lid on completely. For several hours I was obsessed and terribly depressed—I told Ranjit that the whole thing was sickening and I had come to the conclusion that women had no understanding whatever of politics—They should keep away from it.

Yet it was obvious that Kripalani must have been largely responsible. Possibly even Bapu to some extent—It was hardly Nan's fault.

Still—why does this kind of thing happen? The whole outlook, approach, is so vitally different from what I would like it to be. Why do people behave so? They seem to have no guts, no courage to carry on and damn the consequences.

I hate this hobnobbing with officials—this approach to them for favours. Some days ago when I read that Dr. Murari Lal had gone to see Sloan about the Lucknow Camp Jail I was annoyed and told Ranjit so. And now Nan! And the statement issued by her & Kripalani.

For some people this seems to be a game—we come to jail from time to time and then go out, and meanwhile we accept things as they are and common courtesies between our people and the officials go on. As if nothing seriously was the matter. As if we were not at war. As if our sole function was to go to jail and appeal to our superiors for better treatment.

If our top people behave in this way, what of others? I feel very unhappy.

All this has of course put an end to my ideas about taking some drastic action. What can I do now, when Nan & Kripalani have declared an end to the incident and pleaded for a peaceful atmosphere—to forget what has happened. Forget the insult and the injury! To accept the decisions of these people who presume to rule over us, maybe with minor variations and vague promises.

It is possible that the accounts given in the papers were exaggerated —But Sloan's statement itself was insulting.[70]

Well, well—thus it is.

Tomorrow Nan is coming to interview Ranjit. It is as well that two days will have elapsed by then and presumably I shall have cooled down

70. Following the visit of T. Sloan, the Adviser to the Lucknow Camp Jail, on 27 August 1941, the U.P. Government claimed in a press note that the accounts of the incident of 18 August were "grossly exaggerated and distorted"; that no more violence was used than was necessary to get the prisoners into the barracks; and that the complaints in regard to food were due to the refusal of the prisoners to grind a reasonable amount of grain.

a little. If I had seen Nan yesterday, I would have said much that I would have subsequently regretted.

Tomorrow also Iftikhar is coming to interview me.

I have spun less this month than has been usual with me. Probably I shall spin still less in future as I intend to devote more time to writing. But I shall continue the spinning. It is soothing and is a change from reading and writing.

Spun during August—24 hanks—Nos. 226 to 249 inclusive=12000 yards.
Previous total (see page 41 *ante*) 112500 yards
Total to end August 1941...124500 yards

September 4, Thursday

I am beginning to get wrapped up in the writing of the new chapters of the *Autobiography*—what shall I call this book? The first few pages I wrote ten days ago and then there was a gap. For three days now I have given practically the whole afternoon to the writing and the subject grows upon me. It fills my mind and I find myself thinking about it at odd hours. My afternoon rest has gone—Spinning has become a burden—I am not reading much, apart from magazines & foreign papers. Not that the progress has been great, yet it has been satisfactory—The early part dealing with the Badenweiler days was difficult.

So now I am fully launched on this undertaking and I want a clear three months for it. Rumours of a jail delivery in October or thereabouts are not welcome. Any such happening will interfere with the writing. There is no chance of my doing it outside prison.

Just when I have got entangled in this work, I am told that I can send for father's old letters and arrange them &c. I really intended preparing the chosen ones for publication—another two months work. How to fit in all this is a problem.

Then there is the reading of Urdu & Hindi books. Somehow this always gets left out! I suppose I must go through my four-year term in order to finish the work I have in mind.

Three days ago Nan came with Rita to see Ranjit—Iftikhar also came the same day.

We heard the story of the Lucknow Camp Jail—a sorry affair & a good bit of exaggeration on the part of our people there. Still I think Nan & Kripalani were very wrong to go to Sloan. Why should we accept official promises?

It is distressing to see how our own people misbehave—There is no dignity about it.

Sheikh the I.C. has written a very courteous letter in answer to my angry note about the Lucknow Jail incidents. One up against me! Anyhow this incident closes for the present so far as I am concerned, and all my expectation of challenge & conflict vanishes.

Iftikhar—disillusioned Iftikhar—seeing no light except in a compromise with the Muslim League—which of course enrages me and I shout at him till I am hoarse. Of course Iftikhar & his close colleagues have been thinking along these lines for the last three years or so, and all my previous shouting has had no effect whatever on them, except to quieten them for a while in my presence.

It seems to me that those who have been backing a Communist ticket, or their near allies, are the most helpless today. They are losing the very foundation on which they stood and so they clutch feverishly at every straw. I was really amazed to hear Iftikhar advance arguments in criticism of Congress policy during the past year or more. They were puerile, absurd, completely foolish. Much of course can always be said in criticism and rightly said—But the Communists (and for that matter other groups also to a lesser extent who deign to support the movement although they consider it a tame and ineffective thing) have shouted so much at the top of their voices that they have lost all power of reasoning or logical thought.

I spoke so much and so loudly to Iftikhar that I felt quite tired that evening. How unused I have become to the active life of a politician.

Nan dropped in today for a few minutes on her way back from Mussoorie—She is likely to go to Bapu soon and we are sending, through her, flower seeds, grown here, for Sevagram.

September 7, 1941[71]

TO S. KARUNA

Dear Friend,

I have your letter. I do not, as rule, autograph photographs from prison, but as you come from Thailand and are returning there soon, I gladly agree to your request.

71. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

It is my earnest desire that India and the people of India should develop greater contacts with all our neighbour countries, and especially those which have been culturally connected with us for ages past. I should like these contacts to grow between Thailand and India, and I rejoice therefore when young men like you come from Thailand to India for study. I hope you will take back with you, when you return, pleasant memories of India, and that you will be yet another link between our two countries.

With all good wishes to you and to Thailand.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Sept. 10, 1941[72]

TO N. R. MALKANI

My dear Malkani,
I have your letter. Of course you must have your way. I agree to what you say. You can go ahead and do what you like about it.

But allow me to tell you that politicians, professors and even experts in Harijan and other constructive work do not know much about the publishing of books and the encouragement of authors. It is obvious that you, as an author, have been hopelessly exploited by publishers and you have submitted to it tamely. Or the publishers did not know their job. I realise that the position in Sind is peculiar—the reading public is very limited—and therefore one has to go slow.

I have had a good deal to do with publishers in England, America and India. I suppose I must have had dealings with at least thirty of them. And I know a large number of authors in England and elsewhere. So, in spite of being a politician, I have got to know something about the authors' and publishers' business. The first thing to remember is that publishers always try to exploit authors, except those fortunate few who are well known and can dictate their terms. From an author's point of view, publishers are an evil crowd.

72. N.R. Malkani Papers, N.M.M.L.

Secondly, it is all wrong to imagine that you are serving the public by cutting the poor author's throat. You pay your printer for composing and printing; the publisher wants at least to get back his expenses; the book seller wants his commission and so on. But the author—the person who counts most—is supposed to live on thin air and produce books for the greater glory of all the others who try to make money out of him. I do not understand this. If you analyse this, you will probably feel that most of us do not attach any real value to creative literary work. We pay the carpenter, the cobbler, the smith, the tailor and so on, but we expect our author to work for nothing.

This is not the way to build up the writing business and you will never get good writing done when a man cannot devote himself to it wholly. Is writing just a pastime for the leisure moments of politicians like me or others whose main work is different?

I disagree entirely also with the theory and practice of the Navjivan Karyalaya in Ahmedabad which, in the name of social service, does not pay the author or anyone else.

If I could function as an author, and not so much as a politician, I would set about building a trade union of authors who would refuse to accept less than the required and fixed royalties. Anyone breaking this rule should be treated as a black leg.

Unfortunately book writing in this country consists chiefly in producing those hateful things—text-books. I would ban this and make all text-books a state monopoly.

But I must not go on thrusting my odd ideas on you. As I have said, you can do just what you like with the Sindhi translation of my *Autobiography*.

A woman must of course have the last word, more especially a charming young woman, who knows that she has an unfair advantage over others. So please tell Miss Kripalani that I apologise, withdraw and generally humble myself for having forgotten our previous correspondence. As a matter of fact I had not quite forgotten it and I retain a vivid recollection of her giving me a sumptuously bound book in a silken bag.

I am glad to learn of the constructive work you have been doing especially in the villages. All good luck to you. But don't swallow too much quinine. It is hateful stuff.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Sept. 17, 1941[73]

Darling,
I hope you are flourishing and profiting by the drier weather. The real good weather in Mussoorie will begin soon. I hope also that Raja is quite well now. I had a letter from Betty about ten days ago to say that he was very much better.

Upadhyaya passed this way. I think that he should come back to Mussoorie after he has spent some days in the bosom of his family. I told him so. He might be useful to me here.

I sent you through Ram Saran a fat packet of foreign papers. I hope it reached you.

For the past two years it has been my practice to buy some khadi *hundies* during Gandhi Jayanti and distribute these—some to Upadhyaya, some to the servants &c. I think this might be kept up. I am therefore enclosing a cheque for Rs. 100/-. Buy the *hundies* in Allahabad preferably but it does not matter much where you get them. You can send the cheque direct to the Khadi Bhandar, Allahabad, and ask for the *hundies*—or send it to Upadhyaya if he is in Allahabad. You will have to endorse the cheque.

The *hundies* should be distributed in this way:

Upadhyaya	—	30/-
Bhola	—	10/-
Hari	—	10/- I suppose he will soon be out.

Other servants — 50/- division as you like.

But remember that my favourite is Lachiminia, who is the oldest member of our household.

I have got a copy at last of *The Unity of India*. It was sent by a friend who purchased it in Delhi. I like the get-up of the book. Krishna has taken a lot of trouble over it. I have not heard from him at all. You

73. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

must have seen his long letter[74]—and the Edward Thompson correspondence[75] in *The New Statesman.*

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

September 19, Friday

Big bundles of foreign papers have come and have taken up a good deal of time. But my main occupation has been writing the new *Auto.* I have so far written about 110 foolscap pages. The next chapter is difficult—I call it *The Discovery of India*—and so I am giving a rest to the writing for a few days and allowing my mind to play with the subject. Probably I shall read a book or two before going back to the writing.

At this rate, I imagine, I shall finish this particular writing work by the end of November, provided there are no big gaps or stops, and provided also that I do not write at inordinate length about the numerous side issues that are always cropping up.

I am continuing my spinning as before.

Nan sent me a letter yesterday by messenger (Sita Ram) from Lucknow. She has been offered, or at any rate some group in the University wants to offer, the Vice-Chancellorship of the Lucknow University. She refused to consider this on the ground of being a satyagrahi, whereupon the representatives of the group telephoned to Bapu and got his permission. Then Nan spoke to Bapu on the phone and was told by him that she should accept. She wanted my opinion & Ranjit's.

74. On 24 May 1941, he wrote refuting Sir Alfred Watson's letter of 17 May in *The New Statesman and Nation* which said that special privileges were accorded to Jawaharlal in jail and accused the Congress of doing propaganda in England and the United States.

75. Replying to Sir Alfred Watson's letter, he wrote on 24 May 1941 : "....If what we have done in India is not wrong, then nothing is wrong. Nehru.... said plainly that if it was really war for democracy India would gladly join us.... If the war ends with this matter unchanged, no Indian group will forgive us (except the Princes).... There is more unity about India than our leaders realise...." On 7 June 1941, he wrote : ".... The estrangement is great and increasing, and our cause is wronged by such men as Nehru being in jail. Yet even now I believe India could be won to cooperation."

What was I to say? I was entirely opposed to it for a variety of reasons, the principal one being that this would be a diversion from satyagraha activities which must have first place. As an ex-minister she must keep in front of Congress work. Also I felt that the Vice-Chancellorship was or should be an experienced educationist's job and she would hardly fit in. Then there were so many cliques and it was undesirable to get entangled in them.

Ranjit seemed to favour the idea of her accepting as Bapu had recommended this.

In my answer to her too, I mentioned my own instinctive and thought-out dislike of her taking up this job but refrained from stressing this in view of Bapu's opinion. I left it to her to decide.

Indu had not written to me for ages and I was a little unhappy at her ignoring me in this way. I had not met her since Aug. 25th— Our last interview. Meanwhile I had sent her two or three brief letters.

Yesterday I was given a letter from her dated Sept. 11th. This had reached Dehra the next day & had actually been passed by the Superintendent on the 13th. But our worthy *Naib* had forgotten to give it to me. In this letter she had mentioned that Amma was coming and wanted to know when she could see me. The delay in my answer—which went today—has probably upset Amma's programme.

I have just been given a phone message that Indu is coming to see me tomorrow.

Nearly a month ago I fixed Sept. 22 for an interview with K.T. Shah. I asked Mahmud also to come then and Subbarayan. No answer from Subbarayan. No clear & definite answer from Shah or Mahmud but I think these two are likely to come.

Eclipse of the sun on the 21st. A few days ago there was a partial eclipse of the moon—Rather an extraordinary phenomenon to have these two eclipses occurring within a few days of each other, or so people say. It is even said that this is a very rare phenomenon and is a purge of evil. Such a concurrence occurred at the time of the Mahabharata! Anyway there is enough of evil & death & disaster all over the world now.

I feel sick and greatly depressed sometimes when I read the war news and the tremendous slaughter that is going on in the Russo-German war especially. The war previous to this appears now to have been child's play almost. Even the collapse of France, from the fighting point of view, was just a minor engagement compared to this.

What will be the outcome of all this? Terrible destruction of course all round, but what else? Russia will undergo a vast change even if she wins or avoids defeat. And England & America? And the mountain of hatred and evil passions that is piling up!

I sit here in prison, reading about this slaughter and mounting passions, and an awful sense of futility comes upon me. What is the good of writing some totally useless stuff which nobody can be interested in? Or spinning away? Or doing anything else?

Sept. 20, Saturday

Indu came today. Good to see her. But she doesn't put on weight and continues to look delicate & feeble.

I have been feeling rather odd since this morning. I am physically well and nothing special has happened to upset me mentally. Yet my mind has been playing me strange tricks. It is a little difficult to describe—something like the feeling one has during a convalescence after an illness, or better still, the half-asleep, half-wakeful state in the morning, when fact & fancy are hopelessly mixed up. Repeatedly this morning, as I sat spinning, I found I had no clear grip on my mind and vague ideas floated in and out, leaving me in some doubt, for a short while, whether they had a basis in fact or not— An odd experience.

Some days ago I had a letter from Jaksch, the old Sudeten German S.D. leader, who is now a refugee in London— The letter was sent through the Governor, probably by the India Office. With the letter came two pamphlets, reviving memories of the Sudetenland struggle three years ago and my visit there. The letter is very friendly but with a hint that we in India should throw in our lot with the British in this 'war of liberation'. This letter & the pamphlets took me back three years and the old scenes came before my eyes.

September 21, 1941[76]

TO WENZEL JAKSCH & RICHARD REITZNER

Dear Friends,

Your letter of August 13th, 1941 has reached me here together with the two pamphlets you were good enough to send. It was a great pleasure to me to have news of you and I am grateful to you for having written.

76. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

I have read the pamphlets and they have brought back to me the very painful memories of three years ago when I had the privilege of visiting the Sudetenland and seeing with my own eyes the tragedy that was being enacted there. I have never forgotten that visit and I shall always remember the courage and dignity with which you and your party faced a situation which was full of peril for you all. I cannot believe that so much courage and faith can ever be wasted, and so I console myself that your sufferings and sacrifices will bear fruit one day. Many thousands, as you point out, have been living a life of terrible persecution in Dachau; many have perished. But I am very glad that, at the last moment, 3,000 of your comrades managed to escape, and though they live as exiles in far countries, they keep the old flag flying and, with faith and courage, bide their time.

I appreciate the spirit in which you have written, and I want to assure you that during these last three years or more I have held fast to my old beliefs. At the time of the Sudeten crisis, before and after the Munich decision, I wrote a good deal on the trend of events,[77] and it is no satisfaction to me now that what I wrote then has largely come true. I had no doubt then, and I have no doubt now, that Hitler and his subordinate colleagues, Mussolini and Franco, represent a system that is evil and fundamentally bad for Europe as well as the rest of the world. A victory for him would be a tragedy for all who believe in a free life for individuals as well as nations. You know well that Hitler was powerfully helped by the so-called policy of appeasement. That appeasement represented not just a foolish and short-sighted wish to escape trouble in the present; it represented even more sympathy and agreement with the general outlook of Hitler. It is true that there was no such feeling among the people generally in England or France. But powerful elements in the Governments of the two countries certainly felt that way and acted accordingly. Perhaps it may help you to understand, when I tell you that it is this outlook, and its translation into action and government, that we have to face in India. A change has come over that outlook in regard to the domestic situation in England because of perilous developments; but that does not apply to India. We are where we were.

All my sympathies are with those who are resisting Hitler because I feel that Hitler's triumph would be disastrous for the world's freedom. As I write to you, vast and terrible battles are taking place in Russia and we are naturally following these with the most anxious interest. I have not been enamoured of everything that Russia has done and I criticised her attack on Finland last year. But I am convinced that it would

77. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 9, pp. 1-206.

be a very great tragedy if Russia's great experiment in a socialistic order was crushed in war.

During the past few years, as I saw war approaching, I had hoped that all our resources, the resources of a free India, would be thrown in on the side of freedom and democracy. It was a world conflict for me from which no one could or should keep away. But always I realised that only a free India could do so effectively, a slave country cannot fight for other people's freedom. Perhaps you will remember that this was the answer I gave you to the question you put to me in that fateful summer of 1938. That was what I wrote on my return from Czechoslovakia before Munich had occurred, as well as afterwards. There is a book of mine, recently published in London, which gives some of these writings. It is called *The Unity of India* (Lindsay Drummond).

But all our hopes were destined to be crushed. This has nothing to do with the Hindu-Muslim problem. Difficult as that is, it is different from, and perhaps basically much easier than, the Sudeten problem, for it is not a racial problem: we have to deal with more or less the same racial and linguistic background. But anyhow, that problem stands apart from the main problem; that of England and India.

I cannot discuss all these intricate matters in this letter. But I want to tell you that, in spite of every desire to do so, we were not put in a position to render effective national assistance in this war. Even so, and in spite of our conflict with the British Government, we have deliberately refrained from coming in the way of the war effort. It is obvious that we could have injured and lessened this greatly if we had attempted to do so. But in the larger context, and whatever our own reactions to England's policy to India, we did not wish Hitler to win.

India happens to be a very big country with a population approaching 400 millions. It is obvious that no world settlement can be durable which ignores this great country or seeks to treat it as somebody's possession, regardless of the wishes of her people. I quite agree with you that Europe needs the partnership of a free India, and that India needs the partnership of a free Europe. But the partnership, in order to be fruitful, must be based on freedom.

I hope one day to have the privilege of being your guest in Prague and at Badenhock when I visit again the green hills and blue forests of your beautiful mountain country.

With all good wishes to you and the cause you represent.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

September 22, Monday

A full and unusual day. Mahmud & K.T. Shah came and we had long talks. Mahmud looking older & not well—his legs swollen up, but still cheerful. I think our talk did him good. It was a change for him from Chapra & his village. I am afraid he will never get well—He will at best carry on.

K.T. full of talk and information about Bombay and its magnates. How money is pouring in through war contracts. Bombay has 40 crores worth of them. The Tatas doing exceedingly well. Mody, in spite of his conservatism, shaking up the old tin-hats at Simla & Delhi. Walchand[78] going ahead with his aeroplane factory at Bangalore (which is actually producing planes) and his shipbuilding. Though stymied in his efforts to build up an automobile factory he is spreading out in other directions. An efficient & wide awake person with an amazing amount of push and imagination. The war, of course, just suits him.

K.T. told me of a curious dream he had—it was vivid & impressed him. In fact he had hesitated to tell me and only decided to do so after long thought. The dream was a simple one—He saw me going away in some conveyance—Someone was with me, Indu or someone else. He had a definite sensation of my going away having nothing to do with time or space, whatever that may mean. Anyway he was so moved that he, who is not liable to this kind of thing, broke down completely and wept copiously. I told him not to worry.

There does not seem much in this dream to worry about but he did worry. It was the vividness that had impressed him. According to certain rules of interpretation of dreams (Jain?) Shah said that his dream signified that I would pop off (this was not his language!) in about three years time—I am not quite clear how the three years comes in except that the dream came at little after 3 a.m.

It was curious how Shah, the materialist, the non-believer in every kind of superstition, was worried by this dream. If Mahmud had been upset, I could well understand. Mahmud had his own story which he said was widely spoken about. This was that I was to shine with increasing brilliance from 1942 onwards for four or five years and then—meet a sudden death, presumably by assassination, though this was not quite clear.

78. Walchand Hirachand (1882-1952); pioneer of shipping and aircraft production in India; president, Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries, 1932-33.

Another astrological forecast, which was sent to me some time ago, stated that the stars were favourable for me from November next onwards, and then after a year or some months (six months I think) the period is still more favourable for two or three years. Then trouble!

They all seem to indicate a sudden end—That will be luck. But really, why do people waste so much time and energy over this kind of thing?

I have no particular desire to live on and on. And yet I am full of ideas and energy and I suppose I shall live an intensely active life again when the opportunity comes my way. When life approaches its end, slow or sudden, it will not find me, I think, afraid or unready.

K.T. told me (from Nandan) of some rather disturbing developments in the *Herald*. Tholal has been pushed out because of indiscipline. I suppose he had to go but I am sorry all the same. It appears also that the *Herald* is likely to get entangled in a libel action on account of the Lucknow Camp Jail incidents. I do not mind that at all but I am worried at Nan being entangled in it and entangled the wrong way. She has not acted very wisely and is apt to jump to conclusions. Her political sense is not fully trained and developed yet.

The lovely moon of दूज[79] was just visible today. Yesterday was the partial eclipse of the sun.. And so the *Ramzan* fast begins from tomorrow—Meanwhile *Dasehra* celebrations are going on and *Vijayadashmi* will come round within 6 or 7 days.

The moon tells me that eleven lunar months of my imprisonment are over. Soon Diwali will come and complete the year.

September Spinning

26 hanks—Nos. 250 to 275 (inclusive)		
=13000 yards	counts 27 to 32	
Previous total (see p. 41 & p. 74 *ante*)		.. 124500 yards
Total to end September 1941		.. 137500 yards

Sept. 24, 1941[80]

TO P. A. NARIELWALA

My dear Pan,

Thank you for copies of *Life*, a bundle of which arrived, duly insured by

79. *Duj*—second day after the new moon.
80. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

you, and an odd copy came later. What do you want me to do with it after I have seen it? Shall I return the copies to you? Meanwhile I have passed on the bundle to Betty.

I hear you are very busy and new burdens and responsibilities are descending upon you, and Bombay House is humming with very profitable activity. I am engaged in lesser activities which can be of no particular consequence to the mighty men of business. For instance, I look at the new moon, just visible against the darkening sky, and then day after day watch its ethereal beauty transform itself into something garish and opulent. Or I gaze at the outline of the Himalayan foothills as the morning sun creeps up behind them. Not very exciting or worthy of mention perhaps. But what else is one to do in jail?

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

24.9.41[81]

Betty dear,

I have not written to you for a long time and I have not even answered your letter which came nearly two weeks ago. For many days, I did not feel in a mood for writing letters—one has moods in jail, as you know. But really there was little to write about, I refuse even to develop a cold which might be some kind of news to be conveyed in a letter. And for the rest, day succeeds day and the same routine is followed.

Your letter told me that Raja's finger was healing well. I hope this business is over now or nearly over, and Raja will not be troubled by it. How quickly your period at Mussoorie has gone and soon you will be thinking of returning to the more sophisticated life of Bombay. On your way you will visit us here. Come whenever it suits you, that is, in October.

I hope Harsha and Ajit have prospered in Mussoorie. My love to them and to you and Raja.

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

81. *Nehru's Letters to His Sister*, (London, 1963), p. 79.

27.9.41[82]

Darling Betty,
Your letter came today. I am so sorry to hear of Jitley's accident. It is very upsetting to see little kids suffer so. The danger lies not so much in the actual hurt—unless this is serious—as in the mental reactions. But I think Jitley is old enough not to be affected by this. It is even possible that he may profit by it and get hardened. Anyway one has to make the best of it.

Love,

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

Sept. 30, 1941[83]

TO JIVRAJ N. MEHTA

My dear Jivraj,
I am writing to you about a matter which has been hovering in my mind for many years. It is about Anand Bhawan, our house in Allahabad. When Kamala was alive we discussed the future of this house and the public use to which it might be profitably put. We were agreed that the house should not continue to remain private property indefinitely and we disliked the idea of strangers possibly gaining possession of it later for private use. The house is relatively new but already it is full of associations for our family, and even in the public mind it is something more than a private house. During the last dozen years or so many public activities have centred round it and for large numbers of people it has almost become a place of political pilgrimage. The idea, therefore, that it should be public property grew in my mind and Kamala's, and sometimes we associated this idea with a memorial for my father. But father needed no memorial in brick and mortar or stone and cement, and anyway it was not our family's business to concern itself with it. From time to time I discussed this idea rather vaguely

82. *Nehru's Letters to His Sister*, (London, 1963), p. 80.
83. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

with my sisters also and with others. Kamala's idea and mine was that some children's institution might be established there.

After Kamala's death the idea of devoting this home and grounds to some public purpose became more definite and some three years ago I discussed it with Indira. She agreed. Meanwhile the Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital grew up and I began to associate the two with each other.

It is perhaps a little premature yet for any definite action to be taken. For a considerable time to come I am likely to be in jail and I cannot take such action from here. Besides, this would mean a refashioning of my life to some extent. I cannot therefore say when any such step should be taken and it may well have to be delayed for some years. But whatever the delay might be, I want to be clear in my own mind that it is going to be done and that nothing will happen to put a stop to it. So far as I am personally concerned, the feeling grows upon me that the possession of land and property is a nuisance and a burden. Those who wish to travel far should have as little luggage as possible and I want to get rid of my superfluous luggage. As you know, I am not ascetically inclined and I have not been an adherent of the simple life, if by that is meant the renunciation of many of life's graces and pleasures. I am capable of taking joy in life and even of participating in some of its luxuries. So I am not being moved by any idea of renunciation. I want to feel lighter and more free during the remaining years of my life's journey. It is true that all of us require some peg to hang from, some corner to which one can go for rest or quiet work or as an escape from life's calls. I suppose I shall continue to have many such pegs and corners even though I might not possess a house of my own.

I should like, therefore, to dispose of Anand Bhawan with its land, outhouses, etc. and including much of its equipment. Apart from certain personal articles I hardly want anything from it. The books could go to the A.I.C.C. library where they will be of much greater use to the public.

To what use can we put Anand Bhawan? I should personally like it to be associated with children, the voices and laughter of children, more especially poor children who have known nothing of comfort and little of laughter. I do not particularly fancy the idea of Anand Bhawan being just an extension of the K.N.M. Hospital. Perhaps it could be associated with it as a home for convalescent children.

Whatever purpose Anand Bhawan might serve, I think it should be under its own managing committee and not under the hospital committee. But the whole property might be vested in K.N.M.H. trustees.

These are just some vague ideas for you to consider. There is no

hurry. I should like you to consult privately—not officially—the trustees of the K.N.M.H. and of course Gandhiji, our super trustee. Having done so you might draw up some scheme and send it to me. But please treat this whole matter as confidential. I would hate to see any reference to it in the press.

I would like to repeat that I cannot say when I shall be in a position to give actual effect to any approved scheme. It may even take a few years for there are so many uncertain factors to be reckoned with. But events follow one another rapidly in these days and one should be prepared. My mind will be at ease if I know that all this thinking-out has been done.

I have learnt with deep satisfaction of the efficiency and success of the K.N. Memorial Hospital. The hospital is really your child and but for your enormous interest in it and your work for it, it could hardly have seen the light of day. I am very grateful for all you have done. I hope you have also conveyed my gratitude to the others who helped to make it the success it is, especially Messrs Bhuta, our architects.

I have been keeping very well and so I can afford to be the friend of a doctor, rather than his patient. Ranjit had breathing trouble off and on during the rainy season but he is keeping much better now.

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

3-10-1941[84]

TO RAJAN NEHRU

My dear Rajan,

I have your letter and am glad to know that you and Ratan are flourishing. So far as we are concerned there is little to do in jail but flourish! At any rate we do so. Ranjit was not very well during the rains but he is much better now.

Your information about our garden is not quite accurate. The dahlias were not wonderful, except one which was very beautiful; it was rather like a lotus. The fact is that our little space does not get enough of the sun. The high walls come in the way. And so most of our plants

84. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

grew amazingly but produced few flowers. The dahlias went up to about 10 feet and then produced tiny flowers. Only the colouring was good. Cosmos also went up to 9 or 10 feet and produced very few flowers. A sunflower made a valiant attempt to peep over the walls. It actually went up 14 feet before it flowered. I suppose the winter flowers will be better. You need not send any flower seeds as we have a good collection already and our space is very limited.

Indu is still at Mussoorie. Probably she will stay there another month: she is still not as well as she might be.

Do not worry about us. And keep cheerful.

Love,

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal

October 3, Friday

I have been engrossed in writing work. It fills the mind. The last two chapters have been difficult—*The Discovery of India* and *What India Stands For*. So far I have written about 150 foolscap pages—This is five weeks' work with several gaps of many days each. As usually happens, I am getting on much slower than I had imagined. I expected to finish this book by the end of November. This is not possible now and I shall take at least a month more. Of course if I devoted most of my time to it I could finish it earlier. But many interruptions take place even in jail and an interview usually means two days off. It disturbs. My stay here this time is not quite so solitary as it used to be. In the evenings we go to the jail proper for badminton &c and spend some time there. The Jailer usually comes more than once a day and takes up time. The morning is spent in spinning. Arrangements for food, &c have to be looked into. And I write far more letters.

But apart from all this, I suddenly leave off writing for four or five days as I begin to feel stale. So progress is going to be slow. It all depends on how I feel. Latterly I have been far from cheerful. Many things have contributed to a feeling of depression—Indu, the political situation in the country, the war.

Yet writing has been a great help in keeping me mentally fit and sober. I have got a task now which demands thought and work.

Vijayadashmi has come and gone (It was on Sept. 30th). *Ramzan* is nearly half over. And a fortnight later Diwali will be upon us to remind me of last year.

Indu came and Amma on the 29th. Certain remarks of Indu rather upset me. What a tangle we have got into! Amma is staying with her at Mussoorie.

Tomorrow Mahadeva is coming to see me, sent by Bapu. I am taking my two October interviews close together: tomorrow Mahadeva, and Raja & Betty on the 9th. No more interviews this month, except Indu's.

Betty's letters—always full of complaints against odd things that have happened to worry her. Raja has dashed off to Delhi to show his finger to Dr. Joshi. The finger giving some trouble again.

Nan has sent a message suggesting that she & Ranjit should leave Anand Bhawan so that Indu might have a free hand there. That is no solution. Anyway this note of Nan's decided me to take some step about Anand Bhawan and I have written to Jivraj Mehta offering the house for some public purpose. But have made it clear that for some time I intend to hold on.

Saturday, October 4

Mahadeva came today and Devadas—Both on their way to Mussoorie to Ghanshiam Das Birla.

Talk with Mahadeva about Bapu cheered me up. How full of vitality & optimism Bapu is! He said to somebody a few days ago that while he was naturally optimistic, he had never felt so sure of himself and so full of optimism as he did today. He had a definite feeling of growing from day to day. It was clear that the war would not end in any overwhelming victory for either party—India with her faith in her peaceful ways will win through.

Trouble about Sind—Maulana does not agree with Bapu about the advice to be given to Allah Bux the P.M. there. Bapu definitely of opinion that Allah Bux should resign from the Defence Council & dissociate himself from the war efforts. Maulana of a contrary opinion. Allah Bux says, after a long talk with Bapu, that he agrees with him, but how can he convince Maulana? Two days ago he saw Maulana in Naini. Mahadeva going soon to Naini to visit Maulana.

It seems to me dangerous & unwise for Maulana to give positive guidance from prison. He shoulders the responsibility without the power.

Vallabhbhai not keeping well at all—Trouble with his intestines.

Bhulabhai also not well—trouble physical but even more mental—He is a complete misfit in the Congress now, and especially in the satyagraha movement. He can't get out of it openly & completely and yet he yearns for something to be done to stop it.

Bapu, on the other hand, firm that nothing is going to stop it so long as the war lasts & maybe afterwards. Very probably the real struggle then. He is consolidating the Congress position for that struggle & feels that this is being done. He is satisfied. Of course if the question of free speech about war effort, &c is settled in terms of the Congress demand, satyagraha would be off, but the deadlock will continue. That can only end with independence—So Bapu says.

Aney's visit to Bapu. How low he has sunk[85]—he and the *Kesari* lot of Maharashtra politicians. Bapu, in all courtesy of course, gave him short shrift.

Iftikhar, with his keenness for developing contacts with Jinnah, was not at all encouraged by Bapu. Ultimately Bapu told him that if he wanted to he could see Jinnah personally, but for his part he did not expect any good to come out of this. Anyway on no account was he (Bapu) going to see Jinnah as a representative of the Hindus whatever happened. Ifty telephoned to Jinnah who said that as an old friend he was prepared to meet Ifty but not in (Ifty's) capacity as a nationalist Muslim! So the interview did not come off.

I spoke to Mahadeva about Indu so that he might tell Bapu. Extraordinary that the message I gave to Amrit for Bapu more than three months ago has not reached him. Amrit has been unwell & has been unable to go to Wardha. She is still in Simla.

Bapu was worried because he had heard through Jamnalalji that Indu was unhappy and not keeping well. My talk with Mahadeva (on behalf of Bapu) cleared my own mind somewhat—I felt easier and the desire to see Indu and have a long frank talk with her increased.

Asaf Ali wants to see me! I wish he wouldn't. Our talk is not likely to please either party. However I have suggested that he might come on the day when Betty, Raja, &c come—the 9th—in the morning.

Bustami Darwesh of Java also came today. I rather liked the boy.

Ranjit not well today.

85. Defending his acceptance of a seat on the Viceroy's Executive Council, Aney had said that he had accepted it in order to solve the Indian deadlock and that Congress had committed a mistake in resigning from the ministries and handing over powers. "The present satyagraha movement is inopportune at a time when long-denied opportunities were offered by the British Government for Indianisation although they were offered as war measures."

5/10/41[86]

Darling,
Mahadeva Bhai saw me yesterday. Probably he will visit you. Bapu is rather worried to learn from Jamnalalji that you were not keeping well or sleeping well.

I have been thinking over various matters and I would like to speak to you about this. Perhaps this will help you & me not to worry. Come and see me when you can—the sooner the better—that is soon after Betty's interview. She is likely to come on the 9th. Nan is coming on the 8th.

I think Amma had better not come with you next time. This is tiring for her. But the real reason is that I am having several interviews during the first half of October and I do not want to add to them or ask for an extension of the privilege. She can come with you when you come the time after next.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

6.10.41[87]

Indu Darling,
Saturday the 11th October will suit. So come then and bring Nani with you. I shall expect you but still it would be as well if you sent a phone message to say that you were coming.

It is quite astonishingly warm still here and I am told that it is definitely hot in Allahabad & Lucknow. I suppose the weather will turn some time or other this month. It might be unwise for you to return to Allahabad before it is fairly cool there. You would feel just limp and weak.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

86. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.
87. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

October 6, 1941[88]

TO RICHARD J. WALSH

Dear Mr. Walsh,
I have received your letter of September 5, 1941. Apparently this was the Ocean mail copy as some clippings accompanied it. I have received no other clippings so far, nor has any one received the other copies of *Toward Freedom* that you sent—apart from the 6 sent to my sister, Krishna Hutheesing. I suppose, under present conditions, one must be thankful for what one does get.

Bachhraj & Co. have informed me that they have received from you the equivalent of $2069.08 for credit of my account.

I am sorry the list of persons to whom complimentary copies were to be sent did not reach you. It is not worth while repeating it now. But I should have particularly liked the book to be sent to Madame Sun Yat-sen and Madame Chiang Kai-shek.

I have noted that you have come to some arrangement with Lindsay Drummond about *Glimpses of World History* and that the book is likely to come out in America in January.

It seems rather odd that, sitting here in jail, I should consider your proposal about my becoming a contributory editor of *Asia* magazine. It is obvious that I cannot contribute anything at all for a considerable time and even when the difficulties that exist today are removed, I am likely to have enough of work and responsibility to make writing difficult. Everything everywhere is in such a state of flux that any arrangement for a fairly distant future is rather a gamble. I have always hesitated to accept future responsibilities when I was not at all sure that I would be able to fulfil them. Having said all this, I want to tell you that I would gladly help *Asia* and I am happy that Pearl Buck[89] and you have taken charge of it. As you assure me that the position of contributory editor is one of almost complete irresponsibility and involved no undertaking, I can hardly refuse, in spite of the drawbacks mentioned above. So I am agreeable and you can add my name to the distinguished list headed by Pearl Buck and Lin Yutang.[90]

88. J.N. Papers, N.M.M.L.
89. Pearl S. Buck (1893-1973); wife of Richard Walsh; well-known American novelist; Nobel Prize winner for literature, 1938.
90. (1895-1976); well-known writer in Chinese and English; author of *The Wisdom of China and India* and *My Country and My People.*

Since writing to you on June 9th, I have sent you two other letters, dated July 1 and August 25. I hope they have reached you.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

October 7, Tuesday

Ranjit & I have been upset today. Our faithful warder, Pancham, has been dismissed at a moment's notice today, for a most ridiculous reason. He was only an apprentice warder although he had been in service for over a year. He was a bit of a gardener and helped us a lot. Among the warders, he was probably the straightest and he never pinched things as most others do. Yet he has been dismissed for theft.

The theft consisted of his taking a *chakotra* from the garden yesterday afternoon when off duty and giving it to his little son who asked for it. In any event it was a trivial offence; to call it theft is monstrous. He took it casually when many people were present.

It appears that the Jailer was bent on engaging someone else whom he considered a better gardener. A vacancy was needed, and hence poor Pancham had to go. Some time back his wife ran away from him, leaving a number of children with him.

Quite a number of interviews are coming. Tomorrow Nan & Pratap come to see Ranjit—Day after tomorrow Betty, Raja and the children, preceded by Asaf Ali! On the 11th Indu and Amma.

Diwali is approaching and yet it is still very warm.

October 10—Friday

Two full and rather exciting days—yesterday and the day before. Nan and Tara came on the 8th and I had long talks and unburdened myself fully about various matters. Yesterday was crowded. Pratap came—he ought to have come the day before but was detained in Delhi by a Govt. Committee—, then Asaf Ali, and later Betty & Raja and the children. Again long talks.

Asaf Ali said what I more or less expected. Feeling very flat. Of course, he always does. One thing that he told me was interesting—

the marked effect on Muslims of recent happenings in Islamic countries. They are greatly disturbed and are in a mood for self-questioning. Feel that they are in a blind alley. Muslim States losing their freedom and becoming hangers-on of others. No apparent future for them.

To Nan and Betty and Raja I spoke about Indu and felt much better for having said what I had kept to myself for so long. Indu is coming tomorrow with Amma. After that no interviews for some time.

Kamaladevi has sent me a letter from Madame Chiang and a pot of marmalade which she (Madame Chiang) made herself. Delicious stuff. Also a book which Madame Sun sent us. This is by Nym Wales and is about Chinese Cooperatives.[91] I felt very happy to receive these gifts. Madame Chiang's letter was moving and I was deeply touched. These instances of affectionate remembrance from afar make life worth while and jail is forgotten. Referring to the marmalade, Mme. Chiang says: "I am sending you a Szechwan product which symbolises to me what life holds—the rind, the juice, the seed—the sweetness, bitterness, and spice which comprise life."

I felt pleasantly tired yesterday evening. And yet as the shadows lengthened, a feeling of sadness and emptiness took possession of me.

21.10.41[92]

Darling Indu,

Your letter. Psyche and Pan are also coming for the interview on the 27th together with Jivraj Mehta. They will all be attending the meeting of the Hospital Managing Committee on the 23rd at Allahabad.

I shall deal with the letter received from Krishna Prasad Dar. I am glad the *Atlantic Monthly* have paid up the $150. Every little helps.

To celebrate the occasion I am enclosing a cheque for Rs. 100/- Rajji has been supplying various things to me. He should be paid for them. Also I would like Upadhyaya to send a money order for Rs. 50/- to Bustami Darwesh. He can pay out of this amount for the books he purchases and keep any balance for other odd expenditure. He must be hard up and should have some pocket money. The cheque is crossed. It can be cashed through Pushkar Nath.

91. *China Builds for Democracy*. On 2 July 1942 Jawaharlal wrote the foreword for the Indian edition of this book.
92. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

I should like you to bring a number of things for me when you come next. I give the list overleaf. Apart from this list we want some stuff to mend broken china. We have managed to break the pot Madame Chiang sent me and we should like to mend it, if possible. Unfortunately there are too many pieces. You will get this at a chemist's—try Hamer—We had a tube which was very good but I have forgotten its name. The stuff is used in museums &c. to mend broken china, pottery &c.

It is getting cooler here now and I am therefore sending for some blankets from Allahabad. Possibly Hari might bring them on the 27th, if his son is better. I hope you have purchased a good blanket. I understand it is possible to get a *gudma* here—the 6 yard soft woollen blanket usually made in the Simla Hills. If you would like to have it, I shall inquire further into the matter. Ask Upadhyaya to send my love to Narendra Deva.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

October 26, Sunday

A long gap since I wrote last in this diary which means a life of routine with very little that was extraordinary. My writing work (*Auto II*) took up a lot of time—so much so that I have little. And yet the progress made has not been much. At this rate I might carry on for another three months or more. Sometimes I simply can't write for days. Not in the mood.

My chief reading—apart from foreign periodicals—has been Plato's *Republic*. A fascinating book.

Interviews from tomorrow—Jivraj Mehta, Psyche & Pan coming to see me tomorrow, and Nan to see Ranjit— So there will be quite a crowd. Two days later Indu and Amma.

Diwali and *Id* have come and gone, completing a year for me—for I was arrested the day after Diwali and on the eve of *Id*.

I have started Agarwal's eye exercises from today— Sitting facing the sun with eyes closed &c., &c. I am sure this will do me good.

October Spinning—Twelfth month

25 hanks—Nos. 276 to 300=12500 yards
Counts to 32. Average 28.

Previous total (see pp 41, 74, 89 *ante*) 137500 yards
Total to end October... 150000 yards

This completes a year of spinning in prison this time. (It is really slightly less than a year.)

Record for the year—300 hanks of 500 yards each totalling 150000 yards.

I gave Psyche hanks 276 to 298 when she came to see me on Oct. 27th.

26.10.41[93]

Darling Indu,

Your note has just come. Yes, do come on the 28th, that is day after tomorrow, with Nani.

About Psyche— If you are coming to Dehra on the 28th would it be worth while for her to go up on the evening of the 27th? She might spend the night in Dehra and go up if necessary the next day with you. However I do not know what she wants to do & how long she can stay round about here. It would be a good thing if both Psyche and Pan went up to Mussoorie for a few days.

Anyway I shall expect you on the 28th. If you have any particular message to send to Psyche tomorrow, you can send it by phone to the jail office. I am glad you are keeping better. The weather is just right now. Profit by it as long as you can. From today I have started new eye exercises which I am sure will do me good. I hope within a month to give up wearing glasses for reading. Part of these exercises is to sit facing the morning sun with closed eyes for a few minutes.

I should like to see Feroze. I think the best thing will be for him to get into touch with Mohanlal Saxena. I have promised him my next interview in November and Dr. Mahmud, if he is well enough, will probably come too. Feroze can be the third. No date has been fixed. I have asked Mohanlal to arrange with Mahmud.

Here are some more articles which Upadhyaya might get for me.

1. Fountain pen ink—Quink
2. 3 quires foolscap paper (as supplied last time)
3. Matches
4. A bakelite tumbler
5. To write to A.C.J. Press to send me direct 1 copy of *Letters from*

93. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

a Father to His Daughter, English edition (a good copy for presentation) 2 copies of Ditto Urdu edition.

6. Order more *punis* for me

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

28.10.41[94]

Darling Betty,

I loved to receive your telegram on *Bhaiya Duj* which you never forget to send. And then came your letter.

Keep me informed about Raja's finger. I hope the scraping will be enough and nothing more will be needed.

About Anand Bhawan nothing is going to be done in a hurry though, for my part, I came to these conclusions long ago. I put them tentatively in writing so that the few people concerned might think about them and grow used to the idea. Do not think of it in terms of our losing Anand Bhawan—we shall not lose it. Our lives have become part of the larger life of the nation and we go up and down with it. If that is so, why not share the house also? But, as I have said, I do not propose to take any definite step yet.

My dear, how can I advise you or Raja about family affairs? The decision has to be made by the persons concerned and by no others because it depends entirely on one's own outlook on life as well as one's reaction to what is happening in India and the world. No rule of thumb can be applied. If I had been personally concerned in such a matter, I would have had no difficulty in dealing with it as my mind is quite clear about relative values in life and what my own duties and obligations are. But if the mind is not clear then difficulties arise and endless and inconclusive argument. Going to jail is a trivial matter in the world today which is being shaken to its foundations. As a mere routine it has no doubt some value and I think does one good. But that value is not very great unless there is an inner urge to do it. If an inner urge is present then little else matters, for that represents something vital.

Raja and you should try to be clear in your minds about the kind of future you are arriving at and try to realize that future, in so far as you

94. *Nehru's Letters to His Sister*, (London, 1963), pp. 81-85.

can. The large and joint families of the past no doubt served a useful purpose and fitted in with the social structure we had evolved through long ages. But that structure is cracking up now and it cannot survive in its old form. It is pulled in two different directions at the same time—the individual asserting his right to his own way of living, and the larger social group, the community or nation, demanding a unified pattern and equal opportunities for all. Between these two pulls, the middle pull of the joint family becomes less and less; it comes in the way of the individual life as well as the larger natural life. It does not fit in with the thought and elemental forces that move the world today. So it must fade away, as it is indeed doing. But we are such a huge country and with such deep roots in the past, that major changes take time. Yet in these days time itself moves quickly.

I do believe that the family as a unit is important, especially the smaller family, and fulfils a psychological need. It will survive. But the economic bonds that tie up large numbers of persons in a joint family tend to become real bonds, helping the individual often but also suppressing him and preventing growth. Where a common outlook on life is lacking they become a nuisance to all concerned and a constant source of irritation. There is a feeling, and you have mentioned it, that the burden falls on some and not on others, that some are not pulling their weight, that some sow while others reap, and so on. One cannot argue against this for it all depends on our sense of values. Is money-making our test or some other also?

Then again consider even money-making today. Only a fool or an infinitely wise man will dare to prophesy for the future in a changing world. But even a man of average intellect can say that everything is going to change during the next few years all over the world, including India. It is indeed changing before our eyes, and it is quite likely that the millionaire may become a thing of the past. The whole conception of money may change and all our friends who are piling up gold or silver, or mostly paper in the form of securities or currency notes, may suddenly find the bottom knocked out of their treasure chest, and the chest empty. Whoever wins in this war, that may well happen. We shall see before we are much older.

In times of storm and stress the only capital that counts is intelligence, individual capacity to face a crisis calmly and to overcome it. The Bank of France and the French millionaires did not save France—indeed they helped in her downfall—and now they have to part with their millions also. If we in India as individuals and as a nation have the necessary intelligence, moral fibre and staying power, it will go well with us; otherwise not.

Do not forget that India and China, in spite of their present difficulties, have shown tremendous staying power for ages past. They have done so, I believe, because of their sense of moral values.

I have written quite an essay and I could write on almost indefinitely. But I must have pity on you and desist. The point is that a time comes in the life of every individual when there should be some certitude of his way of life—objectives etc. He may change repeatedly with changing circumstances even afterwards but all the essential adaptations and the background remain much the same, or it changes subtly producing more certainty. Without this there is continuous shifting and consequent distress of mind.

I do not know what life holds for me but I am not afraid of it and I do not think anything is likely to happen to India or the wide world which will bowl me over. At least so I think in my conceit. I am slowly developing a measure of serenity, of poise, of strength of purpose which is impersonal. It does not matter if I die, as die I must some time or other. Millions are dying daily in war or otherwise. The smaller and more personal problems gradually lessen their hold on me and I feel more detached. I want to be unburdened, if not entangled personally. I do not know that I shall succeed, or indeed that I want to do so. For I am attached enough to life and its diversity and richness. I am perfectly willing to face it as pleasantly as I can and to take such joy from it as is possible, subject to my own mental limitations. But I want to be equally willing and prepared for the full stop when that comes.

Meanwhile there is much to do and I want to do it with every ounce of energy. And if, as at present, I cannot indulge in activity I prepare myself for it, physically and mentally, and store up energy.

So there! Do not take me too seriously when I begin talking about myself. That comes with age. It is a sure sign—this mounting a pulpit and holding forth. I began by writing about you and drifted inevitably to the first person. I am sorry. I apologize.

But the point is that you people worry too much and often about unimportant matters. Do not do so. It makes one dull and that is bad. One should take life as it is—and it isn't much to shout about—and just refuse to allow petty or big troubles to put us out. It is remarkable how they vanish if one treats them in this way. Just think of the big things and the major upsets that are happening all over the world, and thinking of them you will gain a sense of perspective and your own little troubles will sink into insignificance.

Yesterday Psyche came to see us and it was good to see her. I acted up to your advice and spoke harshly to Psyche and insisted on her spending a week or so at Mussoorie. Somewhat reluctantly she agreed and

there she is now. Mussoorie, I am told, is just delightful now. Of course you would come at the wrong time.

This letter will reach you round about your birthday. A fitting gift—a long and very dull lecture! But you will survive it unhurt and so it does not matter.

All my love to you, my dear, and may you have many and many happy birthdays and the days in between bringing fulfilment and joy.

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

November 2, Sunday

Betty's birthday—sent her a telegram. I wrote to her a long letter also a few days ago. The Suptd. liked this letter so much that he asked me if he could keep a copy to show his friends!

Yesterday the Suptd. came to us with excitement writ large on his face. He told me confidentially(!) that the correspondent of *The Hindustan Times* had been to see him with a telegram from his paper which stated that I was going to be released. He came to inquire and make sure.

Today the Jailer came with the same message, only this time the A.P. man had come with a similar message from his headquarters. Excitement all round. Evidently the news has spread in the town and people came to inquire. In the evening a large crowd gathered at the jail gate.

I have refused to take the news seriously and I do not see how it can be true. Of course there is always an odd possibility. It creates a mental disturbance and the routine of the day is affected. The next few days will not be normal till the rumour dies a natural death. I am not at all anxious to be released; indeed I would rather not go. I want to finish my present writing work and that will take me at least two months, if not more. I am proceeding slowly and get stuck up, or to put it differently, the mood for writing escapes me. So far I have written about 260 manuscript foolscap pages and I have reached 1937-38—the period of the Congress ministries.

Then I should like to deal with father's letters. Another two months' job. And then a few months devoted to Hindi & Urdu chiefly.

But there is no end to the work I can do and want to do.

The real point is that I cannot do much outside just at this juncture. I might make a little difference. Bapu's long statement, containing a

review of the position, definitely a good one.[95] He is clearly in good form and in good spirits. Evidently he has given short shrift to Rajagopalachari and others.

Today an unusual occurrence in our jail. We organised sports. The idea came to me some time ago in connection with the satyagrahi prisoners. We extended it to include the other convicts as well as the jail staff, warders &c. Kheiri was the ideal man to take charge for he is keen on sports and has been connected with them since his boyhood. He entered into the business with energy and enthusiasm. Others also. We formed a committee.

As Sunday is the only off day for the prisoners, we have decided to have some events on every Sunday afternoon. We began today with long jumps, standing & running, and a three-legged race. Many entries and considerable interest. Two under-trials being tried for murder (and consequently in fetters) expressed a desire to participate— The Jailer was decent enough to have their fetters removed for a while and they carried off the second prize in the three-legged race.

Generally speaking the satyagrahis better at sports. But one of our best boys— Durga—was suddenly discharged two days ago. He had developed into our best badminton player and he would certainly have carried several of our sports prizes. Another boy has come—a Saharanpur satyagrahi—who promises to shape well in games. He is a *bhangi* by caste and I understand that there was some little trouble about him among the ordinary prisoners. It was good to see him run the three-legged race with another satyagrahi who put his arm around him. How the Congress movement is breaking down old prejudices! The boy is named Yatindra Kumar and has an intelligent and sensitive face.

Among the satyagrahis here from Saharanpur is a good runner with a fine style—Tara Chand. He has taken part in the U.P. Olympic games.

Our prizes, which consisted of toilet soaps for firsts and washing soaps for seconds and thirds, were shared by the satyagrahi and the ordinary prisoners. The soaps were much appreciated.

95. On 30 October 1941, Mahatma Gandhi had said: "I contemplate no change in the Congress programme as it is going and am full of hope for the future of the country.... To give up civil disobedience would be folly. It is a duty in the face of violence without parallel. In the present case it means assertion of the right to speak against participation in this war and all war.... Civil disobedience is restricted to select individuals. It does not matter if the number is reduced to ten or two."

"Parliamentary programme will have definite place when we have a parliament of our own. Let it not be forgotten that this is expected to be a fight to the finish."

The prize giving ceremony took place at the end and I distributed them. There were brief speeches by me, the Jailer and Kheiri. It was odd speaking in jail at such a function. What a difference all this must have made to the prisoners—ordinary as well as satyagrahi.

Ranjit acted as judge.

It was good to see Psyche and Pan last week. Jivraj gave me a good report of Indu whom he went to see. Nan looked very much pulled down and worried.

Nov. 3, Monday

The Supt. rolled up this morning and told me that he felt in his bones that my release was coming. He had received no intimation or orders. It was just intuition!

This afternoon Shanti came as usual at 4.30 and asked me when I was leaving. He added casually that orders had come from above. Had I not been informed of them? He mentioned that perhaps I might be transferred to Delhi... The news had spread in the jail and Lala Mithan Lal, with the Jailer's permission, had sent for Rs. 10/- worth of sweets!

All very odd. When Ranjit & I went inside the main jail there was excitement there. The badminton court had been transformed and various sweets &c were spread out. There we sat about 40 or 50 of us including Kheiri & some jail officials. After feeding I was asked to speak and I held forth. Very odd—

Yet not a word to me. There seems little doubt that some intimation has come and is being treated as confidential. What it is, is not clear—Probably about a transfer.

The Jailer, who is usually very communicative, does not say a word. Ordinarily he would bubble over with the news. Very odd!

Nov. 4, 1941[96]

TO PADMAJA NAIDU

Bebee dear, So you have given a special significance to this day and added to the various anniversaries we should remember. For my part

96. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L.

the anniversary came on the night of the 31st October when I was arrested; all that happened subsequently was of little importance. The real change was on the 31st. Trials and sentences have a certain importance, I suppose, in the scheme of things, but not very much. Certainly not in relation to me. But not only you but others also have caught hold of the fourth of November—Why fourth? Except that the 365 days end there. The fifth is the real anniversary and has the added advantage of being Guy Fawkes' Day.

This anniversary business can be overdone and it is overdone in India. It is a sobering thought that when I am dead some people will insist on meeting once a year in Purushottam Das Park and proclaim to a small and indifferent audience the many virtues that I was deemed to possess. And then, duty having been performed, they will go home and relax.

Anyway anniversaries are pleasant when they bring delightful letters and a book meant to remind me that I am in prison, lest I forget. But the book is attractive and I think I shall read it soon. That in itself shows my appreciation of it. You will be surprised to learn that I have hardly read a book for over two months. *The Four Faces of Shiva* looks down upon me reproachfully. It is a light book, a day or two's reading. But it remains unread so far—The only book I have gone back to again and again, to read in small doses, is Plato's *Republic*. Is that a sign of grown-upness or just age or a kind of second childhood? Anyway there it is and you can draw any inference from it you like.

Only three years more—that is so but not quite so. For you must remember that well-behaved prisoners get what is called remission—four or five days a month with a bonus thrown in from time to time. So in effect I suppose I have completed fourteen months or so. But these dates and periods do not interest me. It is not the sentence or the jail manual that govern my period in prison, and I fear that the period may end far too soon for my liking. I am just beginning to get settled down to a quiet bit of work. It would be irritating to have to leave it unfinished. I require a full six months to round off various jobs—another six months for some other things in mind. That is the minimum—It is easy enough to extend it to last four years or so. Have you not realised that I am a confirmed jail-bird? I just fit in and my mind adjusts itself. Soon I get, as you might say, my second breath and then there is little chance of my panting and puffing. It surprises me how soon some people manage to get out of breath and almost out of mind, talking the most drivelling nonsense and imagining that the world is like their own pale and shivering image. The bull-dog breed.

There is a chance of our well disciplined lives here being interfered with—Possibly a transfer, possibly something else. I do not know, and really do not very much care. Have I not done my duty and spun 152000 yards of good stout yarn? Enough to tie up and render harmless all the pale and shivering images. Not that the poor dears require any ungentle treatment.

To business—yes, the Canarese Edition of *Glimpses* can pay a royalty of 7% or even an anna in the rupee, which I think comes to 6¼% or you can make sure by an elaborate calculation. Fix what you like. They can bring out the book in one, two, four or as many parts as they like. They ought to know their public. I suppose they are using Horrabin's maps—they should. They ought to pay Horrabin something. This can be done later. No hurry.

I have asked Nandan in Delhi to send you a copy of *The Unity of India*. He has just managed, after some difficulty, to get two copies which I wanted him to send to the Chinese Consul for Madame Sun and Madame Chiang.

Why were you surprised at Chattari's idea of furnishing his room? Surely you have had some experience of the taluqdars of Oudh. Even Butler Palace makes one's flesh creep. If there was no other reason for putting an end to the whole tribe of taluqdars and zamindars, this would be ample justification. Or perhaps it might do them good to be made to live in a simple and aesthetic environment and to have to read Plato daily. Would they survive?

Why can't you sleep? It is monstrous not being able to sleep. Or I suppose it is for I have never felt that way. It is as much as I can do not to sleep in the day time. I sleep enough and sometimes more than enough but I seem to have more dreams now than I used to.

I may not be able to write to you for some time and meanwhile your birthday will be coming round. How old will you be? Have you entered the twenties yet? All my love and good wishes.

Yours,
Jawahar

Nov. 7, 1941[97]

Darling,
I am sending you a *thulma* (in a Khadi cover) and a blanket. These

97. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

should keep you warm. You need not return the other *thulma*, the grey one, which I sent for Psyche. I shall not require it for at least another month. Of course if it is of no use to you, then you can bring it back and it will be kept here.

I do not know why you have developed so many scruples about staying with people. Do not worry about this at all. There is no difficulty about arranging for your stay in Dehra Dun, even apart from the Tankhas'. I know that the Tankhas are going to the wedding on the 25th. You will not come in their way at all. I could easily fix you up elsewhere right from the beginning but the Tankhas would not like this. So I suggest that you go to the Tankhas to begin with and spend two or three days with them or as long as you like. You can then go to Ugra Sen's and stay there as long as you are in Dehra. I do not know if you remember Ugra Sen. You have been there before with me and Dadu. He is a very old friend of ours and he will be very happy to have you in his house. There is one drawback which you will have to put up with there—he is frightfully deaf! Anyway we can talk about this matter when you come here next.

I have had another talk with Prakash about your teeth. He says that he would like to X-ray the teeth before giving his final opinion. This is eminently sensible. So as soon as you come here you should pay him a visit and have this X-ray taken. Afterwards discuss the pros & cons and decide finally. If he is decidedly of opinion that the teeth should be out soon, then act accordingly. If, however, he thinks that there is no urgency about the matter and it can easily be delayed for six months or a year, then it might be worth while to postpone it.

In order not to waste time in Dehra, you might fix up your first appointment with Prakash before you come down to Dehra. Unfortunately his telephone in the new house has not been fixed up yet. You will have to write to him and tell him of the day of your arrival here and ask for some time then, or at the latest on the next day. He is fairly busy. His address is Dr. R. Prakash, Rushmi, 13 Lytton Road, Dehra.

I had a letter today from Louise Morin. It was dated 1st August 1941 from Dieulefit.

My cold is much better. It will probably disappear completely in another day or two.

Glimpses does not give the *samvat* date of your birth. It gives the corresponding Gregorian date for that year. Of course this can be worked out but it is a troublesome affair. You had better write to *puphi* for it.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

Nov. 7, 1941[98]

TO PADMAJA NAIDU

Bebee dear, I have your note about Manzoor Jung. Certainly he can go ahead with an Urdu translation of *The Unity of India*. It is a good idea to take the book as it is. It has been compiled very intelligently. As for the Appendices I leave it to Manzoor Jung to have them or not. Personally I think that Appendix B should certainly be given and Appendix A is desirable also. Appendix C is not necessary.

He need not bother about the permission I gave long ago to the Holi Publishing House. These people have done nothing so far and I doubt if they will do anything. I am writing to them today.

Nandu (Anand Narain Mulla) brought out some months ago Volume I of his collection of some of my essays.[99] I think he intends bringing out a second volume some time or other. This latter may contain some matter given in *The Unity of India*, for instance, the essay *Escape*.[100] But Nandu is very slow and anyhow it does not matter very much if there is slight overlapping, though this should be avoided as far as possible. I am writing to Nandu to tell him of Manzoor Jung's arrangement. I am also asking him to send you two copies of مضامین نہرو . Give one to Manzoor Jung.

So Manzoor Jung can go ahead with the translations & publication of the Urdu translation of *The Unity of India* as fast as he likes. As for the second part of the Epilogue I agree with Manzoor Jung that it should be given.

I should like to know who the publishers are going to be and when, approximately, the book is expected to come out.

I must protest against your various insinuations about the photograph given in the book. I do not remember seeing this picture before it appeared in the book, though I have a faint recollection that it was taken by a Rus photographer in Geneva in August 1938. I did not choose it for the book. But why this exhibition of rage and abhorrence? The picture is not bad; perhaps it does not make me look as spiritual and dreamy as you imagine I ought to be. It is a clean-cut, rather practical

98. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L.
99. *Mazameen-e-Nehru*.
100. See *Selected Works*, Vol. 8, pp. 873-876.

looking face with some strength in it. It is more of a Western politician's or businessman's face than of a nonviolent satyagrahi. It represents that aspect of my character, I suppose. Certainly there is nothing of the lounge lizard in it. All I can say is that your experience of lounge lizards must be limited—Ranjit disagrees with you also. Maurice Collis,[101] writing in *Time & Tide*, said I looked in this photograph like a distinguished Turkish diplomat—why Turkish I do not know. Of course there is no obvious reason why a Turkish diplomat should not be a lounge lizard. However, have it your own way if you want to.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

Nov. 9, 1941[102]

TO ELEANORF RATHBONE

Dear Miss Rathbone,

Your letter of August 28th reached me a few days ago. I have not yet received the copy of *Hansard* and your book on India which you have been good enough to send me.[103] Some time ago I read a book by you on India. I do not know if this same book has been sent by you or another.

You mention in your letter that you have come to the conclusion that there seems to be an unbridgeable gulf between us, and that my 'hostility' is likely to be unchangeable because its roots are in the unchangeable past. I think you are right and it is some gain, at any rate, that this fact is realised. We start from different premises and aim at different objectives, though there may be much in common in belief in freedom, democracy and social progress. It is exceedingly difficult, under

101. (1899-1973); art critic of *The Observer* & the *Time & Tide*; author of *Siamese White, Trials in Burma* and other works.
102. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
103. *Child Marriage: The Indian Minotaur* (published in 1934).

these circumstances, for us to convince or convert each other and it is hardly proper for me to take up your time by writing a long and argumentative letter. But there are a few matters you have mentioned to which I should also like to refer.

My 'hostility' to the system that has existed in India under British rule is complete, and yet I have tried, not without success, to distinguish between that system and the British people. I think that this system, like all such systems, has been, and is, an evil. Out of evil sometimes some good may come, but it remains nevertheless evil and its net result is injurious. I have largely succeeded in separating in my mind the system from individuals or the British people generally, because I have many dear and intimate friends in England, because also of my knowledge of English literature and my appreciation of many aspects of the English way of life. I have been fortunate and somewhat unusual in gaining these friendships and knowledge. Very very few of my countrymen have had that advantage and you can well imagine that the factors that tone down my hostility do not affect the vast majority of people here. I have often had to plead with them not to let their hostility apply to persons or the English people. That widespread and deep-rooted hostility is the background in India. Is it surprising? Try to place yourself, though it must be difficult to do so, in the position of an Indian. Or try to imagine a foreign government established in England. Your whole mind and soul would rebel against this.

Do not imagine that the Congress organization has a monopoly of this hostility. You may be surprised to find that among the leading personalities of the Congress there is far less of ill will than among others. We may not have come up to the mark but all of us have been influenced, in a greater or lesser degree, by Mr. Gandhi's continuing emphasis on an absence of ill will. You will find this hostility against British rule everywhere, in Hindu or Muslim or Sikh in India. The members of the Muslim League are as full of it as anyone else. The humble peasant and his landlord share it, the mill-worker and his capitalist employer both feel it. Even the Indian princes are full of it, though they may not express it. If you will glance through any detailed history of India under British rule, you will read many government minutes, generation after generation, emphasizing this widespread hostility. In the present war crisis there are some individuals and groups who are apparently cooperating with the British effort in India. That cooperation may be right or wrong but it is certainly not based on an absence of hostility. It is usually based on a desire or a hope to gain some advantage for their group; or a fear that political or social changes might affect their vested interests. At the most, it may be said, that the general and widespread

hostility to British rule is occasionally overcome by a more powerful, though temporary, hostility to another group.

That is the extraordinary, though not unnatural, position in India after many generations of British rule, and that might well be considered the judgement of the Indian people on that rule. The unchangeable past pursues us, as it does every one, but it is not the past that ultimately influences our actions but the present, for that present seems to us to be a reflection and a continuation of the past. It is always difficult to get rid of the past but it can be done—by a break from it. Unless that definite break comes, we cannot shed it. It is we who want the break and it is the British Government that clings to the past, which is so hateful to us.

As we grow older, most of us, I suppose, believe in the inevitability of gradualness where human progress is concerned. We are an old race and we have six thousand years of culture and civilization, with all their ups and downs and joys and sorrows in our blood and our bones. We know all about patience and gradualness, for we have been in the habit of measuring human progress not just by material achievements, valuable as they are, but by more enduring values. To raise an individual, a community, a nation, in any real and fundamental sense, requires patience and ceaseless and often long-continued effort. A political change at the top may mean nothing at all unless it has a social and economic background in harmony with it.

But gradualness has its obvious dangers as history has repeatedly shown. You cannot be gradual in putting out a fire that is consuming your house; you cannot be gradual in meeting the menace of a flood. You cannot be gradual in modern war, or else you will be overwhelmed. Gradualness has led to the bloody revolutions you mention for the changes would not come in time, and nature, in its wasteful way, had a human earthquake which shattered an old and effete system to bits. Individuals apart, and surely individuals however important they might be at a particular moment are but symbols of other forces, is it not true to say that the present ghastly and terrible war is a result of gradualness, of inability to get out of the old ruts, the old ways of thought, and of evolving new ways to meet the new conditions of life? How much of the responsibility for this failure must be shouldered by the statesmen who were so enamoured of gradualness as to blind themselves to the inevitability of change?

During the last two or three generations there have been enormous changes all over the world. Many countries have changed beyond recognition. I need not give a list of these countries for you know them well. Only in India we have still the background of the eighteenth or

the early nineteenth century. During these hundred years and more, even England with her conservative traditions has undergone vital changes. Europe is entirely different. The United States of America have emerged as the wealthiest and industrially the most developed country in the world. We remain more or less where we were and even the minor changes that have come, have emphasized the retention of the various steel frames which have encased India during the entire period of British rule.

Again, gradualness in human progress may be unavoidable. But even that gradualness depends on a certain environment which helps progress. If that environment is absent and if, on the other hand, the surrounding factors are all brakes and impediments to progress, then gradualness does not begin functioning, except incidentally and because of the inherent tendency for change in human society. National freedom and the opportunities for self-growth and development that accompany it, are essential prerequisites for progress, gradual or otherwise. The conception of gradualness cannot apply to national freedom, except possibly in rare cases where very backward people are concerned, though even there I would hesitate to apply it. It is absurd to think of it in connection with India, and astonishing that any Britisher should advance this argument after a century and three quarters of British rule. Does time stop running when Britain rules over another country and must changes then be reckoned in geological terms? India is not a land colonised by the British people, gradually learning from the mother country how to step forward, and thus developing into a dominion. We do not look to England as a mother country. We are a mother country ourselves and the vigorous progeny of our mind have been scattered over Asia for two thousand years or more and yet look to India as a mother country.

You are right in saying that many Indians are "gradualist" in regard to social reform and that urgent reforms are necessary. Yet many are not gradualist even in regard to that. But nearly all feel that effective and far-reaching social reform is bound up with political freedom and more food to eat. Without political power to give effect to social reform, reformist energies are largely wasted. Political subjection inevitably leads to social stagnation and an alien ruling class looks to reactionary elements for support and therefore encourages them. Hence the vital energies of the nation are largely concentrated in the struggle for political freedom. Even so the question of raising the depressed classes and the ending of untouchability have been made essential planks in our national movement and I am sure that they are nearing solution. In regard to the status and rights of women, the Congress has wholly

identified itself with their demands for equality. Apart from this theoretical adherence, the national movement has brought about a widespread awakening among women and this is the real and permanent basis for all reform. Purdah is on its last legs, except to some extent among the Muslims, but even they have been affected.

One of the most important of the sub-committees of the National Planning Committee was the one on women's role in planned economy. This sub-committee consisted entirely of Indian women well known in the women's movement. They worked hard and started branches in many parts of India for investigation as well as propaganda. They produced ultimately a report embracing practically all the problems relating to women and made far-reaching recommendations. But their work, like the work of the parent body, came to a sudden stop owing to the policy adopted by the government.

You are surprised at my comparing British viceroys and governors in India with Hitler's *Gauleiters*. I am afraid I still see no difference in the extent of authoritarian powers each of these possesses. In theory, therefore, there is no difference whatever. In practice the difference will naturally vary with individuals as well as with the political exigencies of a particular situation. India, for all her weakness, has developed strength and cannot easily be treated in the *Gauleiter* way. Yet in essence the system functions in that way, especially during a crisis and racial arrogance is still very much in evidence in India. In a strongly-entrenched system the individual is just a cog in a machine. In private life a policeman or a jail official may be cultured or humane; yet that same man becomes an inhuman and unfeeling robot when functioning as a part of a machine whose chief aim is repression. That applies to the whole of officialdom, from the highest to the lowest, in a police state such as India is even today. Only a prisoner knows how a prison official behaves in the prison.

I have recently read a book dealing with English prisons. There was a sentence in it which struck me for it had a larger application: "Basically, the English jailer's reaction to any crisis is to abolish immediately and illegitimately all the prison reforms of the last fifty years—In crisis the jail goes swiftly back to normal, and the pretty phrases of the reformers are seen for what they are".

That is exactly what happens in India during a crisis, not in the jails only but in the whole system of administration. We revert to normal, and the normal here is the authoritarian and police rule of the Indian Civil Service. It is significant how easily the Indian administration reverted to the procedure and practices of the nineteenth century as soon as the constitution was suspended in a number of provinces two years

ago. It is immaterial whether the Congress was right or wrong in withdrawing its ministries. The assemblies remained, the members who had been elected by their respective constituencies were still there. A fresh election was possible. But the Civil Service had had enough of this democratic foolery, as it no doubt considered it, and wanted to go back to normal. The ease and rapidity of the reversion showed what, in the minds of the ruling groups, was the normal and the permanent background. Everything else was superficial which could be swept away when it became a nuisance. In view of this, was our criticism of the 1935 Act or other so-called reforms wanting in justification?

I realise that the mood of the British people has undergone a great change as a result of the war and the dangers and disasters that this has brought. But I have entirely failed to see any real change in their mood or reactions to India and her problems. So far as the Government of India is concerned, I am convinced that even the war has not changed their mentality in the slightest. Possibly they mean well. But it is distressing for intelligent men and women to have to deal with and to be subjected to a group of unintelligent and slow-thinking individuals whom nothing can wake to reality. I should have thought that the exigencies of modern warfare, if nothing else, required a swift transition from the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century.

The fundamental policy, according to you, pervading my letter seems to be its assumption that I speak for India and the Indian people as a whole. I made no such claim. I speak for myself only, though I imagine that a great many people agree with me. Probably you would not trouble to write to me if you did not think that I had a certain representative character. It is obvious that in every country there are all manner of differences of opinion on political, social and economic questions. Are you free from these differences in England? Would you say that a country where there are such differences should be subjected to alien rule? In the United States of America there is a strong and aggressive body of opinion disagreeing with President Roosevelt's policy and trying to prevent him, as far as they can, from leading his country to war. That is a very vital issue today and probably behind this difference of opinion lie deeper differences. I have no doubt that you deplore this isolationist attitude as you have every right to. But you do not say that President Roosevelt and his Government should cease to function because various groups do not agree with them.

I do not and cannot ignore the problems that face us in India. But I know also that many of these problems have been created and aggravated by British policy. That policy has created all manner of special and vested interests in India and now we are told that the British Government

cannot betray or desert their interests. What would you say if the Japanese Government pointed out that they were committed to the up-keep of Wang Ching-wei's[104] puppet regime in Nanking? What a tangle the British Government has got itself into by its amazing ineptitude in the past and its attempts to play off one group against the other and instead of trying to unravel this, it goes on adding knot after knot to it! We have suffered because of this but probably the ultimate injury to England has been more far-reaching. I do not wish to discuss British policy in India or elsewhere and whether it has been honourable or not. We are likely to differ completely on this question. I am not responsible for all the absurd and injurious commitments the British Government has made in the past in spite of opposition in India; yet I cannot help having to face some of the consequences of these commitments. The only test I can apply is this: what is right and proper for and advantageous to the vast majority of the Indian people, without being harmful or unjust to any group or body of opinion? When there is conflict of interests, those of the masses must prevail.

That is evidently not the test which the British Government applies. For my part, my honour is pledged to the Indian people and to the cause of Indian freedom, and if the British Government is pledged to something else, I regret it and come into conflict with it.

I do not see where the question of betrayal or desertion of anybody comes in, except the betrayal of democracy and freedom in India. Nor is there a question of a capitulation to any political party. The Congress has not claimed any power or privilege for itself or its supporters. We have stood for the independence and the complete freedom of India and the right of the Indian people to determine their destiny, without any interference from Britain or anyone else. Is that a party claim? Indians may differ among themselves on any number of matters, but if there are any Indians who are opposed to independence and freedom, and want foreign bayonets to protect these particular privileges, do they differ in any way from those who are now called quislings and used to be known by other hard names?

It is easily conceivable that the British Empire may fade away and cease to exist, and that the British Government may not continue as a coercive apparatus in India. What happens then to us? I do not know. But the obvious thing to do is for the people of India to choose their representatives who should meet and try to come to an amicable and

104. (1884-1944); follower of Sun Yat-sen and political rival of Chiang Kai-shek; unsuccessfully attempted to assassinate the Prince Regent before the Revolution of 1911; exiled in 1926; abandoned the Kuomintang Government and became head of the Japanese puppet regime in Nanking in 1940.

enduring agreement, whatever that may be, and should also help in establishing a juster and more satisfactory international order. They may fail to do so, or they might succeed only after much travail and suffering.

You mention the example of Ireland.[105] Surely this is a dangerous parallel from another point of view. India is a much tougher proposition than Ireland was.

Sincerely yours,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Nov. 10, Monday

A full week of jail not only for Ranjit & me but to some extent for all the prisoners. The sports we have introduced, and in which the Jailer is greatly interested, have cheered up all the prisoners. Something new and amusing in which they could take part. Most of the ordinary prisoners were reluctant to take part; they preferred watching. About a dozen of them participated and three or four were good. Some jail officials also joined. The satyagrahi prisoners of course were keen about them. On Saturday and Sunday there were various items in these sports. Even on the other days people were practising jumping &c at odd moments. I got one first prize—fast walking (about 100 yards) for people over 45. I took part in the standing, high & long jumps also but was not placed—I jumped a little over 6 feet (standing)—and 3 ft 8 inches high. I joined also in the sack race and in the one legged race and in the blind men in the ring! The sack race was very tiring and last evening I was physically more tired than I have been since I came to prison.

Today there was a preliminary spinning show. There will be a regular competition soon.

Next Sunday—children's sports—the children of course all coming from the families of the jail officials and warders. There are over twenty of them of various ages and sizes.

The rumour of our release is still strong, but it is evident that no official information has been received so far by the jail authorities—not even

105. She wrote: "May I remind you that our experience over Ireland and the Treaty Ports has not exactly encouraged that kind of act of faith. Nor, if I may say so, does the whole tone of your letter, your book, and the utterances of others of your party. These rather breathe a hostility which is likely to be unchangeable because its roots are in the unchangeable past."

for our transfer, as we had imagined. Some statistics are, however, being prepared about satyagrahis. Probably something definite will emerge in two or three days' time when the Assembly at Delhi discusses Joshi's resolution for release of prisoners.[106] Meanwhile this uncertainty has a certain unsettling effect on our daily routine. I have not done any writing work for a week or more.

Indu came last Thursday. On Friday Choithram & Mohanlal Saxena turned up rather unexpectedly. A long talk in which I grew a little excited. Anyway Choithram, after his dose of defeatism given him by C.R. and the Assembly Congress Party meetings, cheered up. What astounding weaklings these Assembly members are! I am afraid C.R. is going to be troublesome. But Bapu is as firm as a rock and nothing matters very much because of that.

Had a letter from Eleanor Rathbone a few days ago through the U.P. Govt. as usual. Sent her a longish reply today. It was this letter of hers, coming in a sealed cover from the Governor's office, that led the jail officials to conclude that my release was imminent!

Also a letter from Louise from Dieulefit dated August 1st. Took full 3 months in coming.

I have been visiting Prakash for my teeth. Another two, or possibly three, visits remain.

My birthday approaches—Indu will be coming then and, I am told, she is preparing a birthday cake and special foods for the occasion.

Nov. 11, Tuesday

Our cell whitewashed today which meant a lot of work, moving in and out. The Supt. who came late said that this was hardly worth while as we were likely to go soon. Apparently we are going though there is little more than rumour. But the rumour is persistent. Usually the prospect

106. On 18 November 1941, N.M. Joshi moved his resolution that steps should be taken in agreement with provincial governments for the immediate and unconditional release of prisoners and for the removal of restrictions imposed on some persons regarding their movements or actions, where "the detention or restriction was due to holding or expressing opinions which, in the opinion of the Government, were prejudicial to the conduct of the war, or on charges for actions connected with industrial disputes, whether the detention or restriction was with or without trial under the Defence of India Act or under the ordinary law."

of release brings excitement in its train. This time I am singularly free from excitement. Vaguely my mind draws up plans of what I should do. First thing probably go up to Indu in Mussoorie for a day or two and possibly return with her.

Today's papers contained the Govt. announcement that Subhas was either in Berlin or Rome and had entered into a pact with the German Govt. Curious and significant reactions on people. One of the head warders asked us if this was true and added that it was like Vibhishan leaving his brother Ravana to join Ramachandra! The British Govt., with all its अत्याचार[107] in India, was like Ravana, he said. Probably this represents a fairly widespread public reaction.

14.11.41[108]

Darling Betty,

Your letter, the books and the telegram have all come. There appears to be a deal of shouting and excitement about the release of political prisoners. I hope you are not affected by it. Anyway I am not. I carry on in my usual way somewhat disdainful of the shouters. If any change occurs in this routine I shall speedily adjust myself to it.

Bul has sent me another dozen of her lovely handkerchiefs. They are so dainty that I hardly dare use them and last year's supply has hardly been touched. I do not know where Bul is. I have a vague idea that she has gone off to the wilds again. If you can reach her, tell her that the handkerchiefs reached me and I stroked them with loving admiration.

A suggestion has been made which I pass on to you and Raja. It is about his finger. Perhaps grafting a bit of skin might do it good. Ask your doctors.

Love,

Your loving brother,
Jawahar

107. *Atyachar*—atrocities.
108. *Nehru's Letters to His Sister*, (London, 1963), p. 86.

Nov. 16, 1941[109]

TO PADMAJA NAIDU

Bebee dear,
Your letter reached me at the right time—so also various telegrams from Zaheer Manzil and the books. I observe that you are growing more respectful to time, at any rate so far as other people are concerned, and even refer to the alarming speed at which time hurries us into senility. The speed, I presume, is the same throughout, only we become conscious of it more, or some of us do while others go about looking like children fresh from school. I have almost decided to adapt myself to the Chinese attitude to age. I suppose that this is sheer self-defence, though I tell myself that China attracts me and all that. Well, anyway, for two days now I have carried about with me the burden of fifty two years and am gradually getting used to it. I suppose in ten years' time, if I live that long, I shall sigh and wish to be back at 52! The other day I read in a book a man of 75 pining to be vigorous and sixty again.

I like the books you have sent. Do not trouble to send Pearl Buck's new book. I have read it and liked it. I have taken to reading again. I can't write or settle down to any useful occupation with all this silly and absurd feeling of insecurity. Surely one comes to jail for serenity and continuity.

Phelan's *Jail Journey* was good and gave us an insight into English jails. Recently I have also read Hemingway's *For Whom the Bell Tolls* and Remarque's *Flotsam*. The former was powerful stuff. Just at present I am reading a fascinating book by a French aviator: *Wind, Sand and Stars* by Antoine de Saint Exupery.

Indu is going to Allahabad soon—she will spend a few days in Dehra *en route*. She was with me on my birthday.

Love,

Yours,
Jawahar

109. Padmaja Naidu Papers, N.M.M.L.

16-11-1941[110]

TO RAJAN NEHRU

My dear Rajan,
Thank you for your message. Happier returns are always worth striving for and no one can possibly take away from us the dreams and anticipations which fill the unknown future with pictures of our mind's fashioning. Yet happiness or its soberer and steadier companions, equanimity and a measure of content, have to be sought for and found in the present, whatever it may be. Jam tomorrow is soothing but not filling. I have fortunately succeeded in finding jam or its equivalent, or shall we say marmalade with its bitter-sweet taste, in the present on most occasions. And that is something. Madame Chiang Kai-shek sent me a month or two ago a pot of very delicious marmalade which she had made herself. She said in a letter that this marmalade was symbolic of life with both its sweetness and bitterness—and without the bitterness would not life be a dull and sloppy affair? It was a pleasant phantasy and held a lot of truth in it, as she surely ought to know after all the terrible experiences the people of China have gone through.

It is very pleasant here now. The winter months here—except for the days when it rains and is chilly and damp and miserable—are delightful.

With love to you and Ratan,

Yours affectionately,
Jawaharlal Nehru

17.11.41[111]

Darling Indu,
Your letter reached me today.

I am sorry you feel that way about the birthday party I suggested. Unfortunately not realising this, I have committed a *faux pas*. After

110. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.
111. Indira Gandhi Papers, N.M.M.L.

our interview on the 14th, I wrote to *puphi* and asked her to fix it up. I also mentioned this in one or two other letters—to Tara &c. *Puphi* is now difficult to reach as she is due to leave Lucknow on the 18th for Udaipur in Rajputana. I do not even know if she got my letter. Probably it was forwarded to her to Lucknow. She is not due back in Allahabad till the 24th. You can speak or write to her yourself and tell her how you feel about it. I try to avoid these errors but unconsciously I fall into them as I think along certain lines which are evidently different from yours.

The uncertainty about me continues. Perhaps some light might be thrown on this odd subject in the course of a day or two. But I would suggest your fixing up your programme regardless of these vague and uncertain developments. Even if I am free I shall have to adjust myself to various activities and I shall spend most of my time in Allahabad and the U.P.

You might come to see me just a day or two before you intend leaving Dehra Dun. It would be better to come then rather than during the earlier part of your stay here, for then I might be in a better position to judge of events.

As you know, Ugra Sen will be happy to have you as his guest whenever you feel like going there.

I presume Hari is leaving for Allahabad soon. The boxes he has to take with him from us are ready. He can come and take them whenever he likes.

Love,

Your loving,
Papu

Nov. 18, Tuesday

The birthday has come and gone—some telegrams & letters and many flowers—Also a visit from Indu. Hari came from Allahabad bringing letters & gifts from Nan and the children. I saw Hari after more than a year—He was fat—much too fat. Yet he says that he has reduced himself somewhat since he came out of prison.

Indu has come down from Mussoorie today and is spending a few days in Dehra. Tomorrow, the 19th, is her birthday. I had suggested to her, when she came to see me last, that some celebration of this, in a small way, might take place on her return to Allahabad—a tea party &c. This would give her a chance to meet some people also whom she

had not seen since her return. She seemed to agree although she said that no fuss was necessary. I wrote the same day to Nan about it.

Yesterday I had a note from Indu to say that she did not want to go to any party and, more particularly, she did not want a party for her. If I was present it might be different. I was put out a little for the rest of the day. She hardly wants to stay in Anand Bhawan—Wants just to pick up clothes &c and go to Wardha and then to Bombay. Anywhere but Anand Bhawan!

Fory suddenly turned up today for a few minutes. She came for the day to Dehra from Delhi. Told us a curious story about the Govt. reactions to the proposal to release political prisoners.

I have tried not to be affected by rumours of release. They were vague and seemed to me doubtful. Yet they were confirmed from various sources and it became difficult for me to concentrate on any work. No writing, which was a pity for I have missed three weeks' work. What a lot I could have done during these three weeks. Partly this has been due to the jail sports also which have taken up a lot of time. Partly to several interviews. But mostly to the prospect of release which prevented concentration.

I knew well that even if there was going to be a release, it would take its own time—two or three weeks. But the jail people seemed to expect it any moment. The Jailer even drew out money from the bank to pay our railway fares—the money had to be sent back to the bank after two or three days!

The debate on Joshi's resolution on release of political prisoners must have taken place today in Delhi. Probably some indication will be given about the future. I imagine it will be vague. Still the chances are that release will come before the end of the month. A pity that my writing work is only half done!

Hari going back to Allahabad tonight. We have sent with him a number of books and clothes. Feel lighter in consequence. But still there are piles of books and other things.

I have written a large number of letters during the past week, many were answers to birthday messages. Shyama Prasad Mookerji[112] asked to deliver the Kamala Lectures in Calcutta. Have gratefully declined.

Also written to Tej Narain & Nandu about Chachi's[113] death.

Today, a year ago, I was brought to Dehra Jail from Gorakhpur.

112. (1901-1953): Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, 1934-38; member, Bengal Legislative Council and Assembly, 1929-37 and 1937-47; Minister of Industry and Supply, Government of India, 1947-50, founder-President of the Bharatiya Jana Sangh, 1951; member, Lok Sabha, 1952-53.

113. Kamala Mulla, mother of Tej Narain and Anand Narain Mulla.

November 19, Wednesday

Unexpectedly Indu came this afternoon for a few minutes. It was not an interview. She had come with some things for me and the Jailer allowed her to come in. She looked bright and cheerful on her birthday and it made me happy to see her.

Maxwell's speech on Joshi's resolution on the release of political prisoners.[114] What an anti-climax after the shouting of the last three weeks!

It is much colder today—some rain and a sprinkling of hail.

Nov. 21, 1941[115]

TO JOSIAH C. WEDGWOOD

My dear Wedgwood,

Your letter of the 1st August and the copy of *Hansard* reached me a few days ago. I read the report of the debate given in *Hansard* with interest, for it is always interesting to observe the working of people's minds. But the proceedings in the House of Commons seemed to me far away, not only distant in space but even more so in the vast spaces of the mind, unreal and unrelated to India or to me, although you were good enough to mention my name several times in the course of your speech. What am I to say about it? There is a world to say or to write and yet the window of understanding will remain closed abroad. Only the inescapable tragedy of events will probably open that window, not words or arguments. We agree about many things, but where India is concerned and British rule in India, we live in different worlds. What is basically right for you is fundamentally wrong for me.

In my last letter to you I did not, deliberately, refer to Indian problems. I did not wish to argue with you where our premises were

114. On 18 November 1941, the Home Member, Sir Reginald Maxwell, said the Government were not in a position, as an immediate result of the debate, to commit themselves or the provincial governments to any particular course of action, but careful and sympathetic consideration would be given to the matter without unnecessary delay.

115. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

entirely different and, for my part, I have little interest left in the proceedings of the British Parliament in relation to India or in what the British Government does or does not here. I am interested in the people of India. If there is any stuff in them, they will make good; otherwise not. We have pulled through five or six thousand years and faced many crises and distress, and possibly we may yet survive both Hitlerism and the British Empire. British rule in India is after all just an episode in our long history, a very unsavoury episode, I think. We do not grow hysterical easily and we try to be courteous and gentle in our approach even to our professed opponents. There are those five or six thousand years behind us and they have taught us much in the way of human behaviour. We appreciate friendship and goodwill wherever we find it. It is a hard and harsh world and the deserts of hatred and greed and violence are continually encroaching on the civilization that man has built through the ages. We have to be thankful for the oases of friendship that come our way.

And so because I consider you a brave and gallant man and a friend, I refrained from entering into an argument with you over matters on which we are not likely to agree for some time at least. But I do not want to be misunderstood and I fear that, judging from your speech in the Commons, there has been some misunderstanding. Of course I do not want to do anything to injure the British people, and, more specially, I do not want to do anything to bring down those ideals of freedom for which the British people have sometimes stood in their own history. But they have also stood for, and stand today, in spite of all that has happened, for imperialist domination and exploitation and with that my relation can only be that of an unrelenting opponent. In saying so I am naturally thinking of India, but I have long outgrown the narrowness of nationalism and the problem of India for me is only a part of the world problem. I do not think it is possible, and I certainly do not think it is desirable, to have in the future a host of so-called independent national states warring against each other by arms or in the economic sphere, or in a state of armed truce. I am convinced that the freedom and salvation of India is good for the world and even for England in the larger sense. The alternative is not a continuation, in varying shapes or degrees, of present conditions in India, as most of the sapient experts on India in the House of Commons seem to imagine, but a catastrophe in which India may go down, and in going down might pull England also into the abyss.

I admire Winston Churchill for his ability and courage and determination and I admire the British people for the spirit they have shown in the defence of their own freedom. But that admiration does not lead

me to accept the British Prime Minister's dictation in regard to India. You have referred to the morale of the Russians. Since you wrote they have given us astonishing examples of reckless bravery and sacrifice. You admire that, I am sure, as I do, yet that has not converted you to communism. And so, in so far as British rule in India is concerned, my admiration for what the British people may be doing in their own country does not make any difference to my reactions or make me an admirer of the British Empire. I have been a rebel against that rule and am likely to continue as such till either that rule goes, or I go. It is intolerable for me that I should have to carry out the decisions or orders of governors or viceroys or secretaries of state. What are these governors today, even according to British Constitutional theory and usage? They are usurpers displacing the elected provincial legislatures and governing autocratically with the help of armed forces. It is absurd to say that the Congress governments struck work and gave up the job. They refused to carry on unless they could do so in their own way and in accordance with the wishes of their electorate. No self-respecting government could have done otherwise. Yet you say in your speech that each province in India is as self-governing as each United State in America —an astonishing statement. Did you forget all the special powers of the governor and the Viceroy? and the mortgaging of a great part of the revenues of this province? and the privileged position of the services (with all their authoritarian traditions) which could not be touched in any way, however incompetent and unsuitable and expensive they might be? and the totally irresponsible central government behind it all?

You seem to think that all or most of us acted in a huff and are repenting of our folly, and that if we are told to behave like good children we shall mend our ways. Is that not rather naive? If you think that we do not count for much and our attempts are doomed to failure, why worry about us? I should like to tell you that I have never been so sure of any decision in my life as of this one and nothing has happened to induce me to change my views. Indeed I have been more confirmed in them by subsequent events, more especially the arrogant attitude of the British governing apparatus in India. There is some talk of my release from prison. I am not interested in it. But I think it only fair to Mr. Amery and to myself that he should know what my views are. Mr. Gandhi has, fortunately, made the Congress position clear.

You do not seem to like Mr. Gandhi though you have a partiality for me. It is good of you to speak generously of me; perhaps what I have written will lead you to revise your opinion about my statesmanship. As a matter of fact I am in entire agreement with Mr. Gandhi in regard to the political policy which the Congress has adopted at his instance.

I am no pacifist as he is and I am not in entire agreement with his economic outlook. And yet this very war has shown that we shall have to think differently in many matters it we are to set aright this world. Anyway I am at present concerned with his policy in the political field and with that I wholly concur.

You suggest that I might go to England and shake hands and all that. I am always prepared to shake hands but that does not take one far. I have no desire whatever to go to England for I expect nothing from the ruling groups there. Probably only the hard blows that we are all receiving and the harder blows to come will forge our respective countries into something more worth while than in the past.

In August 1940 I wrote an article called *The Parting of the Ways* which subsequently appeared in a book—*The Unity of India* published in London. I said in this that my hope that the silken bonds of the spirit should continue between India and England has been shattered. That was no empty phrase for me. I felt it deeply and I was very sad about it. For I had thought that the very urgency of the peril would shake us out of our old ruts. The hour had struck and urgent and vital questions were hurled at us from all the points of the earth. We put some of these questions to the ruling authorities in England. There was no answer, only a repetition of the old shibboleths. The petrification of mind and system had gone too far there for any understanding even of these problems and questions. How terribly England had deteriorated because of her imperialistic dominion over India!

I am afraid I have no high opinion of the statesmen of England. I do not look to them for any vision or brave step towards a new world. Perhaps events will teach them as well as all of us.

Forgive me for the length of this letter. I do not want to write all this but I must try to remove wrong impressions. We must at least try to understand each other's viewpoint even though we are unable to agree.

Yours ever,
Jawaharlal Nehru

November 22, Saturday

Indu came today for her last interview before she leaves Dehra for Allahabad—She will probably go tomorrow night. I had a long talk with her about all manner of things—India, our heritage, national and cultural; family traditions, what our family stood for involving privileges and obligations; politics, communism, socialism, the student movement &c— I

read out to her also some chapters from my new book. This was the first time we had a really frank & more or less full talk on such subjects in which she joined— I felt happy and contented.

Two days ago I was needlessly aggressive to Dr. Srivastava the Superintendent. I suppose my nerves were on edge because of the constant talk of the release of prisoners and finally Maxwell's speech on it. Dr. Srivastava has been frequently referring to the impending release and this upset me slightly. I did not mean of course to be offensive to him personally in any way. Yet I was a little sorry afterwards for my tone and manner of speech. He has been very decent and undoubtedly meant well.

This release business has become very complicated, apparently. Even the London *Times* (under the new editorship)[116] has joined the outcry for release,[117] and of course some other newspapers in England. This obviously means that there is something behind it. It is said that the Indian members of the Viceroy's Executive Council (or the new members) have threatened to resign if there is no release. Evidently I am the crux of the problem. It is also said that the U.P. Govt. has refused to countenance my release and stated that they cannot assume any responsibility for it or for its consequences. Hallett, *on dit*, has on his part also threatened to resign if my release is forced upon him from above. Probably this is an exaggeration but there can be no doubt that the U.P. Govt. is the stumbling block. A pretty kettle of fish!

I have not helped in the solution of this problem by writing a letter two days ago to Col. J. Wedgwood. I wrote in answer to a curious letter of Wedgwood's. Also the report of the speeches on India in *Hansard*. I felt irritated at these speeches—superior, patronising stuff. So I wrote to Wedgwood in order to remove misapprehensions and to make it clear that I held to my opinions and agreed wholly (on the political issues) with Gandhiji. Release from prison did not interest me and so on.

This letter, if it goes, will not reach Wedgwood for many weeks or months. But probably it will first be sent to the U.P. Govt. and Hallett will not change his opinion about our release after reading it!

116. In 1941, Robert Barrington Ward took over as editor of the London *Times* from Geoffrey Dawson.

117. On 10 November 1941, the editorial in the London *Times* said: "...recognition that the destiny of India is closely linked with that of the English-speaking democracies has never been stronger than at this moment when they are faced by the same imminent peril. The recent partial remission of sentences on a number of political prisoners gave ground for supposing that release might soon be made general, and that it might be extended to Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru..."

Anyway Ranjit is going within a fortnight—any time early in December—in the normal way. I think that, in spite of my efforts to the contrary, I might also be discharged. An unsavoury prospect with all that is happening outside, especially among this crowd of gallant and irrepressible speechifiers, the Congress M.L.A.s (Central) led by the redoubtable Bhulabhai. Anyhow, if it comes, it will have to be faced with composure. What a tower of strength Bapu is!

Govind Ballabh Pant coming to see me tomorrow morning—The day after Ladli Bhai & probably Yunus also coming for an interview with Ranjit (and inevitably me also).

And so to bed.

Nov. 24, Monday

Pantji came yesterday— He looked well, better than I have ever seen him. Rest in jail has obviously done him good. We had an hour's talk—rather inconclusive but indicating a somewhat different approach— As it seems to be taken for granted that I am likely to be released soon, we left many matters over for future discussion.

Today Ladli Bhai and Yunus came— The interview, we were told, was strictly limited to one hour. The interview was officially with Ranjit.

Ladli Bhai seems to have grown older and a little heavier. He made one or two rather naive suggestions about Indu.

Good to see Yunus. He was bright and cheerful as ever, though he has gone through a bout of cholera.

This business of release—Yes, no; no, yes— is getting on my nerves a little. It is nearly a month now since it started. I took no notice of it, but constant repetitions & references to it both in the newspapers & in interviews, gradually forced me to take it seriously. My first reactions were against it. I did not want to go out primarily because I wanted to finish some work I was doing—also because I saw no obvious outlet for my energy outside. But familiarity with the idea made me think of what I should do on release. My mind started functioning in a new direction and during the last two or three days many activities and new approaches in writing, &c have suggested themselves to me. While it is true that our continuing in jail has value and I am sure that it is strengthening our cause among the masses, and, at the same time, weakening the opposite party, still it is a fact that there is tremendous confusion. No one speaks with any clarity and almost every one, Bapu excluded, seems to suffer from arrested thinking. There is constant repetition of

slogan and jargon which have lost all meaning. Perhaps I might help if I was out for a while.

So I begin to want to be out.

Indu peeped in yesterday to say goodbye. She left for Lucknow-Allahabad last night.

November 26, Wednesday

Ranjit will be discharged on December 1st after completing his term—so the Superintendent told us this morning. Another five days.

Some days ago I had a letter from Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerji asking me to deliver the Kamala Lectures in Calcutta whenever this might suit me in the future. I declined politely. He has written again a very decent letter and, on Ranjit's persuasion, I have agreed! The subject I have suggested—Shyama Prasad made a similar suggestion—is *The Discovery of India*. But I have made it clear that I will not permit this or anything else to come in the way of political work and so it is possible that I may not be free to undertake it for a long time.

Shanti Prapanna Sharma discharged on appeal today. He is an attractive and sensible young man and I had grown quite fond of him. I shall miss him.

Kamaladevi writes that she & Mridula will be coming here for an interview early in December.

November 30, Sunday

Ranjit is being released tomorrow morning, December 1st, after completing his term. So I go back to solitary living, though not quite, as, in the evenings, I shall continue my visits to the jail proper for badminton. But the badminton players grow scarce and some of the best of them have been discharged.

This evening news came that the District Magistrate Hifazat Hussain was coming for his inspection. Immediately Ranjit's mind led him to think that this might have something to do with my release. Or else why should the D.M. come so late in the day? I had not thought of this but on Ranjit mentioning it, the idea did not seem wholly improbable— However nothing of the kind happened—Hifazat Hussain turned up with his wife, whom I saw for the first time. She is attractive and appears to have some charm of manner— But it is difficult to judge after a brief visit to jail. She brought some flowers for us—early sweet peas &c.

The D.M. released four more of our satyagrahis. The policy of pushing them out continues, either because they are supposed to be juveniles, or short sentences, or any other ostensible reason. Twenty-two satyagrahis remain here still, including two women from Saharanpur. Most of these are from Saharanpur.

Saleha and her little sister came to visit us this afternoon after a long interval. They looked much healthier and better. Saleha brought a message from her mother (who is, I understand, a Persian lady) : Tell Panditji that there is another prisoner—the Muslim woman! A pregnant message.

Yesterday I received a letter from Sir George Schuster from London. It was a friendly letter and yet what is one to do when people think differently and have entirely different premises? He reminded me of our meeting at Peterhof in Simla ten years ago and of his two young sons, fresh from school, who met me there. One of them is dead in the war, the other is in the danger zone somewhere. I felt very sad and our politics seemed rather poor stuff face to face with these human factors. Wars and conflicts—is there no way of getting out of this terrible morass which sucks in our best? My thoughts travelled to Edward Thompson and his son. What has happened to his son? The last I heard about him was that he was in Crete or Greece before the evacuation.

We think of this war as a huge, fascinating and exciting game of chess, often forgetting the infinite tragedy behind it all.

And Louise and Jean-Jacques—living a hard and dismal existence in what is still called France. It must be worse for those who have to live through this crushing of the spirit.

December 2, 1941[118]

TO GEORGE SCHUSTER

Dear Schuster,

Your letter of the 23rd September reached me three days ago.[119] I have

118. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

119. He had written : "I am fully conscious that to you it must constantly seem an impertinence for any of us who are aliens to write about what is your country ...still more to preach to you what you should do. I have often felt that I personally...on those occasions when we have come in contact...have irritated you in this respect, as for example on that last occasion when you spoke at Chatham House."

not yet received your book.[120] It was good of you to write to me in the friendly way you have done and, may I say, that I shall always appreciate letters from you even though I may not be able to agree with all you say. So do write to me when you feel that way. As for your book I shall certainly read it carefully and let you have my reactions. But I must say that sometimes I feel, when writing to friends in England about the Indian problem, that our approaches are so different that we do not really meet intellectually even though that meeting may lead to a difference of opinion. Much less do we meet emotionally or psychologically and that is far more important. And yet when we discuss some other subject, political, economic or cultural, where India is not in the centre of the picture, we meet easily enough. Why is that so? The fault may lie with individuals on either side but I think it is due to essentially deeper causes. It lies in the unnatural relation of England and India and I feel that till this goes even the best of us will be at cross purposes.

I think you are wrong in imagining that you have particularly irritated me on any occasion. I had completely forgotten the Chatham House episode till your letter reminded me of it. Not that my memory is not good but I had attached no importance to it. Probably I felt a momentary irritation and, having had my say, it passed. But I did feel something deeper than irritation (not about you) when I read the full report in *Hansard* of the Indian Debate in the House of Commons last August.[121] It brought home to me the wide gulf that separated us and, as I think, the utterly unreal and often perverted way in which India was looked upon by Britishers in Parliament. Perhaps fundamentally this is due to a mental revolt against sermons from others, sermons which are seldom disinterested, and at the compulsion we have to face every time. That is the natural reaction of every Indian, in varying degrees, to whatever group or party he may belong. But there is something more than that.

120. *India and Democracy* by George Schuster and Guy Wint, (London, 1941).

121. On 1 August 1941, Amery said: "Today the major issue is not whether India should govern herself but how she is to govern herself." The expansion of the Viceroy's Council and the formation of the National Defence Council, would be indications of Britain's desire to transfer to Indian hands a steadily increasing share of the control of India's destiny, thus marking "a change, not indeed in the form of the Constitution, but in its spirit." Sir George Schuster said that these measures had made the Government of India representative and had brought the Government into a position in which it could really demand the respect of the Indian people.

I remember well and with pleasure my visit to Peterhof ten years ago. I was happy to meet your wife and sons and I think it must have been the presence of the boys, bright and fresh from Oxford, that took me out of the political shell that usually surrounds me and made me feel at home. I am distressed to learn that one of them is no more. What an infinity of human misery has descended upon this world because of this war? It would indeed be a tragedy greater even than that of the war, if all of us cannot sweep away trivialities and reach down to the fundamentals and find a way to a better world.

I try to be sincere with myself and with the world, in so far as I can, and I try also to believe in the sincerity of those who differ from me. But all of us are tied up in so many ways and are creatures of our environment and have to function with the human material that surrounds us. Even so it should be possible for humanity to behave with some reason if only to escape self-destruction or complete degradation. Perhaps this terrible war is meant to teach us that lesson, but at what a cost!

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

2.12.41[122]

TO P. A. NARIELWALA

My dear Pan,
Thanks for your letter & *Life*. Ranjit left yesterday and so he missed seeing the note on Khali you sent me. I am forwarding it to him. I suppose he will be going to Bombay some time or other.

The children's books you sent me reached me safely. They were suitable. Thank you for them.

I am distressed to learn that Roshan is competing for the heavy weight championship. Something must be done about it. Why not try the *shirsasana*—standing on the head? I am keen on it and anyway it would do you good to wave your legs gracefully in the air instead of allowing them to sprawl all over the place. Come to think of it, it would be

122. J.N. Correspondence, N.M.M.L.

good if all the directors of Tata Steel also indulged in it from time to time and saw the world from a different perspective from their usual perch.

Love,

Yours,
Jawaharlal

December 2, Tuesday

So Ranjit has gone—He left yesterday morning at 9.15—I spent partly in finishing off his packing, bedding, plants &c, & partly in cleaning up the place and rearranging our cell or little room—This rearrangement just to give me the sensation of change.

Ranjit came in the evening at 5 to pick up his luggage and say good-bye. He was a little tired and excited—the change from a year in jail and then paying visits and seeing many people, discussing the present situation with local Congressmen, answering questions, &c.

Rather odd today without Ranjit—After several days' gap I spun again—In the afternoon I felt tired and slept rather heavily for an hour —rather unusual for me—I am beginning to think of going back to the writing job after just over a month's abstention from it.

I had a long and dismal letter from Sri Prakasa today—Poor fellow, seems to be feeling completely down and out and yet he is physically well. News of Narendra Deva bad—News of Shiva Prasad worse.

Tonight I have written many letters: to Schuster, Edward Thompson, Prakasa, Pan, Nandan, Kamaladevi, Mohanlal Saxena, &c.

Indu has not written to me since she left nine days ago. How very casual she is.

13

POSTSCRIPT TO THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY

29/8/41[1]

BACK IN PRISON

It was the evening of Deepavali, popularly known as Divali, the Festival of Light. All over India that day millions of houses and huts put on a gay appearance with row upon row of tiny glimmering lights, little earthen cups with oil in them and wicks of twisted cotton, their flames swaying in the breeze and looking like starlets from a distance. Even the poorest hut had its cup or two; the houses of middle-class folk had hundreds of them on the terraces and roofs and the verandahs; while the rich, as is their wont, vied with each other in giving a garish display. Some of these rich people hung Chinese lanterns in their houses and gardens; others in the cities used electric lights, and hundreds and thousands of white or coloured bulbs gave their mansions the appearance of cinema houses.

The streets of the cities were full of people wandering about to see the illuminations or visiting each other. There was an air of revelry abroad, bordering on license, and that night there would be much gambling. Commercial houses and shopkeepers started their new financial year that day with new account books, and every one was anxious to begin the year with at least one favourable transaction on that auspicious day.

I spent that day in Sevagram, Gandhiji's village ashram near Wardha. The day before I had been summoned by telephone and I had travelled all the way from Allahabad, a twenty-four-hour journey. My younger sister had just arrived from Bombay with her children on a visit to us and I was loth to leave her almost immediately after her arrival. And yet it was well that I journeyed to Wardha for that was the last chance I was going to have for a long long time to see Gandhiji.

We met and we talked that day of the present and the future, and in the evening we parted. As I was going away the gentle lady of the house, Gandhiji's wife, insisted on putting the *tilak*, the mark of good fortune, on my forehead, and said "God bless you." "Ba," I replied, "God is asleep."

... I try to view the great war that is going on impersonally as one would look at some elemental phenomenon, some catastrophe of nature,

1. Extracts from the postscript to the *Autobiography*, written between August and November 1941 in Dehra Dun Jail. We have omitted those parts which were later incorporated in *The Discovery of India* or in other documents included in the *Selected Works*. The postscript is available in the N.M.M.L.

a great earthquake or a flood. I do not wholly succeed of course. But there seems to be no other way if I am to protect myself from too much hurt and hatred and excitement. And in this mighty manifestation of savage and destructive nature, my own troubles and self sink into insignificance.

The new moon has come again reminding me of the passage of time, and I have been ten months in prison, and the war in Europe is two years old. When big things are taking shape in the womb of time, it does not matter much what I do or do not do. But still, perhaps, it is desirable for me, for my own sake, to take to the pen and write of the past, and thus give some content to the long and barren days of prison. I go back, therefore, from Dehra Dun Jail to the mountain jail of Almora, where, in the month of February 1935, I wrote the Epilogue to my *Autobiography*.

IN ALMORA JAIL

I had finished writing the story of my life and I tied up my manuscript and put it away till the time of my release from prison. There was no hurry, for another year of my sentence remained. For eight months, with long barren intervals in between, I had occupied myself with this work of writing and sought refuge from the dull monotony of prison life in a renewal of the past. That work was over now and, for the time being, I experienced a sense of relief. Relief at the ending of a task, relief also at the freedom from the bondage of the past. The present was distasteful, but the present would give place to the future, and the future was interesting for anything may lie hidden in its shroud of mystery.

I wanted rest from writing and for some weeks I refrained from it and often lay bare-bodied in the winter sun. Spring was coming and a new life was visible even in my little yard. I busied myself with my garden and watched with fascination the growth of this new life all around me. As the buds broke into flower I was as proud of them as any father could be of his offspring. Had I not laboured for many months over them? And indeed they were beautiful and my rare visitors were full of admiration for them. Sometimes I took these flowers to my wife when I paid my fortnightly visits to her at Bhowali. But, even so, it was with some regret that I broke them off.

These fortnightly visits were the red-letter days of my existence, to be awaited impatiently and then, on my return, to be thought of for many

days. Kamala was in the Bhowali sanatorium, cheerful and laughing as ever, giving us the impression that she had made progress. She was indeed better than when she had come, but how far was this a cure of her dreadful disease, how far just a temporary betterment? The doctors said that an operation on her lungs, if successful, would go a long way to a cure, and the best place for such an operation was Germany. I disliked the idea of her going away so far from me and yet I had no hesitation in agreeing. The risk had to be taken. She might have perhaps spent a few more months in Bhowali, but the monsoon season was approaching and we could not send her across the Arabian Sea during this stormy weather.

So on a May day in 1935 she left Bhowali and I was brought over from Almora Jail to bid her goodbye. I saw the car take her away to the plains below and I returned to greater loneliness, unrelieved by fortnightly visions of hope. How far she was going. Would I see her again? Surely death could not yet come near that face so full of life and gaiety. Death was an impertinence on one so young and with so much to do.

She went to Allahabad and then to Bombay and, because she had wished to see him for what was going to be the last time, Gandhiji travelled from Wardha to Bombay and had his last long talk with her. She asked him, among other things, not to forget the small Congress Hospital she had helped in starting in Allahabad. He did not forget, and now, because of him, a fine and efficient Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital in Allahabad brings succour and relief from suffering to innumerable women. She sailed with our daughter Indira and a doctor friend, Dr. M. Atal, who, in later years, did so much good work in Republican Spain and Free China.

I spent my days in Almora Jail, waiting for news. Again, to relieve the tension of this waiting, I thought of writing. Not in English this time; I had had enough of this. I must try in Hindustani and in the Hindi or Nagari script. I had seldom written anything in Hindi except letters and because of this I hesitated. The spoken language came naturally to me; it was, after all, my mother tongue which I spoke daily and in which I had addressed thousands of public meetings. But to write concisely, and to say no more and no less than I wanted to say, required a mental training in the language which I had not had. My vocabulary also was limited. I read a number of Hindi magazines to enlarge my vocabulary of modern words and phrases, made notes of many of these words, and sat down to write.

I had disliked the ornate and involved style of much of the Hindi and Urdu writing and the new political language used in newspapers and

books was a particularly odious journalese. Many of the modern political and scientific terms had been hastily and too literally translated by newspapermen who paid little attention to the real significance or the historical background of those terms, and these mistranslations had gained currency. Other words and phrases used for new concepts and ideas were difficult and complicated and not easy of grasp by the average man. To some extent this was unavoidable and inevitable, but still a great deal could have been done if the state had been interested in evolving a suitable modern vocabulary or if a recognised body of scholars had taken the matter in hand. But the state was controlled by foreign authority and these foreigners were supremely ignorant of and uninterested in the languages of the country, and our scholars spent most of their time in attacking and criticising each other. Another misfortune was the controversy between Hindi and Urdu, different aspects of our identical language, written in different scripts. As commonly spoken, there was not much difference between them, but they had evolved separate literary forms and modes of expression. Both had literature behind them, old Hindi literature being particularly rich with some magnificent poetry, and being a lineal descendant, in thought and language, of Sanskrit. Urdu was basically the same language, but it had derived inspiration also from Persian and, to some extent, Arabic. It was the mixed product of Moghal times, when Persian was the official language of the court, and this slight variation of the popular language grew up in the towns and royal camp. Urdu literature was also considerable and in recent years it had shown vigour and vitality.

The introduction of modern terms and their translation in different ways in Hindi and Urdu led to a widening of the gulf between them. Political causes led to fierce arguments between the protagonists of the two over matters which ought to have been left to scholars and specialists to decide and not to politicians. Behind all this was also the fact that the Hindi version was predominantly the mass language while the Urdu version was largely confined to the North and to the towns. The villagers spoke a vulgarised Hindi, yet, even the illiterate among them were well acquainted with some of the famous Hindi classics. These had been handed down by word of mouth from generation to generation, and it was not unusual to find simple village folk knowing hundreds and thousands of verses by heart. In their talk they were full of quotations and stories from these classics, which gave them a deep cultural background which many a modern university graduate lacked.

When we went to the villages for our political work, we were not troubled about the niceties of the language used. Our object was to understand the villager and make him understand us. Language performed for

us its primary function: it was a means of exchanging ideas and thought. So we adapted ourselves to our audiences, in so far as we could, and even tried to speak the vulgarised dialect of the particular area. Many of us town folk could not do so with any great success, but among our workers were partly educated villagers themselves and they performed to the entire satisfaction of the audience. But even we had to vary our language somewhat when we went to the villages and this variation was always in the direction of the Hindi form of it. I spoke the same language, Hindustani (or Hindi-Urdu), all over this enormous country of India from the Khyber Pass in the extreme north to central, eastern and western India. Only in the southern areas where the Dravidian languages prevailed—Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam—was my Hindustani of little use. But the Hindustani I used varied with the locality. In the North-West and in the Punjab I would stress the Urdu side of it, and so also in many of the cities of northern India. Elsewhere, and almost always in the villages, I tried my best to speak Hindi, or as near an approach to it as I could. Even in the non-Hindustani-speaking areas, such as Bengal, Maharashtra and Gujarat, Hindi would be largely understood, as Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati were very closely allied to Hindi and were descended from a common source, Sanskrit.

I had rather an odd background in regard to language. My spoken home language, as with most Kashmiris, was more Urdu than Hindi, and I could therefore speak simple Urdu with ease and even introduce in my conversation certain courtly phrases, in which Urdu abounds, thus giving an impression to the listener of knowing more than I did. I had never had occasion to study Urdu seriously and could only read the Urdu script laboriously. In Hindi I had a little more command over the script as I had studied some Sanskrit in my early boyhood. With Hindi literature I was largely unacquainted till I read it in later years.

The political work in our province was almost entirely carried on in Hindustani and officially we used both scripts, Hindi and Urdu, in our notices and circulars. But the large mass of our correspondence used always to be in the Hindi script for that was used by a far greater number of people. This carrying on of correspondence in Hindi and village contacts helped to educate me somewhat, though not much, in Hindi. From any literary point of view, however, I remained equally ignorant of both Hindi and Urdu.

When I took to writing in Almora Jail, I naturally used the Hindi or Nagari script with which I was better acquainted and yet what I wrote had an Urdu background to it. It was not what an average Urdu writer would write, nor was it at all the product of a trained Hindi writer. It was a peculiar *melange* which often irritated those used to the accepted

literary styles. I was ignorant of the use of both of these styles and, in so far as I had seen them, I was not particularly enamoured of either of them. So I went my own way.

To my surprise and pleasure I found that I could write in Hindustani without much difficulty. The words and ideas flowed, except when I was stumped for an appropriate word or phrase for a particular concept. I wrote a number of essays and improved with each successive writing. The partial success of these experiments gave me a certain confidence and I began to regret greatly how much I had lost by not having received a suitable training in my early days in Hindi and Urdu. If I had learned them then as I tried to learn English, and with my instinctive knowledge of my mother tongue, what good work I could have done. As it was, I had become, like so many others, a bilingual person, with a certain facility in the use both of Hindustani and English, but missing that command over a language which results in really worthwhile writing. For that command, except very rarely, can only come over the mother tongue. As it was, I could write better in English than in Hindustani, but not as well as I would have written if English had been my mother tongue. In speaking, much depended on the subject, the occasion and the audience. Sometimes I could express myself better in Hindustani, at other times in English. As a matter of fact in India I seldom spoke in English at public gatherings.

So I busied myself with writing in Hindustani in Almora Jail. But not for very long. Events took place which put an end to my writing and drew me out of the prison before my time was up.

Kamala had gone to Vienna and from there she had been advised to go to Berlin where a famous surgeon had specialised in that particular operation. So to Berlin she went and was operated upon. I rejoiced to learn by cable that the operation had been a success. I was informed that there was every hope that she would recover soon. Within a few weeks she ought to be moving about. She was sent to a sanatorium in Badenweiler in the Black Forest to recuperate and for some days after her arrival there all seemed to be well. Then slowly it appeared that all was not well. Her condition became worse and began to deteriorate rapidly. An urgent summons came for me and the government was considerate enough to release me to enable me to hurry to Badenweiler. I had spent already a little over a year and a half out of my two-year term. Another five and a half months remained.

EXCURSIONS TO LONDON AND PARIS

Badenweiler was a quiet backwater and I noticed few changes from the

old Germany I knew. Occasionally I would pass little boys and girls marching along in military formation and singing Nazi songs or shouting 'Heil Hitler.' Or the Fuehrer would speak on the Radio. The assistant director of the sanatorium had to leave suddenly because of his Jewish wife.

Freiburg was near by and we went there sometimes on business or to make purchases. There Nazism and the swastika were much more in evidence and a boycott of Jewish shops was in full swing, each such shop having a notice to this effect pasted outside. We decided to patronise, whenever possible, such shops and it was pathetic to see their owners overcome with joyful surprise at seeing us.

It has long been a continuing irritation to me to realise that the Nazis have almost monopolised for their purposes the ancient Indian symbol of the swastika. The word itself is Sanskrit and from my childhood upwards I was familiar with it. Every Hindu home knows it as a symbol of good fortune and it is to be seen at all our ceremonials. In western India and elsewhere the mark of the swastika is made at every meal. It is as old as Indo-Aryan civilization, and it is older still, for it has been found, I believe, in the remains of the Indus Valley civilization at Mohenjo Daro. With this honourable history of five or six thousand years behind it, it is a typical symbol of India. And now I must accept it as a mark and sign of Nazism and all that this conveys: I find this singularly irritating. And yet I suppose that it will remain with us, and Hindu homes will continue to use it long after Nazism has ceased to be.

There was no interference with me in any way from the authorities in Badenweiler. I was left to myself. My letters were of course censored and I had a sensation also that I was not exactly forgotten or ignored. I had two visits from some Indians in Berlin, whom I had not known previously and who seemed to be on good terms with the authorities there. It was evident that they had been sent to sound me and to invite me to visit Berlin in order to meet some prominent Nazis. My dislike of Nazism was known.

On one occasion I came into distant contact with the Gestapo. I had ordered a large number of books from a London bookshop and, quite forgetting the new order in Germany, had included in this list several books which had been banned. There were Ernst Toller's plays and books on Soviet Russia and Communism. When only half the books ordered reached me, I wrote to the customs people to inquire about the rest. I was told that these books were banned and the matter was therefore being dealt with by the Gestapo who had referred it to Berlin for instructions. I wrote again to say that I had not realised that these books were proscribed and requested them to return the books in question

to my booksellers in London. No answer came but after two or three weeks all these books were delivered to me.

As my stay in Badenweiler prolonged itself, invitations from Indians in England poured in upon me. They came from all over the country and especially from London, Oxford and Cambridge. Many English friends were also anxious that I should go there. I paid two visits to England, each of about a week's duration. On both occasions it so happened that I had chosen an odd time to go there. One of the visits was immediately after King George's death, the other on the eve of a general election.

I had not been to London for eight years and my previous visits had been entirely private ones. So was this one for I had no official status or business, but nevertheless there was a difference. This became obvious as I landed with my daughter at Dover. We were met by a representative of Scotland Yard who informed me that he had been deputed by the Home Office. Whether he was to guard us from some unknown danger or to keep a watch on us for other purposes, I did not know, but the latter seemed more likely. In India we have long had to suffer such companions who on behalf of the C.I.D. (Criminal Investigation Department) follow us everywhere and often do so very unintelligently. However, the man from Scotland Yard proved helpful. At a whisper from him the customs people passed our luggage without examining it. And then he told me that elaborate arrangements had been made for our reception at Victoria Station in London, and he had reserved a special first class compartment for us in the train, so situated as to stop at the right place. When I pointed out to him that we possessed second class railway tickets, he was nonplussed. He was evidently used to accompanying people who went about in special saloons or at least first class compartments, and, I fear, we fell in his estimation. Observing his embarrassment, I offered to pay the balance of the fare and thus to convert our second class tickets into first class ones. To that he would not agree. So we travelled in a special first class compartment with our second class tickets and I do not know who made good the difference.

A 'Nehru Reception Committee' had been formed in London and a large crowd, consisting mostly of Indians but with a number of English people also, was present at Victoria when we reached there. The warmth of the welcome and the pushing and jostling reminded me of India.

All this, and London itself, pulled me out rather suddenly from that contemplative state of mind which had grown upon me in prison and in Badenweiler. I could not adapt myself easily to the change and the first big reception that I attended had an element of unreality for me.

I spoke in that vein, and because this was unusual, I produced a more abiding impression.

Gradually I got used to the new environment. Yet it was an odd change, not merely because of the crowds and the bustle and activity of a proud and rich imperial city, but more so because of the friendly atmosphere that surrounded me. My countrymen naturally made much of me: others also were eager to show their friendliness. Many were curious to find out what manner of man I was; many were oppressed with the thought that I had been too harshly treated by their government and wanted to make up for this by their own individual good behaviour. It was a kind of vicarious atonement for others' sins. But the real attraction lay in the fact that I had achieved some notoriety in India, and many outside India had heard of me. It was likely that I would play a still more important part in the future in the public life of India.

All this was nevertheless odd. Here was I almost a ticket-of-leave man with an unexpired sentence of six months hovering over him. It was true that there were no restrictions on my movements or activities. I had made this perfectly clear before my release from Almora Jail, and it was agreed that I could go where I liked in Europe or do what I wanted to. But it was also clear that part of my sentence remained and I might have to go back to prison on my return to India, especially if I returned within those six months.

I met all kinds of people during my two brief visits to London and my days were crowded with interviews or other engagements. There were politicians of all varieties from die-hard Conservatives, Liberals, Labour people and Socialists to Communists; and youth organizations, writers, publishers, editors and newspapermen. Apart from a few personal friends, I took no initiative in meeting people. I was not eager or anxious to do so and I did not expect anything to come out of these various meetings. I had no illusions on that score and I knew that my work lay in India, and these pleasant and agreeable people I met were going to make no difference to that work. But it was nevertheless good to meet them and have intelligent talk. Subject to the limitation of time, I was prepared to meet anyone who desired to see me. But there was one exception.

I was not prepared to meet any member of the British Government. This objection was not a personal one, nor did it relate to any individual. It was an impersonal affair. I was not prepared to meet anyone officially responsible, as a member of Government, for the British policy in India at that time. That policy had not only been brutally oppressive, as it often had been; it had also been studiously offensive and insulting to our leader, Mahatma Gandhi. Whether the British Government was responsible for this or Lord Willingdon, the then Viceroy, was no concern

of mine. Both must shoulder the responsibility. If Lord Willingdon refused to see Gandhiji, I saw no reason why I should agree to see a Viceroy or a British Cabinet Minister.

British politicians, Cabinet Ministers, leaders of parties, and the less distinguished members of Parliament seldom had the chance of meeting an important leader of the Indian nationalist movement. Congress leaders rarely went to England as they were either in prison or busy with their work in India, and, in any event, they attached no importance to such visits. But some Indians of a more pliable and moderate disposition paid frequent visits to England and went from door to door and pillar to post, thus giving an impression to British politicians that they were much sought after. Even the average member of Parliament, not noted for intelligence or knowledge of Indian affairs, would frequently take it upon himself to admonish us and give us good advice. There was a remarkable instance of this recently when a woman member of the British Parliament, utterly ignorant of India's problems, addressed a lengthy and offensive message to many of us who were in prison. Rabindranath Tagore was so upset by this that he issued a spirited reply from his death-bed.

I had no desire to encourage the vanity or self-esteem of British politicians, and, I am afraid, I have not held them myself in great esteem during all these pre-war years when they seemed always to have a peculiar knack of doing the wrong thing.

While I was at Badenweiler, Lord Lothian sent me several friendly letters. In one of them he said that Lord Halifax (who, as Lord Irwin, had been Viceroy of India) was anxious to meet me and he regretted greatly not having done so during his stay in India. Lord Halifax, at that time, occupied high office in the Government. I forget what it was. In my reply to Lord Lothian I expressed my regret at my inability to meet Lord Halifax as he was a member of the Government and as such directly responsible for its Indian policy. I added that if any member of the Government wished to discuss Indian problems, he should travel to India and meet Mahatma Gandhi. I was not prepared to walk over Gandhi's body to meet anybody. It was probably thought that there were some differences of opinion between him and me. That was a domestic matter entirely between us two and no Englishman had any concern with it. Gandhi was our leader and I, in common with my countrymen, resented any slight to him.

I wrote strongly because I felt strongly. Subsequently I learnt informally that Lord Halifax appreciated my attitude because it was based on loyalty to my chief. However much he might have differed from me, the old school-tie tradition enjoined loyalty to a colleague.

One of the letters I wrote to Lord Lothian from Badenweiler was later published in my book *India and the World*, although Lord Lothian's name was not mentioned and a few personal references were left out. I met Lord Lothian in London and on many occasions later, both in India and England, and in spite of the great difference in our outlook, grew to like him. It surprised me that one so intelligent and liberal in outlook should, in those pre-war years, have been attracted to Nazism and fascism.

So I did not meet any member of the Government during those two visits of mine to London from Badenweiler. But when I revisited England two years later, conditions had changed and Congress governments were in office in many provinces in India. I had no objection then to meeting even Cabinet Ministers in England and, in fact, I met most of them, including Lord Halifax.

London was very friendly, and even England's ruling class, or such persons as I met, helped to produce this atmosphere and tried to make me feel that as an individual I was on the same level as they were, and above the common herd. It was a pleasant, suggestive, barely-hinted approach which was agreeable for the time being, and full of interest. How far it had carried them in the past with their own people and with others and helped to strengthen their position? But did they realise that it was not enough now and something more was necessary to solve the problems that faced them? Apparently not; they took themselves as they were and their privileged position in the world for granted. The awakening was going to be a painful one.

In London, rather reluctantly, I addressed a gathering of members of Parliament in one of the Committee rooms of the House of Commons. Then I went to Oxford and Cambridge and saw these ancient places of learning full of a ferment of new ideas of revolutionary significance. They had changed from the days of my undergraduate youth. I wondered what lay in store for these ardent young men and women and how long their idealism would last in this cruel world. Oxford and Cambridge seemed to be cut off from that world; they were cases of dreams and pleasant contemplative living, with a soft pervasive atmosphere that lulled the senses and attracted them.

I paid a brief visit to some friends in Birmingham also and then went back to Badenweiler.

My visit to Paris was a briefer one. I went there simply because I loved that beautiful city and wanted to see it again after many years. I had no business there of any kind except to renew acquaintance with some friends.

On arrival I had an unexpected experience. An emissary from the French Foreign Office visited me, as soon as I had reached my hotel and, very courteously, informed me that the French Government would not like me to criticize the British Government in public. The international situation was delicate and they had no wish to complicate it. They had no objection to my saying anything I liked at private gatherings. He added further that the Government knew that I had been released from prison because of my wife's illness and I was not supposed to do any political work.

I was irritated by all this. I had not come to Paris for political work at all but to be ordered about, however courteously, was annoying. I think I addressed one or two semi-private gatherings.

Those were the early days, I think, of the *Front Populaire*. I met a number of French writers and was especially impressed by Andre Gide and Andre Malraux.

10/9/41

LOOKING ROUND

Soon I plunged into public activities and within a few days of my return I went to Delhi to take part in the meetings of the Congress Working Committee. I was attending a formal meeting of this Committee after four and a half years although I had continued to be a member of it throughout this period. I met my colleagues after more than two years. There was Gandhiji, not a member of the Committee, but attending its meetings occasionally, and guiding it in all important matters. There was the old guard, brave fighters for India's freedom and wise and experienced counsellers, who had been so long associated with the Working Committee that it was hardly possible to think of it without any of them—Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the retiring president Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and C. Rajagopalachari. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, also an old member and a dear friend, was there, and Jamnalal Bajaj, who had been a member for a longer period than any of us, in his capacity as honorary treasurer of the Congress. There was Jairamdas Doulatram, and the new general secretary but an old friend and colleague in my province, J.B. Kripalani. It was good to see them all and I felt heartened at the meeting.

Among these old war-horses of our nonviolent struggle for freedom there were many gaps and several old faces were missing. Dr. M.A. Ansari, dearest of friends, who had for so long been a staunch pillar of our cause, was taking little or no part in politics owing to his ill health. Within a few months he was to die suddenly, leaving us forlorn. For all of us he had been the unfailing guide in the tangled maze of Hindu-Muslim problems. Delhi had been to us, for many years, not so much the imperial city, the hub of the British Indian Empire, but the city of Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. M.A. Ansari. Hakim Saheb had died some years earlier, and, with the passing of Dr. Ansari, Delhi became a place full of painful memories.

J.M. Sen Gupta and Tasadduk Ahmad Sherwani were also missing. They were among the younger members of the Committee, my contemporaries at Cambridge, and both had died during the previous two or three years.

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, the beloved leader of the Frontier people, was also not with us, though he was very much alive. He was in prison. Subhas Bose was in Europe and not allowed to come back to India. I had met him in Switzerland just before my return.

I had followed from prison and Europe the various developments that had been taking place in India. I knew all the actors on the stage and was well enough acquainted with conditions to be able to read between the lines. I had seen the inevitable reaction after several years of civil disobedience, and then the conflict of forces within the Congress between those who were constitutionally minded, and looked more to functioning through the legislatures, and a new socialist wing. During this period of reaction, many of the weaker brethren, who had been conspicuously absent while civil disobedience lasted, had crept back into the fold, and were exercising considerable influence. They could only do so because Gandhiji allowed them to do so, for they had no inherent strength.

These conflicts had grown and the air was thick with personal attacks and recriminations. Yet this development was natural in a growing and vital movement. I was not alarmed by it and was confident that I could deal with the situation. I was returning from a Europe which was full of ideas about Joint Front and *Front Populaire*. Where even bitter opponents, who had consistently fought against each other, could compose their differences and put up a joint front against a common adversary, surely it should not be difficult to do so in India. Indeed the Congress was such a common front; it was something much more than a political party and it included within its fold people widely differing about social and economic objectives, but agreeing about the political objective of independence and the method of peaceful action. Many Congressmen

did not accept all the far-reaching implications of the nonviolent technique, which Gandhiji had in mind, but nevertheless accepted it wholeheartedly and in all sincerity in so far as our struggle was concerned. Some did not accept it, but they were few in numbers and made little difference. Yet others tried to make fun of it and posed as men of valour who could only function sword in hand. They knew well that there was no such possibility and therefore they had a sufficient excuse for doing nothing at all. They were dilettantes, hypocrites or weaklings who tried to cover their failings with a cloak of fine and aggressive language which meant nothing in terms of any work or action. They did not count at all, then or later, but they succeeded sometimes in producing some confusion in the minds of rather muddle-headed people as well as the younger generation that was growing up and that had not gone through the hard training of the struggles during the previous seventeen years.

Although there was now much talk of socialism, not even the most ardent socialist thought of it except as something that would follow independence. Socialism was thus not the issue before the Congress and the country. Only independence was the issue and the approach to independence. In theory there was no difference at all on this: everybody in the Congress was prepared to swear by it. But, in practice, the approach was different, and this led some of the aggressive socialists to hurl charges against those persons whom they especially disliked.

The Congress Socialist Party had come into existence during my absence. In many ways it represented my own outlook and I would have welcomed its formation. But when news of it reached me in prison, I was not wholly pleased and considered the move premature and likely to divert attention from the issue of independence. Some of the men behind this party were my close friends for whom I had great admiration and who had played an important part in the Congress struggles. There was Narendra Deva, scholar and historian, and our authority on early Buddhist history, brilliant orator, keen thinker, and now an ardent socialist and a leader of the socialist movement in India. There was Jaya Prakash Narayan, idealist, able, sensitive and highly-strung, who had failed to develop the thick hide which politicians usually have and should have, if they are to survive, and who was undoubtedly and admittedly the man who counted for most in the Indian socialist movement. He had acted for a while as general secretary of the Congress during the civil disobedience movement. He was the one prominent man in Congress politics who had had an American education. Most of our American trained men drifted to business or industry.

There were several other bright and earnest young men and women in the socialist movement and behind them all was an amorphous mass

of enthusiasts who did not know much about socialism, except a few slogans, but who felt attracted to it because of its idealism and promise. Many others joined it for less attractive reasons, considering it a stepping stone to political advancement. They were eager to get on and thought, rather foolishly, that the time had come for them to push out the older leaders and take their place. Their attempts to do so not only irritated these leaders but also antagonised many of the middle groups and the rank and file who resented these attacks.

... I was proud of the Congress organization and of Congress work in my province. In some ways it was different from other provinces. The Congress was a unitary organization for the whole of India, with the same policy and discipline for all the provinces. But inevitably a measure of autonomy prevailed in the vast areas which were called provinces. Their work was carried on entirely in the provincial languages and they had to deal sometimes with provincial and local problems. Because of this, each major provincial Congress committee had developed a tradition of its own, and a newcomer would have been surprised to find the provincial variety within the rigid framework of the all-India unity of Congress work.

Probably the United Provinces Congress had a more democratic background than any other province. We had well-known Congress leaders of all-India fame in our provinces, but no one dominated our organization. Only the Provincial Congress Committee and its smaller Executive Council counted. We changed our presidents every year and even our general secretaries had to change every two years. In many other provinces—Bengal, Bihar, Punjab, Gujarat, Bombay—the same president functioned year after year. This had certain advantages; a continuity of policy and a certain rigidity in the organization. In Gujarat these advantages were most apparent for there under the able leadership of Vallabhbhai Patel a strong and widespread organization had been built up. In Bihar, Rajendra Prasad, most modest of men and with no desire for being the boss, was chosen president year after year because he was considered indispensable, as indeed he was. In Bengal and Punjab, on the other hand, there was continuous trouble and party rivalry, which was very unfortunate for both these provinces had magnificent material. Ever since the death of Deshbandhu C.R. Das, Bengal had faced these difficulties and wasted much of its energy in party conflict. There was hardly a meeting of the All-India Congress Working Committee which did not have on its agenda some dispute from Bengal or Punjab.

It was our tradition in the United Provinces to abide by the decisions of our executive council and never to appeal to the all-India authority.

In spite of all manner of conflicts, and later of party rivalry, in our Provincial Congress, leading often to stern disciplinary action, there was no such appeal for twenty years. The only exception took place recently when Mr. M.N. Roy, who hardly belonged to our province, preferred such an appeal. This is an extraordinary record when one remembers that our membership approached a million and a half, that thousands of local committees were functioning under the Provincial Congress, and that every year we held a vast number of Congress elections. All these people accepted voluntarily the self-discipline of their organization, for we had no means of enforcing it, except the strength of public opinion.

Ever since 1920, a small group of men had largely influenced the activities of the United Provinces Congress organization. They differed from each other in many ways but they respected each other and, above all, they were devoted to the organization. Among them were: Purushottam Das Tandon, who later became Speaker of the Provincial Assembly, Shiva Prasad Gupta, Ganesh Shankar Vidyarthi, Narendra Deva, Sri Prakasa, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Mohanlal Saxena, Tasadduk Ahmad Sherwani, Shri Krishna Dutt Paliwal, and, later, Govind Ballabh Pant, who became the Prime Minister of the U.P. Government. I was also one of the number. None of these men, in those days, was desirous of occupying any high office in the organization; it was difficult enough to persuade them to accept it even when there was a general demand for this. And so personal rivalries and bitter election contests were avoided. I remember how very difficult it was for us to induce Ganesh Shankar to accept the presidentship of our Provincial Committee. It was as our President that he offered his life to the mad frenzy of a communal mob.

In this way we had built up our fine Congress organization in the province. We had shouldered the burden ourselves and not troubled our seniors, like my father or Pandit Malaviya or Dr. Bhagwan Das. When I came to Lucknow in March 1936 I was prepared to find that all was not well. Rumours had reached me of conflicts in connection with the approaching Congress session in Lucknow. Unable to agree to any other name for the chairmanship of the Reception Committee, they had elected me while I was still in Almora Jail. Now that I was going to be Congress President, I could not very well welcome myself, and so I had resigned from the chairmanship. Sri Prakasa was chosen instead.

I was deeply distressed by the atmosphere I found prevailing in the Congress Committee meetings in Lucknow. There were many new faces there whom I did not recognise; many old ones also. But old and new were both absorbed in their party manoeuvring and were filled with

the party spirit. I was astonished at the intensity of this spirit and the bitterness which sometimes accompanied it. The parties had not been formally established or named, but there they were. Vaguely they justified themselves in ideological terms, and there was some basis for this in regard to certain individuals. But the whole thing seemed to me a misuse of those ideologies. In the name of Gandhism or socialism most of the party members simply wanted to get on.

What pained me most was the fact that this disruptive tendency had even affected many of the members of the old group that had held together during all these years and built up the Congress organization in the province. If this was the state of affairs in my own province, what of some other provinces where such tendencies had been stronger? A gradual comprehension of the difficulties in store for me came to me and I was less sure then of my capacity to deal with them.

I have referred to this matter in some detail as this was the background of our work throughout India during the following years. We grappled with it and in our province, even succeeded in keeping it in check but there it was to remind us that the fine idealism of the Congress was being tarnished and a new variety of politician was coming to the front. The very success of the Congress hastened this process and filled us with apprehension about the future. I have seldom troubled myself as to what the British Government might or might not do in India. Some peculiarly fatuous utterance of those in authority in Whitehall or Simla has made me angry, but even that anger has passed for, in any perspective, the British Government in India no longer counts for me. It is a fading concern. But our own people do count and do matter, both in the short and the long run, and their failings hurt much more.

The professional type of politicians and party-men, so long associated with the democratic type of government in other countries, began to appear in India and I did not take very kindly to them or their methods. I cooperated with them in a variety of ways because I had to and because I believed in democracy, in spite of its present-day failings. But there was always discontent within me and a vague distaste for this kind of thing. I felt much better when I came into direct contact with the crowds and masses of men and women. I liked them and they liked me, and perhaps each idealized the other and saw something which was far removed from reality.

While certain developments in India distressed me, each visit to Europe made me realise that, basically, conditions there were much worse. Compared to people in Europe, we still had idealism and faith in a cause and a capacity for disciplined sacrifice (I speak of the pre-war days).

And so, curiously enough, these visits to foreign countries led me to form a higher estimate of our nationalist movement.

All these impressions that I gathered in those days, depressing as they were, did not succeed in suppressing me in any way. I was bubbling over with energy and my mind was full of ideas. Perhaps it was this very energy and exuberance of ideas that filled some of my colleagues with apprehension.

...The position of the Congress President was, and is, a peculiar one. He is elected directly by all the Congress delegates throughout India and, immediately after the Congress session, he is supposed to nominate his Cabinet or Working Committee from the elected members of the All India Congress Committee. The Working Committee is responsible to this All India Committee, and must resign if it fails to carry the latter with it. Both the President and the All India Committee derive authority directly and independently from the full body of delegates, which number several thousand. In case of conflict between the two, the President has to give way or resign.

In theory, the President can nominate anyone he likes to his Cabinet and can thus choose such persons as are likely to support his viewpoint. In practice, however, these nominations had always taken place in consultation with Gandhiji and some of the older members of the Working Committee, who, by virtue of their position and prestige, were inevitably chosen. Thus there was a tendency for the Working Committee to perpetuate itself, so long as it could carry the All India Committee with it. And this it could almost always do if it had the backing of Gandhiji. The whole constitution of the Congress is democratic to a degree, but not even a perfect democracy can ignore a dominating personality whose strength lies in his popularity and hold on the people. Such a tremendous personality was, and is, Gandhiji, and the fear of losing him would lead our people and our committees sometimes to make decisions which, left to themselves, they might not have made. This was not Gandhiji's fault for he functioned in a democratic way and always warned us not to accept his advice if we did not believe in it. But he could not help his personality or his influence...

15/9/41

CONGRESS PRESIDENTSHIP

...A Congress President had first of all to pay attention to the organizational side of the Congress. This, in itself, was a terrific job as the

Congress had grown into a vast organization spread out all over the towns and villages of India. Its structure being completely democratic, it was not always easy to control or bring in line the various conflicting elements that went into its making. We had to face all the evils of democracy—the presence of undesirable elements, careerists, local bosses and elections innumerable—because we were convinced that these were outweighed by its virtues and we believed that through the democratic process alone could we achieve our objective and lay the foundations of true freedom. It was not difficult then, and it is not difficult now, to build a monolithic, authoritarian party in India which would be strong and effective in action. There have been many elements in India, tired and impatient of the slow process of democracy, who would have welcomed this, and these elements grew with the growth of fascism and Nazism in Europe. But the Congress wisely stuck to democracy, both in its ideology and in its structure and methods, and it was strong enough in the political field to prevent the growth of any authoritarian organization.

We stuck to democracy for many reasons. Partly because the fathers of the Congress had been attracted by the nineteenth century democracy of western Europe and America and had given this impress to the organization. But this would not have taken us very far if we had not believed in it ourselves. The old Congress had undergone many a change since its beginnings in the eighties, till this mighty structure of the people of India could hardly be compared to the select gatherings of upper-class folk of its early days. But all these changes had been towards broadening its basis and making it more democratic. We adhered to democracy because we believed that by this alone we could raise the masses of our people and make them self-reliant, cooperative and capable of united action. We had faith in our people and expected that a full application of democratic method would release their tremendous energy that had been suppressed for so long, and lead, first of all, to success in our political struggle for independence, and, immediately after, to the solution of social and economic problems. We had no illusions that this success would come easily or without fierce and exhausting struggles, nor did we think that the social and economic conflicts would be resolved without the greatest difficulty. The power of British imperialism which had dug itself deep into our soil and drained our wealth and sapped our vitality for nearly two hundred years, was tremendous. The inherent conflicts and contradictions of the social and economic structure were obvious enough, and became still more obvious when we saw what was happening in the rest of the world. But the potential strength and resources of the Indian people if properly and democratically organized, were also tremendous. The objective before us was always the positive one of

increasing that strength of the people, and not the negative one of embarrassing the British Government, though the latter often followed from our activities. Certainly we did not think it in any way wrong to embarrass those who were dominating over us and oppressing us. We would have been perfectly justified in doing so, and when, during a civil disobedience movement or at other times, we actually did so, there was no hesitation or compunction about it. But always we tried to think of the future and to build for that future—a future which could only be secure for us if it had developed the strength and the qualities which achieve and preserve freedom.

During these past years it would have been easy enough on several occasions to raise hell in India, from a major upheaval to widespread sporadic outbreaks. It would not have been difficult to put an end, for the time being, to British administration in many rural areas; to make life almost impossible for a government official living away from the larger cities or military cantonments. Deliberately we set our faces not only against all this, but even against minor manifestations of this kind. There was our policy of peaceful work of course, but there was something more than an adherence to an ethical concept. The immediate result would very probably have been a bloody suppression of the revolts and outbreaks and the demoralisation that follows, for on the plane of violence it was folly for an unarmed people to challenge the military might of a modern state apparatus, backed as it was by a powerful imperialism. A more dangerous consequence might have been the growth of internal disruption. A national war against a foreign aggressor nation often leads to internal cohesion in the face of a common danger from abroad. To some extent that might also happen in a revolt of a subject people against a dominating foreign power, but the chances of disruption and internal conflict are far greater in such a case. The foreign state controls all means of communication and propaganda and its policy is always based on encouraging disruptive tendencies and preventing a national front from developing. A quisling class is created which depends entirely on the patronage of the foreign power; and various reactionary social classes also look up to it for protection and fear a change which might endanger their position and special privileges.

The whole conception of a free India was that of a united India, not only for the Congress but also for every other group or individual. It is only very recently that this conception has been challenged by some communal groups. This idea of Indian unity, which was axiomatic with us, prevented us from taking any step which might injure it in the long run, although that step might embarrass the British Government or even be politically advantageous to us for the time being. Indian freedom and

unity could only be envisaged by us in terms of democracy, though we thought of that democracy as something richer in content than the kind prevailing in western Europe. What were the alternatives? A Soviet form of government might have been admired by some, but not even the handful of Communists proposed it for India, though they may have thought of it as a future development. Any attempt to introduce it was doomed to failure, so long as the whole political and social structure had not broken down. The only other possibility was the domination of certain groups or classes, religious or economic, over others. This, apart from being opposed to our basic principles, could never have produced a stable structure of government and would have led to continuous friction and conflict.

Thus both directly and by a process of exclusion we arrived at democracy. We saw the edifice of democracy totter in many parts of the world and we realised that political democracy by itself was not enough. Economic democracy in some shape or form, providing security with freedom, was necessary, if it was to survive. Some of us, thinking on socialist lines, laid stress on this economic democracy; others, disliking socialism or its advocates, were yet compelled by circumstances to accept some of its major premises. There were no advocates of nineteenth century *laissez faire* in India; indeed there could not be in a subject country.

The Congress, as a whole, stood very definitely for the under-dog, but, being a nationalist organization and including in its fold all manner of people, it wanted to please the top dogs also, except those who were definitely aligned with our foreign rulers. It had no desire whatever to encourage class conflict, but the very logic of its activities led it to espouse the cause of the peasant, and that meant seventy or eighty per cent of India, and thus to alienate most of the bigger landlords. In the industrial field also it was supporting labour demands for higher wages, better living conditions and trade union organization. But in spite of this inevitable drift towards economic issues, the real and basic objective of the Congress continued to be political independence, and there was always a tendency among its leaders to slur over economic conflicts. There was danger that this might divert attention from the political objective which was all-important, both in itself and for progress in other directions. The Congress thus, in spite of its many changes and ever-broadening democratic basis, continued to function as a nationalist organization and to claim that it represented the various elements in the national life of India. It could not represent of course those who were opposed to it or those who were attached in some way or other to British imperialism. It was an anti-imperialist joint front in India.

Ever since Gandhiji's domination over the Congress, he had laid emphasis on another aspect which was not political. This was the liquidation of untouchability in all its forms. He had made this an essential condition for freedom, and, chiefly because of him and the Congress, this curse of our social structure has had its ancient foundations shaken. Beyond this the Congress as a body did not go, although there were many other evils in our social system which demanded attention and removal. Many Congressmen attacked these evils as individuals or through special organizations. For the Congress to have attended to all these matters would have been to lose itself in a maze of social reform activities, when the very power to give effect to these reforms through legislation was lacking.

We wanted the Congress to be a political arrow-head cleaving its way to independence, and at the same time shaking up the old economic structure, feudal relics, and social customs. The collapse of British imperialism and the establishment of a democratic state would release such tremendous force and energy that these old customs and relics would not long survive and, inevitably, a new economic structure would replace the old. What that new structure would be the Congress would not definitely say. All this depended on the fullest democracy, for if the old privileged groups retained their positions and inherited power from the British, there was no essential change, and no release of mass energy, which might be a solvent of many of our troublesome problems, such as the communal problem. It was for this reason that we insisted on adult franchise for the constituent assembly which was to draft India's constitution. It was for this reason also that we made the Congress Constitution as democratic as possible.

...Democracy cannot function satisfactorily in war time; it has then to give up some of its cherished processes. The Congress in India has functioned during the last twenty-one years in a continuous atmosphere of conflict, which has blazed out from time to time into civil disobedience. For many years it has been an illegal organization. It is in this environment that it has grown and maintained its democratic basis. It has been a revolutionary body fighting against a powerful imperialism; it has also functioned as a legal, but hardly ever as a constitutional, body, assuming responsibility in many ways for constructive activity. Between these two aspects of it there has always been a kind of internal tug-of-war but essentially it remains revolutionary in outlook, if not always in practice, because it cannot fulfil its historic role unless it has achieved the freedom of India. Gandhi combines the two aspects in himself and, probably, if he had not been with us, there would have been a split. To a world used to thinking of revolution in terms of violence and hatred

and destruction, this courteous and gentle-mannered apostle of non-violence, who refuses to hate or to get angry, may seem an anomaly. Yet, he is the most revolutionary human being that I have come across.

The whole background of the Congress, in which we have grown up and functioned, has thus been of Indian unity and democracy. I imagine that the Indian Congress represents far more than any other organization, the famous Three People's Principles of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, *San Min Chu I*, nationhood, democracy, livelihood. The Kuomintang, as it exists today, has, for various reasons, not got far beyond the first principle though it proclaims its allegiance to all of them.

...Freedom was to us a step, a great step, which enabled us to go right ahead in raising the terribly low standard of living of our people. Most of us had ceased to think in political terms only and the only worthwhile objective was to tackle and get rid of the appalling poverty of the Indian people by a greater production of wealth and a juster distribution. Because of this objective, and quite apart from the desire to protect a backward group from exploitation, we were anxious to pay particular attention to all such educationally and economically backward groups and to bring them up to a common level, which was to go up as rapidly as possible. For a backward group always tended to pull back others.

...This was the general background of Congress thought, though there were innumerable variations in it, and each group emphasized its own particular viewpoint. Some, purely politically minded, ignored the economic side; others, chiefly the socialists and Communists, emphasized that economic side. The reaction of each group depended on its social contents, and all of them found expression in the Congress. Yet, whatever the variations, there was agreement on Indian independence, based on democracy and India's unity, and with full safeguards for all minority groups.

...If there is some ambiguity and vagueness in the utterances of British statesmen, there is none in what Mr. Jinnah, the President of the Muslim League, says. He considers both the concepts, Indian unity and democracy, as absurd and puerile. He demands a division of India into several independent entities—he has not said exactly how many. He has stated that "they would not live under any system of government that was based on the nonsensical notion of Western democracy." He has taken a long time also to realise that what he stood for throughout a fairly long life was nonsensical.

It is interesting to observe these developments in India while a great war is going on ostensibly in the name of democracy and when it is widely recognized that small nations have no future and some kind of international order might grow up as a result of the war.

I have drifted away somewhat from the subject of this chapter because I wanted to say something about the background of Congress work in India. It must be remembered always that the Congress has been and is much more than a political party seeking power for itself or jobs for its members. There are people in it who want jobs and who might be satisfied with limited power for their group. But they do not represent the spirit of the Congress or the dominant urge which has moved millions in India, although, unfortunately, they push themselves to the front whenever there is a reversion to constitutional work. The Congress has represented the idealism of the Indian people and given direction and purpose to their crusading spirit. It has tried to convert this idealism and spirit, through struggle and effort, into the solid strength of the Indian masses. For always it took the long view; we were out to build a great nation, strong and self-reliant, fearing none and friendly to all. What would a petty advantage mean to us if it did not help in the long run? What could we do with lawyers' quibbles when only the people's strength mattered? There was no adventurism in the Congress, though there may have been many adventurers within its fold. We dreamed of India as it should be, as it must be, as it was going to be; and all that happened, whether it was civil disobedience or Congress ministries, could only be looked upon as steps to that end, and judged accordingly. They had no other importance, and the individuals who happened to become ministers or legislators, had even less importance, except in that wider and more distant context. Filled with these thoughts and with this picture of the India of the future in our minds, it surprised us that some people should waste their time in talking of dominion or some other status or some petty changes in the government. All that had nothing to do with our picture; it was an irrelevance and an impertinence. We aimed at big things, and if we were not fortunate enough to reach the journey's end before we passed away, then our children, profiting by our endeavours, would do so. On no account could we veil that picture or replace it by another, even temporarily, for to do so meant our giving up the idealism and crusading spirit that had moved us, to break the pledges we had taken, and betray the cause we had espoused.

And so for these twenty years and more the Congress has consistently and logically followed the path of its choice. It has made many mistakes, failed often enough in small matters, but it has kept its pledge to the Indian people and never done anything which might bring discredit or dishonour to them. It has refused to bow its head, whatever happened, to the might of British imperialism, and kept the shining star of Indian freedom ever before it. I imagine that few, if any, popular organizations anywhere in the world can easily equal this record.

The Congress is a large and widespread organization with its annual paying membership varying from year to year, but running into millions. The number of members on its rolls is hardly any test of its strength or popularity, and sometimes when its membership was the largest, its fighting strength was low. A fighting organization is weakened by an influx of lukewarm members among whom there are bound to be many careerists. During the period of the Congress ministries in the provinces, we viewed with alarm the new type of member who obviously was not a fighter but hoped to profit in some way by his connection with the Congress. We had to vary our constitution in some provinces to meet this new situation. Gandhiji has always laid stress on the quality of membership and discouraged mere quantity.

The real influence of the Congress extends far beyond its formal membership and affects scores of millions of people of all classes all over India. It is this widespread influence which has given it its strength. A Congress President therefore does not merely think of the members of the organization but of the hundreds of millions of the Indian people and his appeals are made to them, even though many of them may not listen to him. He may not address himself to one religious group or a class to the detriment of another, but in the case of a downtrodden or exploited class, he may and should give it full sympathy and support. The touring that he, as well as other prominent Congressmen, have to do is formidable. Even attendance at the frequent meetings of the executive, the Working Committee, involves lengthy journeys, sometimes of a thousand miles.

Apart from this, he is supposed to travel all over the country to keep in touch with the organization as well as the people generally. Everywhere he goes he is welcomed in some state: there are exhausting processions, meetings, addresses of welcome, deputations and the like. During my two years as President I collected a very large number of caskets in which these addresses of welcome had been presented; these are now on exhibition in the Allahabad Museum. Some of these are beautiful examples of exquisite carving in sandal wood, walnut-wood, silver or some other material. But most of the expensive ones, I regret to say, are not good to look at. They were presented to me by chambers of commerce, merchants' associations and other prosperous organizations whose ideas of beauty were governed by the massiveness of the metal and its market price. One dainty and very expensive gold casket which was given to me by the Indians in Singapore was stolen from the Museum.

The physical side of a Congress President's life is strenuous enough, both in office work and touring, but his real difficulties arise from the

responsibilities he has to shoulder, the decisions he has to give, and the continuous effort to see each problem in proper perspective and in its right setting in relation to other problems. Internal conflicts within the organization add very greatly to his worries, and there has been no lack of these during the past few years.

The job has indeed become too big for any man, unless he is assisted by specialized departments under competent heads. The beginnings of some such departments existed in the office of the All India Congress Committee but they were not properly organized or of much use. I set about enlarging and organizing these and appointed bright and intelligent young men to take charge. There was and could be no objection to this, but it so happened that the men I had appointed were ardent socialists and this gave rise to some suspicion in the minds of my colleagues. Was I trying to over-reach them in this way? and was this process of infiltration a part of some deep-laid design? As a matter of fact I had chosen them because they were able and competent and had gained doctorates in London and Berlin. They could not lay down any policy: they had merely to carry out the directions given to them. But the suspicion grew, partly because, in their spare moments, they continued to function as aggressive socialists, and I had an unhappy time in the Working Committee. There was no question of principle or high policy involved, nothing very specific that was objected to, but a vague feeling of alarm and doubt as to where these developments might lead to. We had exhausting meetings, where we eyed each other with suspicion, and we came repeatedly to the verge of a breakup. But on every such occasion Gandhiji intervened and smoothed over matters. My enthusiasm for developing the All India office, however, suffered a check.

The real reason, I think, for the growing alarm of my colleagues was the fear that I might injure the Congress prospects at the coming general elections by my imprudence and needless emphasis on socialism. That fear was unjustified, as they realised later on, for the tremendous enthusiasm that met me everywhere added greatly to the Congress strength. As election time approached there were frantic demands for me from all over India, for my presence was supposed to ensure success.

The Working Committee, as constituted after the Lucknow Congress, included three prominent members of the Congress Socialist Party: Jaya Prakash Narayan, Narendra Deva and Achyut Patwardhan. Jaya Prakash Narayan dropped out later owing to an irregularity in election. The others continued, but the Committee was essentially the old Committee, functioning under the guidance of Gandhiji. It was a good and experienced Committee, but an ageing and a rather tired one. I think many of our difficulties during past years have been due to the fact that

new blood was not taken into the Committee and the same people functioned year after year. They may have been the most experienced and they were undoubtedly popular as individuals, but they had lost touch with the new generation and new ideas were not welcome to them. A feeling of dissatisfaction grew in Congress ranks against this state of affairs.

My chief virtue consisted in the fact that I was a link between the old and the new, and with both of these groups I was at home. And yet with both I felt a little dissatisfied. The older ones seemed to me to shut their eyes to obvious happenings and to move in the ruts; the younger set was often irresponsible and had little ballast.

My election to the presidentship of the Lucknow Congress and subsequent activities certainly had one result which I had hoped for. The bitter controversies and personal charges made against each other within the Congress almost faded away and the political atmosphere was clearer. But doubts and suspicions could not disappear so easily and they came out of their hiding places from time to time.

Once, in the summer of 1936, I had decided to resign from the presidentship and I informed Gandhiji accordingly. Just then an event taking place far from India affected me powerfully and made me revise my decision. This was General Franco's revolt in Spain, which seemed to me a prelude to a European conflagration or even a world conflict. I could not precipitate an internal crisis at this stage.

So I carried on. The general elections were approaching and we issued our Election Manifesto which was well received by the All India Committee and the country generally. Thereafter there was not much argument or discussion in the Working Committee. A new atmosphere of cooperation grew up and we concentrated on the elections. This was a big job as we were running about fifteen hundred candidates all over India.

The Faizpur Congress was an election Congress as it was held on the eve of the general elections. I was re-elected President, to avoid any argument or dispute which might have occurred in the case of a new election, and the old Working Committee was nominated again.

The elections came and resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Congress. The old argument about the acceptance of ministerial responsibility broke out afresh; the decision could no longer be postponed as the Congress had big majorities in most of the provinces and, normally, should have formed the ministries. We decided to accept office subject to certain definite assurances that the Governor would not interfere in the work of the ministries. There was an impasse for several months and then a way out was found and Congress ministries began to function in seven provinces.

Entirely new problems now arose and within the Congress itself there was a continuing conflict between two forces and outlooks—the old revolutionary, agitational, direct-action approach and the new cooperative and constructive one. The burdens and responsibilities to be shouldered by the President and the Working Committee increased enormously.

It is not surprising that under this continuous strain the health of almost every prominent Congressman should break down. Conditions in India—the lack of proper sanitation or medical facilities, the wide prevalence of malaria, the bad water supply, and, of course above all, the great poverty of the people, leading to semi-starvation and undernourishment—have reduced the standard of health in the country to a deplorable level. Even the semi-prosperous and well-to-do are affected by this environment and succumb to disease far too easily. Those who can carry on hard and responsible work continuously, without rest or holiday, for months and years without serious illness, must be exceptionally healthy. Nearly all my colleagues fell ill from time to time and even when they were not actually ill, they were below par, but refused to rest or leave their work. Gandhiji, however, in spite of trouble with his blood-pressure, kept amazingly fit and shamed us all by his energy and the amount of work he did. He has no liking for machinery, or at any rate big machinery, but in his work and his daily routine he functioned with the regularity and precision of a machine. There were no wasted moments, no loose ends in his day, and it seemed that every minute was accounted for.

I kept well during this period of two years, physically well, in spite of all the heavy work and worry. But I was often tired and mentally depressed, and I wondered if all my fierce activity and the activities of others made very much difference to India. All manner of things that I did not like continued to happen, people misbehaved and quarrelled about petty matters, and the bright idealism of our earlier days grew tarnished. We functioned adequately enough, but the glory seemed to have departed, and we behaved largely after the manner of politicians the world over. In Europe and in China, wars raged and fascism advanced. It was not well with the world, and future prospects were still darker.

To escape from this tiredness and feeling of disillusion, and as a refuge from daily work and worry, I tried to cultivate a certain detachment. My mind was prepared for this more than it had been previously because of the changes that had occurred in my personal life. I had ceased to attach much value to myself or to what happened to me. I succeeded to some extent, though not much, I am afraid, as there is too much of a

volcano within me for real detachment. But even the success I achieved was very helpful and, in the midst of activity, I could separate myself from it and look at it as a thing apart. Sometimes I would steal an hour or two and, forgetting my usual preoccupations, retire into that cloistered chamber of my mind and live, for a while, another life. And so, in a way, these two lives marched together, inseparably tied up with one another, and yet apart.

17/9/41

ELECTIONS

I was new to electioneering. The Congress had taken part in some elections during previous years but this had been on a small scale and with a very restricted electorate. The Swaraj Party had conducted the elections in the later twenties on behalf of the Congress; I had been in Europe then. In 1935, when I was in Almora Jail, the elections to the Central Assembly had been contested with success. On both these occasions the Congress organization, as a whole, had taken little part, and the number of candidates was small. What I had read of these elections, as well as what I had seen of electioneering in India and other countries, had filled me with a distaste for this business. It was an odd affair, when sober and upright men grew excited and lost their mental balance, and sanctioned many a practice which they must have disapproved of in their minds. Some of the evils connected with a war mentality flourished during election time and the standard of public conduct fell noticeably. Municipal elections particularly seemed to generate passion and a desire to win at any cost and by any means.

We had innumerable elections every year within the Congress organization itself and with these I was fully acquainted. Fortunately for me, I did not have to stand for election to most of the committees as, being an ex-president of the Congress, I was an ex-officio member of many of them. But I saw what was going on all around me during these elections, and frequently had to consider election complaints and appeals. My extreme dislike of elections and electioneering grew with each fresh experience, and I often wondered how, short of improving human nature, we could rid them of their abuses. We discussed this matter many times in Working Committee and in our Provincial Congress Committee, and devised new rules and checks which had some effect. As

our organization grew in numbers and complexity, we separated the administrative side of it and laid down that none of our permanent officials or staff could take part in Congress elections, either by standing themselves as candidates or by canvassing for others. They were to be a kind of civil service keeping above and apart from party rivalries. We made it a rule that no candidate should be personally run down or criticised by his opponents, and only matters of principle and policy should be discussed. We even tried to enforce that a candidate should not canvass for himself, apart from issuing his election address. We separated the judicial side of the Congress from its executive and administrative functions, and created special and independent tribunals for organizing elections and judging election complaints.

... The Congress organization was not used to electioneering and it was not built that way. We were a standing challenge to the British Government and a continuing conflict was inherent in our relations, this conflict developing into civil disobedience from time to time. We had a great advantage on our side, that of popularity with the masses, and the wider the electorate the greater were our chances of success. But being unused to elections, many felt apprehensive. Elections seemed to swallow up money, and the richer people, who had so far indulged in this business, used to spend huge sums. Where was all this money to come from for our candidates? Some of our candidates might be able to pay their own expenses, but most of them could not do that. We had no large funds at our disposal and most of the monied people were against us or were afraid of helping us.

But whatever the difficulties, we had to face them as we had accepted the challenge. Winning the elections did not necessarily mean office or power or jobs. Many of us were still opposed to the acceptance of ministerial responsibility, and even those who favoured this, looked upon it as a temporary stage in our struggle for freedom. The winning of the elections was not important for us in the positive sense of taking us to power, but the losing of them was certainly bad and injurious to our cause. And so the issue became important.

... The Congress, as its very name and consistent policy implied, acted like a national organization and appealed to all groups, classes and communities on the basis of its Election Manifesto. Much as it disliked separate communal electorates, based on religion, it had to accept them, but it ignored communal barriers in its appeal. It had thus to face the problem of running vast numbers of candidates not only for the general electorates but also for the special electorates. Many Congressmen were frightened by the immensity of the task, especially in some provinces, like the Punjab, where the Congress, though popular, was not

well organized. They refrained, therefore, from setting up the full number of candidates, only to discover, during and after the elections, that they had underestimated their own strength. There was no doubt that we could have won many more seats, both in the general and the special communal electorates, if only we had run candidates for them.

In most provinces, however, we put up candidates for all the general seats and for some of the special seats. For the Muslim seats not many candidates were put up by the Congress, partly because our hands were already full, and partly because groups friendly to the Congress amongst the Muslims were contesting these seats. We did not want to divide the votes and thus enable a reactionary landlord to get in. Our real contest, it must be remembered, was against these reactionaries, who were supported by Government officials. It is true, however, that we felt unsure of winning these Muslim seats, because of their separate electorates, and wanted to husband our resources for the large number of other contests. Here again, as we realised later when we saw the popular enthusiasm for the Congress, we could have won many Muslim seats, especially the rural ones, if we had attempted to do so.

Each province had to face its special set of problems and no single rule could be made to apply to all of them. In Bengal Mr. Fazlul Huq, who later became Prime Minister, had organized a peasant party, the Praja Party. He had had a varied career, in and outside the Congress, and even in organizing this party, he expressed his friendliness to the Congress. I remember his coming to see me, during a visit of mine to Calcutta prior to the elections, and telling me that he and his party were wholeheartedly for the Congress.

The Muslim League had so far not had large all-India backing among the Muslims. It was now trying hard to organize itself for the elections and wanted to run Muslim candidates in all the provinces. It met with disaster in the two major Muslim-majority provinces—Bengal and Punjab—where the Muslim leaders, Mr. Fazlul Huq and Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, refused to come to terms with it, and ultimately defeated most of its candidates. Long after the elections a kind of joint front was set up between the League and these two provincial leaders, who were then Prime Ministers of their respective provinces.

In the United Provinces, the Muslim League was not very important prior to the elections. It was not in touch with the masses and did not come in our way. Our relations were, on the whole, friendly. It was growing in influence and the prospect of getting the League's backing in the elections began to attract people to it. A few prominent Congressmen in our province joined it and even became members of its election board. This was not even considered at the time as a marked

breach of Congress discipline, though I disapproved of it. Many leading Congressmen, like Dr. M.A. Ansari, had in the past been associated with the Muslim League. But elections made a difference.

I remember a prominent Muslim Congressman of our province writing to inform me that he was joining the League's election board as he hoped thereby to prevent the old reactionaries of the League from controlling it. He hoped to arrange that control should remain in progressive hands, so that the League's candidates could cooperate with the Congress. I pointed out to him the dangers of such an opportunist policy. It was a slippery path which would take him further and further away from his old moorings and from us. He expected to overreach others; it was far more likely that he would be over-reached himself. I felt sad at the step he was taking and all my fears were justified subsequently.

Although we had not decided about the acceptance of ministerial responsibility, the lure of ministerships was there for many. Some of the Muslim Leaguers in our province confidently expected that the elections would result in the Congress and the Agriculturist Party of landlords being more or less evenly balanced, and neither in an absolute majority. In such a contingency, the Muslim League Party, however small in numbers, could play a deciding and determining role. It would be in a position to levy tribute and lay down conditions. Some such development had taken place in the Central Assembly where Mr. Jinnah's Independent Party, though relatively small in number, held the balance between the Congress Party there and the official members. It was not realised by the leaders of the Muslim League in our province that our outlook was entirely different and we were not thinking of ministerships and the like.

When the elections resulted in an overwhelming majority for us and we had a very clear and absolute majority over all other groups combined, the Muslim League group in the Provincial Assembly was considerably put out. They felt that somebody had not given them a square deal. That somebody had certainly not been the Congress, for we had hardly come into conflict with them during the elections. It might have been an adverse fate.

In the United Provinces we avoided, wherever possible, opposing Muslim League candidates. Only in two or three instances did we directly oppose them, and in a few other cases we supported independent Muslim candidates who were opposing them. For the rest we actively supported Muslim League candidates as against more reactionary candidates. I must have spoken from scores of platforms in favour of the Muslim League nominees. Because our influence was considerable

among the Muslim peasantry, we were especially asked for messages by these League candidates. Probably the person who worked hardest for the Muslim League during the elections in our province, and made the greatest difference, was Maulana Hussain Ahmad, a prominent Congressman and a noted scholar and divine. Soon after the elections, he resigned from the Muslim League as he disagreed with later developments of the League's policy.

28/9/41

THE DISCOVERY OF INDIA

...Few countries have been marked out by geography for unity as India has been. But India is not a mere geographical entity. It is something much more and deeper. It is an Idea which has influenced the people who have lived here and who have come here from other countries and found a home here since the beginnings of civilization. That Idea may have had the germs of both good and bad in it; but whatever it was, it was a thing of power or else it could not have survived for thousands of years, not only in a changing world but in a changing India. It is a futile process to test that Idea in terms of the present, or to judge it as if it took shape in the environment we know. We must remember that the Idea originally took shape at the earliest dawn of civilization in the world and the books that contain it are possibly the oldest extant records of the working of the human mind. Through long ages, while the world slowly emerged from darkness, that Idea developed and underwent many changes, yet clinging to its old foundations. It is in this context that we must consider and judge this Idea, never forgetting that old environment and the circumstances in which it grew and developed.

It may be that this Idea exhausted its utility long ago and has been a drag and a hindrance to us ever since, or that the accretions of later ages have smothered the good in it. It may be that while there is still good in it, the evil in it is more dominant today. It may be that it is completely out of date now and unsuited to our present environment and problems, and must therefore undergo a radical change, or give place to another, and more desirable, Idea. All this is possible. But whichever way we may intend to go, we cannot ignore that past, which,

whether we like it or not, has shown such amazing powers of recuperation and adaptation again and again. Even to break off completely from it, we must understand it....

2/10/41

WHAT INDIA STOOD FOR

I write about the Idea, the Idea behind India, the vital spark which lighted up the civilization that grew up in this country, and, in varying degrees, continued to influence its people through historical ages. It sounds well and impressive, and yet does this mean anything definite and precise?

...My approach has been that of a man of action. It is the call of action in the present that has compelled me to think of the past and the future—the past that inevitably controls and governs many of our activities, the future that we desire to shape. It is not good enough for us in India or elsewhere to blunder on from day to day without anchor or lighthouse. The terror of the present holds us and drains the energy of mind and body. We cannot escape that. Yet this very catastrophe which overwhelms us in the present makes it imperative for us to take a longer perspective. And so, unsuited as I am for the purpose, I must take to philosophizing.

I cannot forget the world and isolate myself in India. The fate of every country is linked up together now and success or failure will be their common lot. But I have to function more particularly in India and therefore I seek to understand India. That understanding is bound to be limited and will emphasize some aspects and ignore others. I can only put down my own reactions and draw certain conclusions from them which may have to be changed with further knowledge.

...This cultural inheritance of the ancient Indian past, as well as what followed it in later years, is not confined to any one race that inhabited India or came to it. It is the common heritage of all of us, to which every race in India contributed, though the governing and controlling impulse came from the earliest times at the very dawn of history. Indeed, so far as those very early times are concerned, when thought began and developed, it is the heritage of the human race and the world would be infinitely poorer without it. But we in India, whoever we may be, have a particular claim to it, for our forefathers created it and built it

up on foundations strong enough to endure for thousands of years, and whether we are conscious of it or not, we are influenced by it still. This has nothing or very little to do with religious faith. Some of us may change that faith but the heritage remains ours; if we give it up or forget it or ignore it, it is we who suffer.

The religion of ancient Greece is no more, and the altars of its gods and goddesses attract no votaries. But the heritage of Greek culture lives and inspires us. Iran changed her religion but she still proudly looks back to her pre-Islamic culture and inheritance. In China the Taoist, the Confucian and the Buddhist melt into one another and it is difficult to draw a line between them. The followers of Christianity and Islam in China, strong in their respective faiths, are stronger still in their devotion to China and her magnificent culture.

And we in India with this superb inheritance? Some of us have forgotten it or, not knowing it, speak lightly of it; or they mix up the mass of evil with the good and wish to discard both; and then to build a new house without the strong foundations that we already have. Yet some others, blinded by their narrow passions of the moment, wish to discard and destroy and betray their ancient motherland which gave them birth and to which they owe so much. In forgetting India, the India that was and the India that is, they have forgotten themselves. If they denounce her and discard the precious and life-giving garment of her age-long culture, they go out naked into this world of storm and strife.

But India will carry on, as she has done for countless ages, and forge yet another synthesis between the past and the present and between the varied elements that go to make her. Another spring will come after the winter of her suffering and degradation, and her culture will flower again in freedom and unity.

16/10/41

A VISIT TO BURMA AND MALAYA

The general elections in India were over in February 1937, and on April 1st that part of the Government of India Act which dealt with provincial autonomy came into force. But for many months the majority party in the legislatures of most of the provinces could not agree to accept ministerial responsibility unless it was assured that there would

be no interference on the part of the Governor or the Viceroy with the work of the ministries. There was an impasse.

Early in the summer I decided to pay a visit to Burma. I had long cherished a desire to go there and ever since my boyhood the country had attracted me. I think it was Fielding Hall's book, *The Soul of a People*, that first drew me to Burma, and then I read other books. I liked the Burmese I met. For many years we had as neighbours in Allahabad some of the exiled members of the old royal family of Burma, who were not allowed to go back home. Subsequently a cousin of mine spent several years in Burma and was fascinated by the country and the people. Repeatedly he invited me to visit him but I had already got far too much entangled in political affairs to think of long holidays.

The immediate urge to go was provided by new developments—the political separation of Burma from India and the many new problems this raised. So far Burma had been politically an Indian province, but from April 1st 1937 it started off as a separate unit of the British Empire, unconnected with India. I wanted to study the situation on the spot. But this was an excuse, the real reason was my desire to see Burma and her people.

My daughter, Indira, had returned from Switzerland by air for the summer and she accompanied me to Burma. We spent two weeks in Burma and then proceeded to the Malay Peninsula, where also for two weeks we wandered about from north to south. Altogether, we were away from India for six weeks.

Many things in Burma reminded me of India, which was not surprising for our contacts had been more or less continuous for two thousand years, ever since Buddhism went there as a precious gift from India. The British connection was of recent date, and it was as late as 1885 that the third and last Anglo-Burmese War (at India's expense of course) led to the annexation of the whole country and its incorporation in the British Indian Empire. Rangoon had developed since then as a great port and had a large Indian population. Indeed from the point of view of population and business and labour, it was probably more Indian than Burmese. I was interested in my countrymen there, especially as their future was dark and all manner of conflicts were arising. But, above all, I was interested in the Burmese people.

Burma was definitely not India, in spite of its fifty-year-old political connection which had now been broken. Ceylon, on the other hand, though not so connected with India (except as a part of the British Empire), was far more India; it had its own definite individuality and yet it bore the impress of India, racially, culturally and linguistically. Even geographically and in the economic sphere, Ceylon could not easily

separate itself from India. It is too small as an economic unit to subsist by itself, and it has therefore to ally itself to a larger unit. Obviously this larger unit can only be India, unless Ceylon continues to be dominated over by some empire. With their genius for creating trouble and friction, so as to weaken opposition to their own scheme of things, the British Government have, in recent years, produced two additional problems : the Indo-Burman and the Indo-Ceylonese. Whatever the future of Burma might be, it is perfectly clear that India and Ceylon must be closely associated, unless India breaks up and comes near to perishing. If the British Empire ends, as it must, what will happen to Ceylon? It is far too important a place, both strategically and as a producer, to be left to shift for itself without any larger contacts.

But Burma and the Burmese people were different. They appeared to be racially much younger than Indians; the stamp and burden of long ages was not upon them, nor had the agony of thought and mental strife through untold generations shadowed their eyes or furrowed their bright young faces. It was pleasant to watch them, care-free and gay, delighting in life and bent on taking joy in the passing moment. Their women were full of charm as well as activity, and laughter peeped out of the corner of their eyes. Evidently life was not too hard a taskmaster or burden to them, and if it was, as it often must have been, they sought to ignore its drawbacks and forget them in song and dance. Even a funeral was an occasion for festivity.

After the dull ache that India often produced in me, I found this atmosphere exhilarating and soothing to the sense. The politician in me was sometimes irritated at the light-hearted way in which they treated serious problems. But I was not there primarily for politics, and I bathed in the exuberant welcome that was showered upon me by Burmese and Indians alike. As was my habit, I tried to make myself receptive to the many influences that surrounded me, of the past and the present; deserted halls of the Gem Palace at Mandalay would be filled with ghosts and old memories, and the Shwe Dagon pagoda, towering in all its strength and beauty over the city of Rangoon, would embody for me the soul of a people.

Yet politics could not be ignored. I had gone there at a psychological moment following the separation from India, and Indo-Burmese relations were none too good and every effort was being made by interested parties to worsen them. I had gone as Congress President and could not discard that mantle of responsibility.

. . . Prior to the separation, Burma, like any Indian province, was part of the Congress Constitution and had a Provincial Congress Committee. This Committee had some important Burmans on it but it was

dominated by the Indian element in Burma. It represented India in Burma rather than the Burmese, and thus it had no deep roots in the soil. Noncooperation and civil disobedience in India affected Burma and were closely followed, but there was no corresponding upheaval there. In 1930 and 1932 peaceful rebellion in the shape of civil disobedience convulsed India. There was no civil disobedience then in Burma. There was instead a peasant revolt which lasted quite a considerable time in 1930 and 1931 and was suppressed by the British Government with great cruelty and brutality.

Burma's non-participation in the civil disobedience movement was natural as the Congress, representing the Indian national movement, had no strength in the masses there. That movement itself, though attracting sympathy, was not a Burmese movement. It was super-imposed and flourished to some extent in an artificial atmosphere. But there was something more about this non-participation than Congress weakness in Burma. Noncooperation, satyagraha, civil disobedience, had been conceived by Gandhiji with the Indian background before him and the Indian masses as the human material through whom he worked. It fitted in with that background, with the genius of the people, and with the capacity of the masses for such action. It was preceded by years of training and education in this new technique and by personal contacts between Gandhiji and millions of people in India. There was no such training period in Burma, no real understanding of the technique or the significance of the struggle, except that it stood for freedom and was aimed against British domination. Gandhi was popular in Burma, but there was no such emotional and spiritual link between him and the Burmese masses as existed in India. Possibly even an attempt to train the Burmese people in this technique would have failed, at any rate for the time being, as their whole approach to life was different and lacked the capacity for patient and peaceful endurance together with refusal to surrender or submit to evil. They were inclined to be hasty, temperamental and violent, in a youthful way. Burma's record in crime is high but this is certainly not due to any criminal taint. It is caused more by a boyish exuberance and lack of self-restraint.

It is surprising that in a country where the religion of the Buddha is not merely passively accepted but greatly honoured and actively followed, violence and the spirit of violence should be so common. For Buddhism is eminently the religion of peace and nonviolence. Buddhism was largely instrumental in spreading vegetarianism in India, but in the Buddhist countries a real vegetarian is a rare phenomenon. It would appear that racial traits are strong enough to resist even religious inhibitions and mould the latter in their own particular nationalistic way. But

why should I be surprised? Have we not seen how those who profess the religion of Christ have behaved in the past and are behaving today?

... The advantages of being in the British Empire become daily more obvious to us. We have troubles enough at home with every reactionary and disruptive movement smiled upon by British authority. But, as we are supposed to march towards the haven of Dominion Status, we are being branded and hounded out of other countries which have been favoured by destiny or divine Providence in being made parts of the British Empire. In the Dominions we are not wanted, and in South Africa, in particular, for thirty years or more a fierce racial policy has been followed against Indians and every attempt is made to eliminate them, including many who have been settled there for generations and have never seen India. In East Africa we are pushed out of all the desirable uplands which are reserved for White settlers. Even in Ceylon, we are told that Indians are not wanted. Possibly, a time may come, if the British Empire lasts and continues to function in India, when nobody will want us and we might even be considered superfluous in India.

It is really extraordinary how these advantages of British rule have pursued us not only in our own country but wherever we may go abroad, more especially in other parts of the British Empire. We have not gone anywhere under favoured conditions with a gunboat or financial privileges backing us. No laws have functioned to our advantage. Everywhere we have struggled against unfavourable conditions and unjust and discriminating legislation. Because of an outraged public opinion, the Government of India has sometimes supported the cause of Indian settlers abroad, but it has usually done so weakly and ineffectively. Often it has adopted an apparently neutral attitude or has even sided with the opposite party. Yet we have made good in far corners of the world by our labour and our intelligence, having competed with those who were far better situated than we were. We have reclaimed waste lands and added greatly to the wealth of the country we went to; we have developed trade and industry and built up great businesses; and all we have asked for is a free field with no favour. But even that has been denied us for in open competition we were likely to succeed. For thousands of years we have had little trouble and few conflicts with our eastern and southern neighbours; and even when conflicts have come they have been superficial and have not affected friendly relations for long. Now, under British rule, they form the very texture of our daily life.

It is true that conditions differ now and conflict is inherent in the capitalist industrial civilisation under which we live. The British Empire has long been a ramshackle affair, imposing enough, but built on the insecure foundations of racial, industrial and financial domination. It has two

faces, two voices, one for its own kith and kin in the free Dominions, the other for its subject races. The two have nothing in common and the ideologies derived from their conflict with each other and fight for mastery, are affecting the internal structure of political life in England itself. Countries like India and Burma are not colonies, looking up to England as a mother country; they are nations with their own organic history and outlook on the past and the present. India herself is a mother country with the children of her culture spread out over Asia. Her conquests have occasionally been political and economic, but much more so cultural and spiritual. And because of this they have not brought ill will and hatred in their train, and have been instead the golden links and silken threads that bind countries and peoples in friendship.

A few days ago I received a letter, here in prison, from a young Thai student[2] in Santiniketan who was returning to Thailand. This may not be typical but it represents an outlook which persists in many countries of Asia. He wrote: "I always consider myself exceptionally fortunate in being able to come to this great and ancient land of Aryavarta and to pay my humble homage at the feet of grandmother India in whose affectionate arms my mother-country was so lovingly brought up and taught to appreciate and love what was sublime and beautiful in Culture and Religion."

The racialism of the dominant British produces inevitably racialism in the subject races, and some among the latter foolishly dream of the time to come when their own particular variety of racialism will be dominant. One of the major tragedies of British rule in India and elsewhere has been the growth of racialism, a growth encouraged by British authority in the hope that it may weaken national solidarity. But it has more far-reaching consequences for the British which they can only ignore at their peril.

In spite of all that has happened, India, like China, is full of vitality. It is conceivable that given freedom and opportunity, we might misuse them to the disadvantage of others, for a free India is likely to be powerful, politically and industrially. Fortunately for our future and the world's future, the whole psychological outlook of our national movement is opposed to the exploitation by India of any other country or people. The ideology of nonviolence has largely prevented us from developing those fierce and aggressive hatreds which usually keep company with a dynamic nationalism. In spite of repeated insult and injury

2. For Jawaharlal's reply, see *ante*, pp. 692-693.

we have tried to keep our heads cool and avoided being swept into hasty action by passion. It has been no small or insignificant matter that in this turmoil of war and catastrophe we have refrained from deliberately embarrassing England, which we could easily have done on a large scale. In the opinion of many, we had cause enough and it was sheer quixotism for us to behave as we did. But we tried to look ahead and refused many a temporary advantage for the larger good of India and the rest of the world.

Wherever there has been conflict between Indian settlers and others in distant countries, we have naturally supported the just rights and claims of our countrymen and defended the honour of our country, for that honour is very dear and precious to us. But, always, we have made it clear that we want no advantage which might injure the people of the country. Some of our vested interests in foreign countries have resented this attitude but we have stuck to it, for we could not reconcile any other attitude with our own demand for freedom. In East Africa, which owes so much to Indian enterprise, we are prepared to submit to any change or loss, provided this is for the good and advancement of the Africans. But we see no reason whatever to submit to any differential treatment as between Indians and European settlers. We want no imperialism, British or Indian, anywhere.

During my visit to Burma I avoided Burmese politics. It was none of my business to interfere and it was not easy to understand them. Or perhaps there was not much to understand. For Burma appeared to be politically immature and, except for an intense nationalism, there was little political thought or organization. Till separation from India came, there were two major parties, or rather groups of parties, those favouring separation and those against it. After separation these parties split up on more or less personal lines. It was not easy to find out what each group stood for. Out of this medley, a young group, the Thakins (the Dobama Asiayone), stood out, as this had at any rate tried to develop a political and economic ideology. They were strong nationalists but with socialistic leanings. They have grown in numbers and influence since then, and are likely to play an increasing part in Burmese public life. They have attempted to keep up contacts with the Indian national movement and a strong delegation from them visited the annual sessions of the Congress.

During a very brief second visit to Burma, on my way back from China in 1939, I was surprised to find that large sections of articulate Burmese opinion were opposed to the link between Burma and China. Even the Burma-Yunnan road was not looked upon with favour. I was told that Japanese propaganda had been active and influenced many of the newspapers. It was feared that these openings into China would lead to a

flood of Chinese immigrants. The larger implications of the Burma-Yunnan road and railway were hardly realised, nor was sympathy for China in her struggle against Japan anything like what it was in India. Even from the narrowest national viewpoint, the direct links between Burma and China were of great advantage to Burma as they brought enormous trade to Rangoon. Apart from the Sino-Japanese war, it was clear that the development of the Chinese hinterland, more especially the areas bordering Burma, would be advantageous to Burma, for Burma would be a golden link connecting these with the outside world. In ancient Sanskrit literature Burma is often referred to as *Suvarna bhumi*, the Golden Land. The new turn of events in China could indeed help to make Burma again a Golden Land.

The early Burmese reactions to the war in China were largely due to a lack of appreciation of international happenings. In this field, as in the domestic political field, Burma was still a long way behind India. Latterly that appreciation has grown, and the exchange of many cultural and other missions between Burma and Free China has brought about a deeper understanding.

The Burma-Yunnan road and railway fascinated me for they brought China much nearer to India. Now another step is being taken which will directly connect India and China—the building of a road and railway from the Chinese side to Sadiya in Assam. This will mean, when ready, the direct land contact by road and rail of China with not only India but with the Asiatic-European landways. Perhaps, in the long perspective of history, this turning of China towards her western and south-western neighbours, and the new links joining her with India, will be among the major events of the age.

From Burma we went to Penang in the Malay Peninsula and, from there, motored down in leisurely fashion to Singapore. We stopped *en route* at many places, especially Kuala Lumpur, and everywhere there were the usual meetings, processions and tumultuous receptions.

Malaya was not unlike Ceylon in its tropical beauty, its forests of regimented rubber trees, its palm-fringed sea-shore. The smell of the tropics came back to me, soothing and languorous and enervating, and it was pleasant to relax and enjoy it to the full. The world of politics and conflict and hustle faded away, only nature remained in all its shimmering beauty of forest and greenery and sea. In spite of many engagements, I stole a few days of loneliness by the sea-side.

. . . The day I reached Singapore I was taken in a huge procession from the railway station. An editor or reporter of an English daily, going to his office, was caught in this procession and he was amazed at what he saw. Nothing like this mad enthusiasm had been known in that solid

outpost of the British Empire. Am I in Singapore, he wondered (so he wrote), or have I been suddenly transported elsewhere?

It is strange how little our rulers know of the people they rule over. They live in a world apart and meet only selected and approved specimens of humanity. And when, unexpectedly, they have a glimpse of reality, they are amazed and upset, and cast the blame on others.

When I went to Malaya the world was slowly recovering from the great slump of the early thirties. Almost every country had been hit hard by it and to balance its budget was a difficult problem. Throughout this period Malaya produced huge surpluses every year, and not knowing what to do with them, made gifts of cash, a million pounds sterling at a time, to the British exchequer. This remarkable record has probably not been beaten by any country. And Malaya, so far as I can remember, had no income tax. But in spite of this abundant wealth, Malaya had the poor and the illiterate. Wages and standards of living were much higher than in India, but every attempt to form a trade union was frowned upon.

What amazed me was that Malaya should have practically no arrangements for higher education. There was, I think, some kind of a medical school and an arts college in Singapore—nothing more for this big country. Students who wanted any kind of higher education had to go to some distant foreign country. The surpluses that went to the British exchequer could have built up a fine university and revolutionised education in the whole peninsula. Indeed the wealth and natural resources of Malaya could have converted the place into an earthly paradise for all its inhabitants. I wondered afresh at the paradox and the tragedy of this world, where there was so much, and yet because of man's folly, all this plenty remained beyond his reach.

As our stay in Malaya drew to a close, invitations poured in upon us from Java, Sumatra and Thailand. I longed to visit these countries and to make acquaintance with these parts of Asia. I wanted to find out how they were reacting to the new waves of thought in the world. They attracted me also because of their very close association with Indian culture. Thailand was Buddhist; Java, Sumatra and Malaya were mainly Muslim, but everywhere there were Indian influences and Indian cultural remains. In the Thai language, Sanskrit words are common, and in coining new words to express modern scientific and technical terms, they have often gone to Sanskrit. Their court ceremonial is still largely based on Sanskrit sources. The magnificent ruins of Angkor bear testimony to Indian architectural inspiration. The lovely dances of Bali are Indian in conception, and Borobudur remains one of the greatest of Indian achievements.

But I could not accept any of these tempting invitations for India was calling me back. New developments were taking place from day to day and my colleagues demanded my return. And so, regretfully, we left the tropics and ploughed our way across the Bay of Bengal to Chittagong.

I had with me a large number of caskets, given to me with addresses of welcome in Burma and Malaya. Some of these were very beautiful and some were expensive. At Chittagong, to my great surprise and annoyance, the customs authorities demanded £150 as duty on these caskets. I did not have this sum with me and, anyhow, I could ill afford to pay this large sum for the pleasure of having some caskets. To make a present of them to the customs authorities was also unthinkable. Ultimately I decided to arrange for the payment of the money through a local friend and to claim a refund on the ground that all the caskets were going to be presented to a museum. After long correspondence with the Government of India, the money was recovered. Unfortunately, the most valuable of the caskets was later stolen from the museum.

20/10/41 Diwali Day

CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS IN THE PROVINCES

Soon after my return from Burma and Malaya the Congress Working Committee met and decided to permit Congressmen in the Provincial Legislatures where they were in a majority, to accept ministerial responsibility and form cabinets. It had been made clear that any interference on the part of the Governor in the work of these ministries would lead to conflict. The policy to be pursued was that laid down in the Congress Election Manifesto on the basis of which we had fought and won the elections. This was a dual policy: to combat the new Act in every way, and to carry through constructive measures of reform. It was not easy to reconcile these two aspects of our work, but the contradiction lay, not in our policy, but in the situation itself.

... Even at the beginning, Congress governments were under no illusion as to what they could do. We realised well enough how we were hedged in and circumscribed; hence our opposition to the Government of India Act of 1935. The great expectations roused among the people by the acceptance of office by the Congress, the release of mass energy, frightened us in a way, although we welcomed this awakening. We knew that it would be followed by a reaction in the public mind

when those expectations were not realised. We tried our best to warn them of this and to explain what we could do and what we could not do. We told them that this sham and restricted provincial autonomy was still far from Swaraj and independence, for which we would have to struggle afresh.

Soon after he became Prime Minister of the United Provinces (he was also Finance Minister), Govind Ballabh Pant said: "I am oppressed by a sense of helplessness. On the one hand, we cannot abolish certain posts, though we see no need for their retention; we cannot touch the salaries and the allowances of the higher services. On the other hand, the possibilities of effecting savings or tapping fresh sources are really negligible. From inside the government one realizes even more than from the outside the terrible poverty and destitution of our people, and the fact that they are already over-taxed to an impossible extent."

... Both in Bengal and Punjab, the Muslim League had been opposed and defeated at the elections by representatives of the parties now holding power. But changing circumstances and their own growing weakness made them seek the cooperation of the League. This was essentially a marriage of convenience, and Mr. Fazlul Huq has repeatedly come near to a divorce. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan said to me once (I think it was in 1938): "What have I got in common with Jinnah? Nothing, except," pointing dramatically at me, "common opposition to you."

1/11/41

THE WORK OF THE CONGRESS GOVERNMENTS

... Probably the Bombay Congress Government was the most efficient of all the Congress governments, with the Madras Government a close second. The Central Provinces Government was the weakest and suffered from internal friction. The Bombay Premier, B.G. Kher, was an unusual head of a government. Quietly efficient but singularly unassuming, retiring and modest to a degree. There was a great deal of trouble over the leadership of the Congress Party in the Bombay Legislature and quite unnecessary heat was engendered. But in spite of bitter controversy, during which all manner of offensive charges against all and sundry were flung about, no one ever breathed a word against B. G. Kher. That in itself was a remarkable tribute to the man and his sterling character.

The main burden of work fell on the prime ministers. I knew them all fairly well and I had been intimately connected with three of them —Dr. Khan Sahib of the Frontier, Govind Ballabh Pant of the United Provinces and C. Rajagopalachari of Madras. Khan Sahib was an old and dear friend of my college days in England. A typical Pathan, fearless and laughter-loving, though occasionally indulging in outbursts of temper, he was loved by his people. He did not take kindly to office work but his frank and winning personality carried him a long way.

Govind Ballabh Pant is a big man, tall and heavy of body and slow of movement. He is a son of our mountains and carries something of their imperturbability about him. I had sometimes seen him irritated and a little angry, but I have never seen him lose his temper. He and I had shared together the lathi blows of the police in 1928 and we had also had adjoining cells in prison. A man of outstanding ability, he was the obvious leader of the Congress Party in our province. It was an aggressive Party, more so than in any other province, and not easy to manage. But by his unfailing good humour and tact and his amazing patience, he surmounted every obstacle, and was liked even by his critics and opponents. He is not a revolutionary type and his whole bent is towards constitutional activity. But, like so many others in India, circumstances have impelled him towards other courses. The chief criticism made of him has been that he is too good, too soft. He is indeed the perfect gentleman.

C. Rajagopalachari, known all over India as C.R., is a much more subtle and complex character. He has one of the finest minds in India, keenly analytical and like a razor's edge. He represents the best type of the South Indian Brahman intellect, and the standard among the Brahmans of the South is high. He is brilliant and yet an iron discipline keeps even that brilliance in check and there is no ornate display of it. A successful lawyer turned philosopher, and then man of action and politician, he has come to the top, apparently without any effort, in whatever activity he has indulged in. His life has been one of selflessness and of giving up what he had or could have had, and he has sought nothing for himself. But there is a trace of intellectual arrogance and impatience at others' slowness. He is efficient and keen on getting things done, but in his own way.

C.R. is not attractive at first sight, especially with his dark glasses which make his face look harder than it is. But the face itself is a striking one and full of sadness. It bears obvious traces of the many battles he has fought within himself, which have produced in him a strange mixture of serenity and absence of temper, with flashes of inner turmoil and hardness. His relations with Gandhi have been peculiar and

full of interest. He was attracted by him and his outlook on life even before Gandhi became an all-India figure. Deliberately and through his mind, he accepted that outlook and adapted his own life to it. But he was utterly unlike most of the others who fell under Gandhi's spell, for he was not the kind of man who mentally submits to another. Having accepted a philosophy of life, he interpreted it in his own way and would not always accept even Gandhi's interpretation. Quietly and without raising his voice, he would argue for his own viewpoint and gradually undermine the mental defences of those who disagreed with him. If, even so, he failed to convert the majority, he would accept the decision as a matter of discipline, but his mind continued its rebellious career. The mind did not surrender or submit, though the voice agreed to the inevitable.

Such a man seldom gains popularity with the crowd, but his outstanding ability and the record of his life of self-denial were such that he triumphed even in this. He gained popularity and, even more so, respect. There were those who did not like him, and they either hated him or feared him. Yet he had the capacity to win over those who had disliked him.

Between C.R. and me there was an instinctive and fundamental difference in political outlook and this has not lessened as time has gone by. But the more I knew him, the more I liked him, and always I was discovering new points in common. It was always a pleasure to talk to him and discuss any subject—his range is wide and his reading extensive. Underneath his hard and sad exterior, he is surprisingly human and his public speeches are full of flashes of humour which light up a dry subject. He is strangely emotional and very sensitive beneath that hard surface of his, and sometimes this has led him to sudden acts. In 1936 he was upset by some developments in the provincial politics of Madras and he retired completely from the Congress and all public life—to return as Prime Minister a year later. Always there is a sense of mystery about him, of unplumbed depths, and he draws himself in, producing an impression of shyness. He has found refuge in the philosophy of the Bhagwad Gita and the Upanishads, but his aggressive mind occasionally breaks through that refuge.

Because of his political attitude, Rajagopalachari was not popular among the advanced sections of the Congress. During his premiership he became the special object of irritation to the Socialists. I think he committed several errors which were wholly unnecessary, and these made him the butt of criticism and diverted attention somewhat from the achievements of his administration. These achievements were considerable, and perhaps it might be said that the Madras Government did

more during its brief career than any other provincial government. Even Muslim League critics of the Congress have paid him the most handsome of tributes and deplored the resignation of his Government. Unfortunately it could not complete one great task it had undertaken—the revision of land laws. After exhaustive examination by an expert committee, the Revenue Minister, T. Prakasam, produced a scheme which would have revolutionised the present archaic system in Madras. On the resignation of the Congress Government, that scheme and report were duly pigeon-holed by their successors.

Rajagopalachari was terribly keen on making Provincial Autonomy a success and making it lead to Swaraj and independence. The alternative to this appeared to him to be a long and bitter struggle at heavy cost and perhaps disruption and chaos. He wanted to avoid that alternative and so he put the soft-pedal on the extra-parliamentary activities of the Congress. Our dual policy was one of combating the Act and strengthening the Congress for the struggle ahead, and of legislation and other constructive activities through the Legislature. C.R. concentrated on the latter. When the final break came in the autumn of 1940, and every effort made on behalf of the Congress to come to terms with the British Government was rejected by the latter, C.R. was a completely disillusioned and disappointed man. He had taken the lead in all those attempts and done so even at the risk of parting with Gandhiji. That failure had a personal aspect and was felt by him probably more than by any other person.

Apart from having to choose our ministers, we had also to choose the speakers of our Legislatures. Our speakers turned out to be uniformly successful, but perhaps the least conventional and most successful of them was Purushottam Das Tandon of the United Provinces. He made it clear, right at the beginning, that while it was his duty to be absolutely impartial and to observe the rules of procedure, he had no intention of resigning from the Congress or of abstaining from Congress activities outside the Legislature. He refused to follow the English practice and preferred the American. As a matter of fact the position in India was such that it required an extension of the American practice. Tandon pointed out that it would be absurd for him, as it should be for every Indian, to say that he was neutral as between those who wanted independence for India and those who were opposed to it. All his life had been devoted to the cause of Indian independence and was he to forswear this because he had been elected Speaker? The difference was not between two or more parties accepting the fundamental structure of the state and wrangling about more or less unessential matters; it was a basic difference and there could be no neutrality on that issue. So he

declared that he would remain an active member of Congress Committees and take full part in Congress work outside the Legislature.

Used as we are to English conventions and procedure, this was a novel attitude to many, and most of the other speakers did not agree with it. But Tandon stuck to his position, and when some Opposition members raised the issue, he told them that he did not wish to depend on the majority party (that is, the Congress) for his Speakership; he would resign if even the small minority constituting the Opposition asked him to do so. It was a brave challenge which none accepted. As a matter of fact everyone recognised his ability and absolute impartiality, which not even his own passionately held opinions could deflect, and wanted him to continue. And so he continued as long as the Congress Government continued in office, and throughout this period he carried on Congress work publicly outside the Assembly. And now, though the Congress Government has ceased to be, he continues as the Speaker of a House that cannot meet, and, in common with other Speakers, is in prison.

I entirely agreed with Tandon in this matter. He was an innovator in another respect also. The Government of India Act had laid down that members were to address the Legislatures in English unless they were unable to do so. This was a very remarkable provision. We were asked to speak in a foreign language in our own Assembly, and our own languages were only barely tolerated when there was no other alternative. Almost every one in India, in Congress or outside, objected strongly to this provision, but there was the law which was interpreted in various ways by the different Speakers. For the sake of a few English members or officials our proceedings were to be conducted in a language which the majority of the members did not understand. This majority naturally resented being converted into dummies, and a speaker, even if he knew English tolerably well, wanted to be understood by the House as a whole. Tandon held that an Indian must be presumed to express himself better in his own language than in any foreign tongue and if he chose to speak in the provincial language, which was Hindustani, he was at perfect liberty to do so. He left it to the member himself to judge of his capacity to speak in a particular language. This interpretation led to the proceedings being conducted largely in Hindustani. The official reports were also prepared in Hindustani as well as English.

Purushottam Das Tandon and I had been close comrades in our public life for a quarter of a century, and though neither of us is yet terribly old, we began to be considered as elder statesmen in our province. The venerable and highly-respected Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, on the verge of eighty, had practically retired, and so had another elder, Dr.

Bhagwan Das. Among non-Congressmen in our province there were other elderly and prominent figures, like Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. But in the Provincial Congress the mantle of the elder statesmen had almost unawares fallen on Tandon and me. Even Govind Ballabh Pant had come later within the Congress fold.

We were a curious pair, Tandon and I, very different in our outlook on life and our methods of work, each sometimes irritating the other. Yet during all these years we hardly ever fell out on any important matter and we had an abiding affection and respect for each other. I came to realise that friendship and comradeship did not depend so much on similarity of views but far more on a certain faith in the bona fides of the other party, provided of course that the basic approach and objective were the same. Tandon was straight, his character solid, his sincerity and selflessness unchallengeable. He could not be swept knowingly into devious courses even though some temporary gain might be in sight. He has numerous fads, and has a peculiar way of getting entangled in words and phrases and details, and sometimes forgets the passage of time. But whenever occasion demanded it, he could rise above the passing phases of a problem and judge it in relation to more fundamental things. His keen intelligence and wide experience of public affairs made us seek his counsel whenever any difficulty presented itself, and difficulties came fast and furious. I hardly ever took any step in the political field, especially in our province, without consulting him. I valued his advice for many reasons but above all because of his straightness and intellectual independence....

GLOSSARY

Barawafat	the twelfth day of the Arabic month Rabi-ul-Awwal, observed in commemoration of Prophet Mohammad's death
Bhajan	devotional song
Chakotra	citron—a kind of large sweet lemon
Dasheri	a variety of mango
Dhanush takli	bow-spindle
Doaba	tract of land between two confluent rivers
Garma	a variety of melon
Halwai	confectioner
Har singhar	flower of the weeping nyctanthes
Kirtan	singing aloud in praise of God
Kranti	revolution
Langra	a variety of mango
Mahajan	money-lender
Makki-ki-roti	unleavened bread made of maize
Parijat	synonym of har singhar
Prabhat pheri	early morning procession chanting songs or slogans to celebrate an occasion
Sharda	a variety of melon
Shikara	a hooded boat used in Kashmir
Shirshasana	a yoga posture—standing on one's head
Sir (land)	self-cultivated land
Thulma	a kind of furlined blanket used in the hills
Tilak	mark on the forehead

INDEX

(Biographical footnotes are italicized)

Abbottabad, 402, 472
Abdullah, Sheikh Muhammad, 268, 401, 407–408, 413, 416
Abyssinia—*see* Ethiopia
Abyssinian campaign, 164
Achhbal, 411
Addis Ababa, 679
Adibasi Sabha, 207
Afghanistan, 113, 119, 174, 189, 192, 209, 400, 439
Afridis, 15
Aga (S.P., Allahabad), 494
Agarwal, Dr., 714
Agnes (nurse), 678
Agra, 540, 560, 637, 654
Agra Jail, 682
Agriculturist Party, 784
Ahmad, Maulana Hussain, 785
Ahmed, Z.A., 309 fn
Ahmedabad, 425, 618
————, Congress session at, 61 fn
Ahmednagar, 217
Air India International, 393 fn
Ajanta Caves, 167–168, 253, 615, 668
Ajmer, 560
Ajmer Jail, 561
Ajmer Shooting Case, 560
Akali Dal, 36, 218
Akali Political Conference, 245 fn
Akbar, 113
Akhenaton (King of Egypt), 615
Al Azhar University (Egypt), 205
Al-Balagh, 205 fn
Albania, 488
Alberuni, 546
Alexander (of Macedonia), 383
Alexander, Horace G., 237, 430
Al-Hilal, 205 fn
Ali Khan, B.I., 218
Alipur Prison, 502
Allahabad, 29, 33, 36, 41–42, 153, 197, 199, 204, 217, 225, 231, 243, 247–248, 253, 262–263, 275, 289, 353, 359, 369–370, 379, 381, 383–384, 417–418, 422–423, 429, 432, 437, 445–447, 449–450, 453–455, 459, 461, 464, 467–470, 472–474, 476–477, 487, 491, 494, 496–497, 500, 502–503, 508, 519, 521, 528, 535, 540, 545–547, 553, 556, 558 fn, 561–563, 574, 577, 589, 594, 601–602, 606, 608, 610, 647, 652–653, 661, 663–664, 674, 680, 695, 704, 710, 713–714, 736, 738–739, 743, 746, 753, 755, 788
Allahabad High Court, 536 fn
Allahabad Municipality, 580
Allahabad Museum, 777
Allahabad Patrika, 365 fn
Allahabad Public Library, 529
Allahabad University, 546 fn
Allahabad University Library, 529
Allah Baksh, 215 fn, 708
Allen & Unwin (publishers), 430
All India Congress Committee, 16, 41, 54 fn, 59, 62, 80 fn, 81–82, 91 & fn–93, 96, 98, 100, 129, 131, 135 & fn–136, 138–139 & fn, 146, 158, 160, 169, 179, 216, 223, 228–229, 233–239, 248 & fn, 288–289, 424, 433, 436, 476, 669, 705, 770, 778–779
A.I.C.C. and After (Jawaharlal Nehru), 172 fn
All India Day, 234 & fn
All India Editors' Conference, 562 fn
All India Excise Duty, 329
All India Forward Bloc—*see* Forward Bloc
All India Institute of Hygiene and Public Health (Calcutta), 395

All India Muslim League—*see* Muslim League
All India National Liberal Federation, 259 fn
All India Radio, 356–357
All India Science Congress, 395 fn
All India Sikh League, 245 fn
All India Spinners' Association, 330–331, 404
All India States Muslim League, 260 & fn
All India States People's Conference, 173, 260 fn, 269 fn, 272, 274, 585, 591
All India Women's Conference, 340, 617
All Jammu & Kashmir National Conference, 268, 408–409
All Parties Conference, 195
Almora, 445, 535, 558
Almora District Jail, 162, 754–755, 757–758, 761, 768, 781
Alvares, Rev. Peter J., 82 & fn
Amaratunga, 210
Amarnath, 412
Amarnath Valley, 403
Amar Singh Club (Srinagar), 415
Ambalal Committee, 501
Ambedkar, B.R., 259
American Interest in International Problems (A.T. Mahan), 613
American Revolution, 621
American Youth Congress, 435
American Youth Movement, 426
Amery, L.S., 29 & *fn*, 45 & fn, 107–109, 127 & fn, 145, 504 & fn, 508, 523, 564, 576, 578 fn, 624, 742, 748 fn
Amrita, 365 fn
Amrita Bazar Patrika, 365 fn, 391
Amritsar, 623, 628
Anand (Gujarat), 426–427, 434
Anand Bhawan (Allahabad), 243, 381, 384, 451, 466, 493, 502, 507, 510, 520, 525, 527–528, 541, 543, 545, 548, 588, 619, 640, 668, 704–705, 708, 716, 739
Anand Mayi Devi, 680
Anantnag, 268 fn, 411, 415
Andamans, 574
Andheri, 214, 459–460, 463–464
Andrews, C.F., 381–382, 456
Aney, M.S., 709 & fn
Angkor Wat, 795
Anglo-Burmese War (Third), 788
Annual Register of World Events, 680 fn
Ansari, Hidayat Ullah, 424 & *fn*
————, M.A., 250 fn, 765, 784
————, Shaukat Ullah, 250 & *fn*
————, Zohra, 677–678
Antibes, 508
Anti-Compromise Conference, 260 fn
Anti-Fascist Association, 585
Anzac reports, 664
Aosta, Duke of, 679
Arabia, 209
Aristotle, 529
Arora, Gopi Krishna, 570
Aru, 412
Arundale, G.S., 87 fn
Asaf Ali, 34 & fn, 41, 51, 709, 712
Asafjah dynasty, 271 & fn
Ashby Hall, 538
Ashoka, 383
Asia, 517, 711
Assam, 346–347, 794
Associated Journals Limited, 359–360, 438
Associated Press, 130, 237, 261, 263, 354, 719
Atal, Madan, 343, 479, 495, 536, 538, 586–589, 596–597, 601, 604, 606, 608–610, 616, 618, 643, 647–648, 755
At Freedom's Door (Sir Malcolm Darling), 23 fn
Atlanta University, 397 fn
Atlantic Monthly, 14, 24 fn, 652, 713
Attock, 472
'August Offer', 121 fn, 129 fn, 135 fn
Aundh, 475
————, Raja of, 475
Australia, 188 & fn
Autobiography (Jawaharlal Nehru), 15, 50, 162, 417, 419, 476, 544 fn, 552–553, 576, 579–580, 585, 593, 607, 615, 653 & fn, 670, 681, 691, 694, 753 fn, 754—See also *Toward Freedom*

Auto II, 696, 714
Avadh districts, 183, 723
Avasthi, 572
Ayodhya, U.P. Political Conference at, 557
Azad, Abul Kalam, 14, 15 fn–16, 29–30, 33–34, 70, 76 & fn, 80–81, 82 fn, 94, 121 & fn, 172, 186, 203–205, 212, 216–218, 226, 228, 230–231, 244, 245 fn, 247 & fn–248 & fn, 250–252, 272, 287, 304, 356–357, 424, 446–448, 453, 675–676, 708, 764
Azad, Chandra Shekhar, 560
Azadpur, 642
Azamgarh District, 561

Bachhraj & Co. Ltd., 462, 493, 601, 619, 651, 711
Badenhock, 700
Badenweiler, 162, 691, 758–760, 762–763
Badrinath, 384, 661
Badshah Khan—*see* Khan, Abdul Ghaffar
Bajaj, Jamnalal, 354, 356, 648, 677–678, 680, 709–710, 764
Bajpai, Harish Chandra, 502 & fn–503, 507, 512
Baldwin, Stanley, 85
Bali, 795
Balkan states, 623
Ballia, 153
Baltic states, 74 & fn
Baltistan, 474
Banaras (Benares), 231, 423, 477, 545, 561, 566 fn, 661
Banaras Hindu University, 327 fn
Banaras Hindu University Engineering College, 559
Banaras Hindu University Library, 580
Banaras Hindu University Science College, 559
Banda, 547, 555
Banerji, Purnima (Nora), 591, 607
Bangalore, 321–322, 701
Banihal Pass, 473–474
Bank of France, 717
Bankwalla, Noel, 531 fn
Bara Banki, 183–185, 247
Bara Banki District Congress Committee, 184
Baramula, 268 fn
Barcelona, 170, 422, 480, 498, 505, 508, 539, 585
Bareilly, 569
Baroda, 288
Barret, P.F., 642–643
Barrington-Ward, Robert, 744 fn
Barrons, J., 531 fn
Basic scheme of education, 169, 379, 406
Bastille, fall of, 71–72
Beach Candy Club (Bombay), 680
Beas district, 512
Beaumont, Sir John William Fisher, 675 & *fn*
Beethoven, 601
Belgium, 27 & fn, 30, 37, 73, 84, 105, 137, 176, 179, 465
Bellary Central Jail, 560
Bengal, 263 & fn, 347, 671, 757, 767, 783, 797
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, 263 fn, 365
Benn, Wedgwood, 31 fn
Berlin, 136, 150, 237 fn, 345, 735, 758–759, 778
Besant, Annie, 584, 672
Bessarabia, 74 & fn
Bex, 481, 496, 499, 539
Bhagat, P.S., 678 & *fn*–680
Bhagwan Das, 768, 802
Bhagwati Charan, 560
Bhandari, Dr., 377, 390, 445, 451, 453, 457–458, 460–461, 463–464, 469, 524–525, 527, 538, 547, 552
Bharatiya Kranti Dal, 189 fn
Bharatiya Lok Dal, 189 fn
Bhargava, Gopi Chand, 35
——, Narain Prasad, 682
Bhave, Vinoba, 160 fn, 182 fn, 185, 193–194, 197–198, 248 & fn, 372–373, 487, 649
Bhola, 695
Bhopal, 288
Bhowali, 754–755
Bhuta, Messrs. (architects), 706
Bidar, 261, 263, 270, 272–273

Bihar, 1 fn, 168 fn, 323–325, 326 fn–327, 329 & fn, 333–334, 676, 767
Bihar Earthquake Relief, 561
Bilhaur Tehsil (Kanpur Dist.), 560
Birla, Brij Mohan, 326 & *fn*, 329
————, G.D., 326 fn, 708
Birmingham, 576, 763
Black Forest (Germany), 758
Blomfield, Jane Seymour, 387
Blunt, Wilfrid S., 616 & *fn*
Boars Hill, 640
Bodh Gaya, 381, 450
Bodhisatvas, 167, 590
Boer War, 90 & fn
Bokhari, 357
Bolsheviks, 2 fn
Bombay, 29, 34, 81, 82 fn, 130–131, 135 fn, 139, 146, 182, 214, 228, 233, 235 fn–237 & fn, 239, 251, 259, 262, 283, 286, 297, 309, 321, 339–340, 356, 384, 390–391, 421 & fn–422, 424–427, 429, 433, 435–437, 451, 454–455, 458–460, 463–465, 467–468, 474, 508, 513, 526, 529, 534, 558, 574, 576, 601, 603 & fn, 608, 614, 617, 619, 647, 649, 665–666, 674–675, 678, 680, 701, 703, 739, 749, 753, 755, 767
Bombay Muslim League Conference, 215 & fn
Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, 12 fn
Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, 233, 665 & fn, 674
Book Company (Calcutta), 608
Borobudur, 795
Bose, Subhas Chandra, 170, 172, 204, 260 fn, 263 fn, 680, 735, 765
Bosphorus, 3
Bourbons, 71
Brailsford, 546
Brelvi, S.A., 251
Brijbehara, 403, 415
Brijlal, 521–522, 524
Brindavan, 383
Bristol, 445
British Broadcasting Corporation, 23 & fn, 461
British Commonwealth, 42, 45 fn
British Home Office, 760
British Youth Movement, 426, 435
Buck, Pearl S., 711 & *fn*, 736
Buddhi, 567 & fn
Buell, Raymond Leslie, 114 fn
Burma, 29 fn, 113, 168, 174, 188 fn-189, 192, 203 & fn, 207–210, 226, 346, 380, 383, 439, 540, 664 fn, 787–790, 792–794, 796
Burma-China Road, 66 & fn, 85, 86 fn, 177, 342, 346, 793–794
Burma Provincial Congress Committee, 789
Burmese National League—*see* Dobama Asiayone
Burmese Public Service Commission, 203 fn
Burmese Senate, 203
Butler Palace (Lucknow), 723
Calcutta, 170, 253, 321–322, 340, 347–348, 366, 394, 395 fn, 456, 520, 524, 529–530, 594, 606–611, 613–614, 616, 618–619, 636–637, 643, 739, 746, 783
Calcutta University, 394–395, 430, 546, 739 fn
California, 394
Cambridge, 503, 760, 763, 765
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, 90 & *fn*
Canada, 74, 188
Cannanore Jail, 559
Cannes, 461
Cape of Good Hope, 463, 480, 498, 505, 567
Captain, Goshiben (Psyche), 459–460, 508, 558, 562, 565, 590, 609, 640, 647, 713–715, 718, 721, 724
Carritt, Michael, 377
Carter, Edward C., 13, 114
Catherine, 477
Cawnpore—*see* Kanpur
Caxton Hall (London), 206 & fn
Cellular Jail (Port Blair, Andamans), 559–561
Central Asia, 396, 400
Central Europe, 165, 488
Central India Agency, 257

Central India States People's Conference, 257
Central Legislative Assembly, 175, 178, 260 & fn, 426, 551–552, 626, 734, 781, 784
Central Provinces, 273 & fn
Ceylon—*see* Sri Lanka
Ceylon Indian Congress, 209–211, 240
Ceylon National Congress, 209, 210 fn, 226 & fn, 231
Ceylon Observer, 211
Chaman Lal, Diwan, 538
Chamberlain, Sir Austen, 90–91
————, Neville, 33 & fn, 83–85, 104, 144–145, 170–171, 177, 624
Chanakya, 528, 541
Chand, Narinder, 423
Chanda, Anil Kumar, 670
Chandanwari, 412
Chapra, 701
Charan Singh, 189 & *fn*
Chasme Shahi, 403
Chatham House, 747 fn–748
Chattari, Nawab of, 723
Chattopadhyaya, Kamaladevi, 432, 713, 746, 750
Chaubeypur, 504 fn
Chen, 340
Cheng Yin-fun, 344 & *fn*
Chesieres, 445
Chheoki, 494
Chhota Nagpur, 1, 446
Chiang Kai-shek, 86 & fn, 175, 340–342, 515–516, 518–520, 530, 672, 732 fn
————, Madame, 175, 341, 343, 516, 519–520, 526, 527, 530, 672, 711, 713–714, 723, 737
Child Marriage: The Indian Minotaur (E.F. Rathbone), 726 fn
China, 24, 43, 65–66 & fn, 73, 78, 83–86, 113, 119–120, 141, 149 & fn–150, 156, 165–166, 174–175, 180, 189, 191–192, 208–209, 226, 339 & fn–349, 358, 368, 398 fn, 402–403, 426, 432, 435, 439, 441, 453, 468, 481, 488, 493, 515–520, 526, 539, 545, 571, 584–585, 613, 631, 670, 689, 718, 736–737, 755, 780, 787, 792–794
China Builds for Democracy (Nym Wales), 713 & fn
China, Spain and the War (Jawaharlal Nehru), 418–419, 585
Chinese Buddhist Mission, 253, 340
Chinese Cooperatives, 713,
Chinese Revolution (1911), 732 fn
Chinese Turkistan, 341
Chinese Youth Movement, 426, 435
Chittagong, 347, 796
Chopra, R.N., 395 & *fn*
Chu Chia-hwa, 339–340
Chungking, 150, 174, 342, 345, 349, 480, 516, 520, 526–527, 585
Churchill, Sir Winston, 33 fn, 63 fn, 83–85, 114 fn, 144, 194, 623, 672, 741–742
Civic Guards, 53, 58, 60
Civil Marriage Act, 318
Clement, Traverse, 387 & fn
Clinique Frenes, 454
Collis, Maurice, 726 & *fn*
Colombo, 427
Columbia University, 396
Communal harmony (Sir Percival Spear) 419 fn
Communists (British), 761
Communists (Indian), 98, 232 & fn, 650, 692, 773, 775
Communist Party of India, 94, 231–232 & fn
Congress Hospital (Allahabad), 755
Congress, Indian National, 1 fn, 7, 12–14, 15 fn–17, 19–23, 26, 31 & fn–33, 35 fn–36, 38, 40–41, 44, 46–47, 51 & fn–53, 55–61 & fn, 64, 67–70, 76 fn, 80 & fn–82 & fn, 85, 87–88, 92–94, 96, 97 fn–98 & fn, 100, 102–103, 109, 111, 116–118, 121 fn–123, 127 fn–130, 132–140, 143, 146 & fn–148, 150, 154, 158–162, 164–173, 176, 178–180, 182–183, 189 fn, 204–208, 210, 213–225, 226 fn, 227–229 & fn, 231–232, 234 & fn–238, 240, 244–246, 249 & fn–251, 259, 260 fn, 262, 265–266, 268, 270, 273, 287, 288–289, 301, 354, 359–361, 379, 381 fn, 389, 391, 410, 418, 420, 425, 428, 429, 438, 448–450, 477, 485, 487, 495, 503–504, 543, 553, 558 & fn–560, 575, 584, 620, 625–626, 649 & fn, 650 fn, 665 & fn, 675–676, 692, 696 fn, 697, 709 & fn,

720 & fn, 727, 729, 731–732, 742, 762, 764–784, 790, 793, 796, 799–802
————, session at Ahmedabad, 61 fn
————, session at Faizpur, 779
————, session at Haripura, 170, 204
————, session at Karachi, 297
————, session at Lucknow, 674, 768, 778–779
————, session at Ramgarh, 1, 5, 7–8, 15 fn, 37, 47–50, 51, 53, 55, 61 fn, 70, 85, 105, 203, 208–209, 234
————, session at Tripuri, 172, 204
————, Delhi resolution of, 80, 82 & fn, 92, 95–96, 98, 123, 129, 135, 137
————, Election Manifesto of, 779, 782, 796
————, Patna resolution of, 11
————, Poona decision of, 132, 675
————, Ramgarh resolution of, 55–56, 61, 64, 70, 82 fn, 129, 135, 234, 259 fn
————, satyagraha pledge of, 61 & fn
Congress ministries, 48, 65, 104, 118, 136, 160, 168–169, 176, 273 fn, 323, 332, 379, 382, 409, 553, 559, 575, 719, 742, 763, 776–777, 779, 796–797, 800–801
Congress Seva Dal, 99, 115–116, 135, 143, 182, 215
Congress Socialist Party, 217 fn, 232 & fn, 766, 778, 799
Congress Working Committee, 1, 29, 32–34, 51, 53, 55–65, 67–70, 73, 76 & fn, 80 fn–82, 85, 87–88 & fn, 92 & fn–93, 95–96 & fn, 99, 115, 117–118, 121, 123, 127–129, 131, 135, 140, 146 fn, 153, 158, 160 fn, 165, 175, 177–178, 182, 187, 198–199, 213–214, 217 & fn–218, 228, 230–233, 235, 241, 243–246, 247 fn, 249 & fn, 253, 275, 305–306, 353–354, 391, 418, 420, 436, 448, 474, 477–478, 584, 653, 665, 674, 676, 764–765, 767–768, 770, 777–781, 796
Conlin, 503–504, 556, 574–575
Conservatives (British), 761
Constituent Assembly, 15 fn
Constituent Assembly (R.M. Lohia), 5 fn
Constituent Assembly and Indian Federation (Y.G. Krishnamurti), 434
Constituent Assembly and Our Demand (Jai Gopal Narang), 434
Coorg District Congress Committee, 227
Cornell University, 190 fn
Council of Nationalities (Russia), 419
Crete, 747
Criminal Amendment Act, 322
Criminal Investigation Department, 161, 525, 552, 760
Cripps, Sir Stafford, 33, 114 & fn
Cromwell, Oliver, 115, 145
Crusades, 112
Czechoslovakia, 25–26, 73, 85, 132, 170, 343, 358, 391, 398 fn, 488, 585, 700

Dachau, 699
Daily Hind, 366
Dal Lake, 403, 405
Dalai Lama, 468
Dalal, Sir Ardeshir R., 395 & *fn*
Daliganj, 502
Dandi march, 158
Danger of being a gentleman (H. Laski), 418 fn
Dante, 401
Dar, Krishna Prasad, 713
Darjeeling, 468
Darkness at Noon (Arthur Koestler), 665
Darling, Sir Malcolm, 23 & *fn*, 461
Darwesh, Bustami, 709, 713
Das, C.R., 672, 767
————, Jatin, 559–560
Das Gupta, Prabodh Chandra, 430
Datta, S.K., 114, 400
D.A.V. College (Kanpur), 559
Da Vinci, Leonardo, 401
Dawson, Geoffrey, 744 fn
Defence of India Act, 161, 198–199, 227, 232, 260 fn, 262 fn–263, 276, 358, 360, 369–370, 372, 426, 486, 490, 495, 570, 641–642, 734 fn
Dehra Dun, 237, 497, 499, 502–504, 506, 510–511, 513, 521, 524, 539, 541, 543, 548, 556–558, 564, 567, 569, 573–574, 577, 581 & fn–582, 587, 601, 603, 606, 612, 618–619, 642, 660, 673–674, 677–678, 680, 697, 715, 724,

736, 738–739, 743
Dehra Dun District Board, 641–642
Dehra Dun District Jail, 501–503, 506, 508, 523, 528, 531, 535, 557–558, 563, 567, 574–575, 577, 641–642, 654, 663, 667, 684, 739, 754
Dehra Dun District Satyagraha Committee, 641
De La Mare, Walter, 401, 615
De La Mora, Constancia, 422 & fn, 442
Delhi, 95, 215, 224, 244, 248 fn, 284, 286, 329, 347, 354, 360, 423, 440, 511, 522, 540, 551, 625–627, 639, 695, 701, 708, 712, 721, 723, 734, 739, 764–765
Delhi Bomb Case, 560
Delhi University, 306 fn
Denmark, 13 fn, 37, 73, 179
Deoli, 552
Desai, Bhulabhai, 14 & fn, 252, 427, 649, 665, 674–675, 709, 745
————, Dhirajlal B., 665 & *fn*, 674
————, H.M., 209–211
————, Mahadeva, 616, 641, 648–649, 708–710
De Saint Exupery, Antoine, 736
Dewa, 184
Dhami state, 274 fn
Dhawan, Shanti Swaroop, 546 & *fn*
Dhingra, Madan Lal, 616 & *fn*
Diary of a Staff Officer, 681
Dieulefit, 497, 678, 724, 734
Disarmament Conference, 624
Discovery of India (Jawaharlal Nehru), 544 fn
Dobama Asiayone or Thakin group (Burmese National League), 203 & fn, 208, 452, 793
Dogra (Police Supt.), 560
Dohad (Gujarat), 257
Doiwala, 678
Domel, 472
Dominion Status, 1, 6, 9, 15, 30, 35, 78, 86–87, 108, 111, 113, 259 fn, 621, 628, 791
Donoughmore Commission, 241
Don't make martyrs in India—make Arms (J.C. Wedgwood), 578 fn
Doon School (Dehra Dun), 604 & fn
Dost Mohammed, 400
Doulatram, Jairamdas, 764
Dover, 760
Downing Street, 83
Drift to Niagara in India (Edward Thompson), 523 fn
Drummond, Lindsay, (publishers), 14, 419–420, 527, 700, 711
Dube, Mrs. Bhagwandin, 461
Dublesh, Vishnu Saran, 573–574
Du Bois, W.E.B., 397 & *fn*
Duff, Sir Beauchamp, 630 & *fn*
Durga, 720
Dutch East Indies, 47, 189
Dutt, Vidyavati, 511 & fn–512, 520, 565
————, Vishnu, 511 fn

Early History of India (V.A. Smith), 639
East Africa, 188 fn, 791, 793
Eastern Group Conference, 188, 347–348
Eastern Group Supply Committee, 664
East India Association, 206 fn
Egypt, 3, 29, 113, 171, 205, 349 & fn, 438, 585, 615, 624
Eighteen Months in India, (Jawaharlal Nehru), 420, 585
Einstein, Albert, 671
Ellora, 253
Encyclopedia of the Negro, 397 fn
Enge, Dorothy, 442
England, 2 & fn, 3, 7, 9–10, 13, 15–16, 22–23, 25 fn, 28, 30 fn–31, 34 & fn, 37, 40, 43–46, 48, 50–52, 63, 66, 68–69, 74–75, 77–78, 81 fn–86 & fn, 89–90, 93–95, 100–101, 104–106, 108, 115–118, 120–121 & fn, 131–132, 136–139, 142 fn, 144–147, 152, 156–157, 162, 170, 176–178, 180, 182, 188, 194, 198, 213, 216 fn, 226, 236, 278, 294, 312, 321, 343, 346–347, 371, 378, 380, 390–392, 397, 398 fn–400, 426–427, 433–435, 437, 451, 453–454, 458, 562, 473, 481, 488–489, 499, 505, 510, 526–527, 530, 542–543, 545 fn, 561, 578, 584, 591, 605, 608, 618, 620–625, 627–629,

635, 653, 657, 669, 693, 696 fn–697, 699–700, 727, 729, 731–732, 741, 743–744, 748 & fn, 760, 762–763, 792–793, 798
Enlist India for Freedom! (Edward Thompson), 523 fn
Escape (Jawaharlal Nehru), 725
Etah, 248, 276
Ethiopia, 24–25, 73, 85, 165–166, 241, 391, 488, 510, 622, 678–680
Euripides, 492

Fa Hien, 450
Faizpur, Congress session at, 779
Fakhr-e-Afghan—*see* Khan, Abdul Ghaffar
Farrukhabad, 122 fn, 248
Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, 701 fn
Fielden, Lionel, 23
Finland, 2 & fn–3, 176, 699
Finnish-Soviet War, 2 & fn
Firdausi, 383 fn
Flotsam (Erich Maria Remarque), 736
Flowering Earth (D.C. Peather), 462
Foot, A.E., 604 & *fn*
Fordham, Malcolm, 531 fn
Foreign Affairs, 14, 420
Forever Freedom (Pelican anthology), 577, 578 fn
Forward Bloc, 16, 172, 260 & fn, 262
For Whom the Bell Tolls (E. Hemingway), 736
Four Faces of Shiva, 687, 722
Fox, Ralph, 369
France, 2, 30 fn, 52, 55, 63, 65–66 & fn, 71–75, 78, 81 fn, 84, 90, 104–105, 115–116, 118, 121, 137, 157, 176–177, 179, 251, 278, 346, 371, 402, 415 & fn, 460, 478, 480, 558, 625, 627, 631, 634, 697, 699, 717, 747
Franco, General Francisco, 144, 165, 699, 779
Franco-British Union, 63 fn
Frank, Morris Henry, 24 & fn
Free World Association, 344 fn, 345 fn
Freiburg, 759
French Encyclopaedists, 205, 447
French Foreign Office, 764
French Revolution, 71–72, 115, 171, 234 fn, 266, 621
Front Populaire, 764–765
Frost, Jean, 653 & fn
Fyvel, J.R., 530
Fyzabad, 247

Gajapatatiraj, Sir Vijaya Ananda—*see* Vizianagram, Maharajkumar of
Gandhi, Devadas, 708
————, Feroze, 540–541, 586, 619, 646, 715
————, Homi K., 531 fn
————, Kasturba, 753
————, Mahatma, 11, 14, 16, 21 & fn, 29, 33–36, 39–44, 48–51 & fn, 54, 56–57, 59, 64–65, 67 & fn, 87 & fn, 92 & fn, 95–96, 98, 121 & fn, 123, 129 & fn, 134–135 & fn, 138, 142 & fn, 145 & fn–146 & fn, 148–149, 152–153, 155, 158, 160 & fn–161, 164–165, 168–169, 172, 176–177, 179–180, 182–183, 185–186 & fn, 189, 192 & fn, 193 fn, 206, 216 & fn–218, 224 & fn–226 & fn, 229 & fn, 231–232, 235 & fn–237, 243–244, 245 fn–246, 247 fn–249, 252–253, 258–259, 262, 265–266, 274 fn, 275 & fn, 378 & fn, 386, 392, 402, 416, 424–425, 428–429, 436, 448, 464, 467, 471, 486–487, 494, 497, 504, 509, 527–529, 541–543, 549, 553, 556, 562 & fn, 577, 583–584, 609 & fn, 615, 641, 647–650 & fn, 658, 660, 665, 671–672, 674–676 & fn, 686, 688–690, 692, 696–697, 706, 708–710, 719, 720 fn, 727, 734, 742, 744–745, 753, 755, 761–762, 764–766, 770, 774, 777–780, 790, 798–800
Gandhi Jayanti, 140, 146, 695
Gandhi Seva Sangh, 562, 565, 590, 666
Gandhi-Viceroy talks, 145 & fn
Gangotri, 384, 661
Garhwal, 384, 558, 650, 654, 660–661
Garhwali Regiment Case, 558
Garret, G.T., 640
Garvin, Florence, 398

Gauleiters, 622, 730
Gautama, the Buddha, 450, 790
Gaya, 446, 449–451
Gaya Prasad, 559–560
Geissler, Eva, 454
————, Lou, 454
Gem Palace (Mandalay), 789
Geneva, 29, 170, 445, 505, 508, 512, 537, 539, 725
Genoa, 454
George V (of England), 760
George, Henry, 580
Germany, 2, 27 & fn, 37, 44, 47, 63, 65, 75, 77, 79, 85, 131, 144, 152, 157, 162, 172, 182, 389, 391, 627, 637 & fn, 656, 672, 680, 755, 759
Gestapo, 143, 552, 629, 759
Ghafur, 571
Ghazipur, 153
Ghosh, Prafulla Chandra, 81
————, Tushar Kanti, 365 & *fn*
Gide, Andre, 764
Gidwani, Sir Choithram, 734
Giornale d' Italia, 164
Glimpses of World History (Jawaharlal Nehru), 502, 534, 544 & fn, 585–586, 594, 605, 651, 653, 711, 723–724
Gokhale, Gopal Krishna, 616
Golden Book of Tagore, 681
Gorakhpur, 150, 154, 159–160, 331–333, 335, 486, 490–491, 494–497, 502, 507, 654, 739
Gorakhpur Jail, 495–497, 499, 501, 503, 508, 557, 654, 739
Government of India Act of 1935, 45 & fn, 264, 295, 621, 731, 787, 796, 800–801
Grant, J.B., 395
Great Divide (H.V. Hodson), 680 fn
Great Men of India (Rushbrook Williams), 652
Greece, 349 & fn, 640, 664, 747, 787
Guatemala, 396
Gueveric, Yvonne, 511 & fn–512
Gujarat, 233, 425–427, 434, 674–675, 757, 767
Gujranwala District Congress Committee, 245 fn
Gulabchand, 355
Gunte, Sitaram, 558 & fn, 568
Gunther, Frances, 497, 527, 534
————, John, 170, 418
Gupta, Hari Ram, 400
————, Manpal, 276
————, Omprakash, 276
————, Shiva Prasad, 750, 768
Gupta period, 528

Haidergarh, 184
Haiphong-Kunming railroad, 66 fn
Halifax, first Earl, 33, 144, 194, 762–763
Hall, Fielding, 788
Hallet, Sir Maurice, 123, 555, 577, 619, 637, 698, 734, 744
Hamid Ali, Begum, 283, 286
Handoo, Chandar, 540, 542
————, Sri Krishna, 540
Hansard, 726, 740, 744, 748
Haque, Azizul, 546
Hardikar, N.S., 214
Hardinge, Lord, 630 & *fn*
Hardoi, 559
Hardwar, 384, 661
Hari, 452, 456, 695, 714, 738–739
Harijan, 192 fn, 249, 253, 425, 562 fn
Harijan Ashram (Allahabad), 148
Hari Parvat, 402
Haripura, Congress session at, 170, 204
Harper's Magazine, 517
Harrison, Agatha, 390, 506, 510, 520, 523–525, 527, 530, 534, 537–541, 547, 552, 561, 618
Harshavardhana, 383
Hasan, Wazir, 524
Havell, E.B., 640
Hazaribagh Central Jail, 161
Heath, Carl, 527
Hebert, 525, 538, 547
Hemingway, Ernest, 736
Hemmerlin, Mlle., 460
Hickman, Francis, 315 fn
Hindu, 263, 562 fn
Hindu Mahasabha, 215, 218, 657 & fn
Hindustan, 224, 253, 424 & fn–425
Hindustan Motors, 326 fn
Hindustan Times, 188, 308–309, 354, 719
Hindusthan Standard, 247, 365–366

Hirachand, Walchand, 701 & *fn*
History of Aryan Rule in India (E.B Havell), 640
History of Political Theory (George Sabine), 529 fn
Hitler, Adolf, 31, 84, 87 fn, 112, 131–132, 144, 157, 194, 220–221, 529, 622–623, 625, 627, 633–634, 637, 656–657, 672, 699–700, 730, 759
Hiuen Tsang, 383, 450
Hoare, Sir Samuel (later Viscount Templewood), 144
Hodson, H.V., 680 & *fn*
Holi Publishing House, 725
Holland, 27 & fn, 30–31, 37, 73, 84, 105, 137, 176, 179, 465
Home, Amal, 681
Home Rule movement, 584
Hong Kong, 188 fn, 426–427, 433, 435, 527, 545
Horizon, 386
Horrabin, J.F., 545, 723
House of Commons, 22, 29, 145, 564, 624, 740–741, 748, 763
Housman, A.E., 452
Huang, C.C., 520, 723
Hubli, 215 & fn
Huq, Fazlul, 783, 797
Husain, Zakir, 544, 639
Hussain, Hifazat, 503, 538, 746–747
————, S. Abid, 544 & *fn*
————, Yusuf, 573–574
Hutheesing, Ajit, 462, 678, 703–704
————, G.P., 431, 451, 461, 494, 500, 508–509, 511–513, 523–526, 534, 602–603, 610, 649, 677–678, 680, 695, 703, 708–709, 712–713, 716, 735
————, Harsha, 462, 649, 678, 703
————, Krishna, 421, 432, 451, 454, 459, 461, 481, 494–495, 508, 511–513, 515, 523–526, 528–529, 533–534, 543–545, 547, 553, 558, 561, 590, 602, 607, 609, 615, 647, 649, 651, 654, 666, 673, 677–678, 680, 695, 703–704, 708–713, 716, 719, 735
Hydari, Sir Akbar, 253, 261 fn
Hyderabad state, 260–261, 263, 267, 269–270, 272–273, 275 & fn, 288, 686
————, Nizam of, 271, 275 fn
Hyderabad State Congress, 271–272, 275
Hyderabad State's People's Congress, 272

Ibrahim, Hafiz Mohammad, 510, 515
Idgah mosque (Lucknow), 572
Iftikharuddin, Mian, 36, 98 & fn, 691–692, 709
Imperial Chemicals, 630
Imperial Tobacco Company, 321–322
Independent Muslim Conference, 215
Independent Party, 784
India (Alberuni), 546
India, China and England (Jawaharlal Nehru), 344 fn
India and Democracy (George Schuster and Guy Wint), 748 fn
India League, 23, 130, 212, 214, 426, 435
India Office, 426, 435, 506, 622, 637, 664 fn, 698
India and the World (Jawaharlal Nehru), 585, 763
Indian Civil Service, 23 fn, 95, 371, 503, 551 fn, 640, 642, 730–731
Indian Congress (Durban), 234
Indian and Eastern Newspapers Society, 653 fn
Indian Military Academy, 678 fn
Indian Mutiny, 628
Indian National Congress medical mission to China, 585
Indian Science Congress Association, 395 fn
Indian Statistical Institute, 293 & fn
Indian Sugar Syndicate, 329 fn
Indian Trade Union Congress, 429, 584
Indo-China, 66 & fn, 116, 346, 383
Indo-Japanese trade talks, 66 & fn, 342
Indus Valley, 167
Indus Valley civilisation, 759
In Place of Splendour (Constancia de la Mora), 422, 442
Inside Asia (John Gunther), 170, 418
Inside the Empire, 377
Institute of Economic Growth, 306 fn
Institute of Pacific Relations, 13 fn
Institute for Social and Economic

Change, 306 fn
International Peace Campaign, 23, 149 fn, 344 fn–345 & fn, 585
Ipi, Faqir of (Haji Mirza Ali Khan), 228 & fn
Iqbal, Sir Mohammad, 17, 348, 383, 410
Iran, 113, 189, 192, 209, 680, 787
Iraq, 113, 189, 209
Ireland, 733 & fn
Irish Treaty (1921), 90–91
Isolated America (R.L. Buell), 114 fn
Italy, 52 & fn, 164, 251, 401
Ittehad, 275 fn

Jafarey, Colonel, 557, 573
Jail Journey (Phelan), 736
Jaipur, 280
Jaksch, Wenzel, 698
Jamia Millia, 544–545, 639, 666
Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, 272, 274
Jammu, 402, 408, 415–416, 473–474
Japan, 28–29, 44, 47, 65–66 & fn, 75, 86, 144, 156, 159, 176–177, 342, 346, 441, 624, 794
Jaunpur, 272
Java, 709, 795
Jayakar, M.R., 236
Jayewardene, Junius Richard, 210 & *fn*–212, 225, 231, 605
Jhansi, 437–438
Jharkhand, 207
Jhelum Valley, 402, 405, 472
Jinnah, M.A., 14, 16 & fn, 171, 251, 709, 775, 784, 797
Jobat state, 257–258
Jodhpur, 260, 263
————, Maharaja of, 260 fn
Jodhpur Lok Parishad, 260 fn
John Day Company (publishers), 22, 517, 609, 652–653
Johnson, Julian, 512
Joshi, Dr., (Acting Suptd., Dehra Dun Jail), 512
————, Dr., 708
————, N.M., 734 & fn, 739–740
Journalists Association of India, 365, 367
Jugal Kishore, 309 fn
Jugantar, 365 & fn–366
Juhu (Bombay), 459–460
Junagadh, 196
Jung, Nawab Manzoor, 544, 725
Jwala Prasad, Raja, 327 & fn

Kabul, 400, 680
Kachru, Dwarka Nath, 269 & *fn*
Kalidas, 640
Kamala Lectures, 739, 746
Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, 528, 535, 540–542, 546, 549, 551, 553, 558, 577, 705–706, 755
Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital Committee, 542, 549, 713
Kannauj, 383
Kanpur, 99, 115–116, 229, 231, 477, 504 & fn, 565
Kapoor, Jaideo, 557, 559–560
Karachi, Congress session at, 297
Karnataka region, 214–215
Karnataka P.C.C., 227
Karuna, S., 692
Kasganj, 276
Kashi—*see* Banaras
Kashmir, 33, 36, 50, 181, 230, 253, 267–269, 329–331, 341, 392, 396, 399, 401–411, 415–416, 420, 451, 455, 461, 468–469, 472–475, 498, 583, 589–590, 603–604, 610, 612, 616–617, 680
————, Maharaja of, 405
Kashmiri, Mohan Lal, 399–400
Katju, Kailas Nath, 355, 359
————, P.N., 308 & *fn*, 309 fn, 329
————, Swarup (Bappi), 309 & fn, 477, 540
Kaul, Kailas Nath, 457, 527, 540–541
————, Rajpati (Amma), 477, 505, 510, 515, 525–527, 530, 534, 540, 548, 565, 640, 647, 653, 686, 697, 708, 710, 712–715
————, Sheila, 457
Kaur, Amrit, 274 & *fn*, 418, 512, 542, 660, 664–665, 709
Kausarnag, 473
Kazmi (Jailor), 575
Kedarnath, 661

Kesari, 709
Keskar, B.V., 15 & *fn*, 241, 253, 494
Khadi Bhandar (Allahabad), 695
Khaksars, 138 & fn, 221 & fn–222, 272
Khali, 617, 619, 749
Khaliq, 567 & fn
Khaliquzzaman, C., 251
Khan, Abdul Ghaffar, 80 & fn–81, 122 & fn, 219–220 & fn, 228–230, 392, 409, 411–412, 414, 416, 472, 535, 765
————, Ajmal, 765
————, Haji Mirza Ali, *see* Ipi, Faqir of,
————, Nawab Ismail, 251
————, Roshan, (Mrs. Abdul Ghani Khan), 749
————, Saiduzzafar, 522 & fn–523 534
————, Shyam Kumari, 558
————, Sikandar Hayat, 16, 222 fn, 657 fn, 783, 797
Khan Sahib, 80, 228, 798
Khandwa, 257 fn
Khanna, 572
Kheiri, 720–721
Kher, B.G., 675, 797
Khudai Khidmatgars, 220, 228–230, 409
Khyber Pass, 757
Kidwai, Rafi Ahmed, 359, 494, 536, 654, 768
King George's Medical Hospital, (Lucknow), 683
Kirloskarwadi, 475
Kishore, Mohan, 560
Kitabistan, 263, 369–370, 419, 529
Koestler, Arthur, 665
Kolahoi glacier, 403, 412, 474
Kripalani, J.B., 199, 223, 233, 248, 251, 356, 558, 689–691
————, Krishna, 430, 656, 670, 688
————, Miss, 694
————, Nandita, 689
————, Sucheta, 558
Krishak Praja Party, 783
Krishna, K.B., 546
Krishnamurti, Y.G., 18, 21, 434
Kuala Lumpur, 433 fn, 794
Kud, 415
Kumbha Mela (Allahabad), 383–384
Kuomintang, 344 fn, 775
Labour Party (British), 23, 31 & fn, 33, 105, 108, 114, 134, 135 fn, 144, 426, 429, 435, 761
Lachiminia, 695
Ladakh, 474
La Feloun, 558
Lahore, 17, 33, 36, 221 & fn, 416, 468–469, 544, 559
————, Muslim League session at, 16 fn, 17
Lahore Conspiracy Case, 559–560
Lahore Jail, 559–560
Lahore Medical College, 510
Laithwaite, Sir John Gilbert, 664 & *fn*
Lajpat Rai, 616
Lal, Khurshedi, 581
————, Murari, 690
Lang (Dy. Supt.), 569
La Pelouse, 454, 477
Lapuan movement, 2 & fn
Laski, Harold, 418, 530, 546
Latif, Abdul, 684, 686
Lausanne, 164, 542
Laval, Pierre, 72
Lawrence, E.O., 394 & *fn*–395
————, T.E., 576, 583–584
Leader, 247
League of Nations, 28–29, 623
Les Frenes, 458, 480
Letters from a Father to His Daughter (Jawaharlal Nehru), 430–431, 585, 605, 715–716
Leysin, 33, 390, 453–454, 457–458, 460 462, 464, 469, 478, 481, 507, 526
Liberals (British), 137, 761
Liberals (Indian), 7, 9, 259, 388
Liddar Valley, 403, 473
Liddarwat, 331, 412–414
Life, 451, 702, 749
Life of Metcalfe (Edward Thompson), 506
Linlithgow, 2nd Marquis, 15, 35, 53 & fn, 64, 67 & fn, 95, 104–109, 111, 115, 117, 121 & fn, 127 & fn, 130, 132–133, 135 & fn, 140, 145 & fn–146 & fn, 153, 158, 168, 179, 182, 187, 193 fn, 194, 251, 359, 420, 504 & fn, 576, 578 fn, 609 & fn, 626, 664 & fn
Lin Yutang, 526, 529, 711 & *fn*
Lisbon, 498, 505, 508, 512, 520, 523,

537, 539–540
Liverpool, 90
Lloyds, 462
Lohia, Ram Manohar, 5, 309 fn
Lok Sabha, 250 fn, 536 fn, 568 fn, 739 fn
London, 33, 113, 136, 150, 170, 206 fn, 212, 214, 315, 345, 349, 369, 422, 435, 454, 462, 480, 498, 506–508, 510, 512, 520, 523–527, 534, 538, 540, 615, 616 fn, 652–653, 698, 700, 743, 747, 758–761, 763, 778
Los Angeles, 653
Lothian, Lord, 762–763
Lucas, Colonel, 520–521, 554, 557, 575
Luck (S.P., Dehra Dun), 503, 523
Lucknow, 29, 33, 36, 80–81, 151, 183, 217, 231, 236–238, 247, 250, 354, 423, 429, 464, 468, 477, 479, 502, 527, 556, 566, 571–572, 574, 576–577, 582–584, 602, 604, 611, 618, 660, 683, 696, 710, 738, 746, 768
————, Congress session at, 674, 768, 778–779
Lucknow Camp Jail, 568, 682 & fn–686, 689 & fn–692, 702
Lucknow Central Prison, 558, 572–575, 577
Lucknow District Jail, 556, 558, 561, 565, 567, 572, 575, 577, 655
Lucknow University, 696
Ludhiana, 173
Luxembourg, 27 & fn, 37, 137
Lwin, U.B., 203 & *fn*
Lyndale, 673

Macaulay, T.B., 39
Macmillan (publishers), 529
Mad-he-Sahaba, 572
Madras, 178, 798–800
Madras Jails, 559–560
Magic Mountain (Thomas Mann), 471
Maginot Line, 116
Mahalanobis, P.C., 293 & *fn*
Mahan, Alfred Thayer, 613 & *fn*
Maharajgunj, 150, 154, 159–160, 332, 490
Maharashtra, 757
Mahavira, 450
Mahmud, Syed, 186, 242, 251–252, 329, 381, 494, 616, 655, 697, 701, 715
Mahmudabad, Raja of, 215 fn
Mainpuri, 248
Maitra, Mohit, 560
Maktaba Jamia, 651
Malady and the Vision (J.R. Fyvel), 530
Malaviya, Keshav Deva, 571
————, Madan Mohan, 580, 604, 768, 801
Malaya, 168, 188 fn, 189, 192, 451, 787, 794–796
Malay Peninsula, 788, 794
Malkani, N.R., 693
Malraux, Andre, 764
Man and the Plough (Aziz ul Haque), 546
Manchuria, 25, 28–29, 85, 391, 488, 624
Manila, 539
Mann, Thomas, 471
Mannerheim, Baron, 2 & *fn*
Marseilles, 498, 505, 508
Martand, 403, 411, 415
Martin, Dr., 510
Marx, Karl, 385, 529
Marzani, Carl, 12
Mathur, P.N., 291–292
Mathura, 383, 560
Matton—*see* Martand
Mauritius, 54 fn
Maurya, Chandra Gupta, 383
Maxwell, Sir Reginald, 551 & *fn*–552, 633, 664, 740 & fn, 744
Mazameen-e-Nehru, 725 & fn
Mazumdar, Dr., 681
Mecca, 205
Meerut, 189, 248
Meerut District Congress Committee, 189 fn
Mehd, Surendraray Bapubhai, 416
Mehta, Jivraj, 453, 460, 528–529, 541–542 610, 704, 708, 713–714, 721
Mein Kampf (A. Hitler), 656
Memoirs (J.C. Wedgwood), 578 fn
Memoirs and Journal of Mohan Lal Kashmerian, 399–400
Memoirs of a Space Woman (Naomi Mitchison), 576 fn

Menon, K.B., 280
————, V.K. Krishna, 14, 21–24, 33. 40, 50, 96, 134, 142, 162, 203, 213–214, 216 & fn, 259, 262, 377, 388–389, 418–419, 428, 441, 454, 527, 534, 540–541, 618, 695
Mesopotamia, 630
Mesopotamia Inquiry Commission, 630
Mexico, 396
Mhow, 436–437
Michaelangelo, 401
Miraj, 461
Misra, Godavaris, 82 fn
Mitchison, G.R., 576 fn
————, Naomi, 576 & *fn*
Mithan Lal, Lala, 642, 721
Modern Review, 170
Mody, Sir Homi, 701
Moghal emperors, 470
Mohenjo Daro, 167, 640. 759
Moment in Peking (Lin Yutang), 526. 529
Monghyr, 321–322
Montana, 454, 458
Mookerji, Shyama Prasad, 739 & *fn*, 746
Moonje, B.S., 657 fn
Moore, William Arthur, 653 & *fn*
Morin, Jean-Jacques, 475, 540. 747
————, Louise, 72 fn, 475, 478, 480, 493, 497, 500, 540, 678. 724, 734, 747
Moscow, 114
Moss (Dist. Magis., Gorakhpur), 495, 497
Mrichhakatika (Sudraka), 640
Mudrarakshasa (Visakhadatta), 528, 604, 640, 652, 687
Mukherji, 507
Mulla, Anand Narain, 536 & *fn*, 538, 654, 725, 739 & fn
————, Kamala, 739 & fn
————, Tej Narain, 739 & fn
Munich Pact, 163, 170, 241, 699–700
Munshi, K.M., 649 & fn, 665, 675
Murray, Gilbert, 602, 610
Muslim League, 3, 7, 16 fn–17, 97 fn, 171, 178 fn, 215, 218, 223–224 & fn, 244, 251, 259–260, 379, 381 & fn, 383 657 fn, 680, 692, 727, 775, 783–785, 797, 800
————, Lahore resolution of, 16 fn, 17, 657 fn
Mussolini, Benito, 84, 87 fn, 164, 529, 699
Mussoorie, 217, 445, 454, 497, 500, 511, 520, 524, 586, 596, 601–602, 604, 606–611, 617, 638, 641, 647–648, 653, 655–656, 660, 662, 669, 673–674, 680, 692, 695, 703, 707–708, 715, 718–719, 735, 738
Mussoorie Murder Case, 531 & fn
Must the War Spread? (D.N. Pritt). 377 & fn
Muttra—*see* Mathura
Muzaffarnagar, 440 fn
My Country and My People (Lin Yutang), 711 fn
My Diaries (W.S. Blunt), 616 & fn
Mysore, 288

Nagpur, 423, 614
Nahas Pasha, Mustafa, 171
Naidu, Leilamani (Papi), 494, 584, 617
————, Padmaja, 269–270, 272, 494, 511–512, 520, 524–525. 527–528, 530, 534, 543, 547–548, 552–553, 561–562. 577, 582, 585. 614, 651, 666, 668, 687, 721, 725, 736
————, Sarojini, 269, 494, 675, 764
Naini Prison, 502, 510. 536, 562. 570, 573, 665, 708
Naini Seva Dal Camp, 440 & fn
Naini Tal, 217
Nalanda, 381, 446, 450
Nambiar, A.C.N., 481, 493, 500, 540
Nanking, 732 & fn
Naoroji, Khurshed (Bul), 735
Napier, Sir Charles, 436
————, 2nd Lieut., 431, 436–438 609
Napoleon, 31, 71
Narang, Jai Gopal, 4, 434
Narayan, Jaya Prakash, 161, 766, 778
————, Prabhavati, 161
Narendra Deva, Acharya, 257, 637, 714, 750, 766, 768, 778
Narielwala, Feroza, 494
————, P.A., 494, 558, 609, 702, 713–715, 721, 749–750

Nasik Jail, 426, 428, 435, 602, 649
National Book Trust, 15 fn
National Defence Council, 708, 748 fn
National Herald, 236, 248–249, 253, 353 & fn–361, 438, 494, 524, 558 fn, 568 fn, 574, 618, 650, 676, 685–686, 689, 702
Nationalist Party of Orissa, 82 fn
National Planning Committee, 29, 40, 118, 131, 173, 190, 214, 216, 228, 262, 285–294, 296–307, 309–311, 313–315, 317, 339, 379, 391, 394–395, 436–437, 451, 455, 463–464, 467, 474, 476–477, 493, 500–501, 509, 511, 517–518, 520, 530–532, 534–535, 538, 542–543, 548–552, 554, 585, 631, 730
Nautiyal, Govind Prasad, 654
Navjivan Karyalaya (Ahmedabad), 694
Nehru, Brij Kumar, 536, 538, 540
————, Brijlal, 590, 648
————, Fory, 536, 538, 540, 739
————, Indira, 33, 377, 380, 384, 390, 418, 423, 430, 433, 440–441, 445, 447, 449, 452, 456–459, 463–465, 467–469, 472–479, 491, 496–497, 504–508, 510, 512, 515, 520, 523–525, 529–530, 533–535, 537–538, 542, 547, 552, 558, 561, 566–567, 574, 576–577, 581, 586, 588–591, 601–602, 604–607, 609–611, 615–616, 618, 636, 638–639, 641, 643, 648, 650–651, 656, 660, 665, 668–670, 677, 686, 697–698, 701, 705, 707–710, 712–715, 721, 734–740, 743, 745–746, 750, 755, 788
————, Jawaharlal, 13 fn, 15 fn, 24 fn, 82 fn, 91 fn, 96 fn, 183–185, 190 fn, 222 fn 242, 247 fn, 269 fn, 275 fn, 340 fn, 344 fn, 359, 387 fn, 422 fn, 440 fn, 490, 529 fn, 544 fn, 566, 573, 584 fn, 566, 573, 584, 609 fn, 696 fn, 713 fn, 744 fn, 747, 792 fn
————, arrested, convicted and sentenced (eighth conviction), 485–491; drafts Congress Working Committee resolution on the war, 55–62 and the U.P.P.C.C. resolution on the war, 36–38; justifies Congress policy and action, 620–636; reacts to the 'August Offer', 106–114, to the 'Pakistan' resolution of the Muslim League, 17, 20–21, 215 and to resolutions passed by Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, 272–274; visits Kashmir, 401–416; writes confidential note on Congress policy on nonviolence, 123–127 and a note for the editorial and managerial departments of *National Herald*, 358–361
————, on Abdul Ghaffar Khan, 220, 409, 412, 414, and his resignation from C.W.C and A.I.C.C., 228–229; on Abyssinian campaign, 679; on Adivasis, 207; on aerial bombing of cities, 149–150, 345, 349, 480, 516; on agrarian problem in India, 166; on aims and means, 26, 367–368; on an alien imperialist government, 143; on All India Radio broadcasts, 356–357; on All India Spinners' Association, 330–331; on All India States People's Conference, 274; on American Negroes, 397; on Amery, L.S., and his statements, 45, 107, 504, 564, 624; on Amritsar massacre and similar incidents, 623, 628; on Anand Bhawan, 704–706, 716; on ancient civilizations, 787; on anniversaries, 722; on Assembly Congress members, 734; on association with the Congress, 4; on Aundh state, 475, and its Raja, 475–476; on authoritarianism and dictatorship in India, 104, 116, 730; on authors and publishers, 693–694; on *Autobiography*, 162–163, 517, 579, 593, 754, on its continuation, (*Auto II*), 553, 691, 696, 707, 714 and on its American edition (*Toward Freedom*), 163, 388–389, 417–419, 428, 476, 517, 553, 607, 612, 615, 653–654, 681; on avoiding a meeting with Mussolini, 164; on banning of books, 369–370; on basic scheme of education, 169, 379–380, 406; on becoming a contributory editor of *Asia* magazine, 711; on Bengal, 263; on Bengal government, 366–367 and its order on *Hindusthan Standard*, 365–366; on Bhagat, P.S., 679–

680; on Bhulabhai Desai, 649, 665, 674–675, 709; on Bidar incidents, 261, 263, 272–273; on Bidhan Chandra Roy, 610; on books on India, 639–640; on Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, 674; on Brijlal incident, 521-522, 524; on Britain and China, 85–86, 342–343; on Britain's encouragement of disruptive forces in India, 43, 128, 134, 152, 179; on Britain and Japan, 346; on Britain's response to Congress demand, 103, 176, 626; on Britain and the Soviet Union, 3–4; British army in India, 633–634; on British declaration of war aims, 25, 102–103, 136, 626; on British Empire, 30, 32, 35, 42, 77, 120, 225, 622, 657, 732, 791–792; on British Government, 27, 35, 37, 45, 79, 84, 100–101, 105, 110, 121, 127–128, 134, 148, 177, 182, 262, 265, 430, 488–490, 496, 622, 627–628, 635, 699, 732; on British Government and India, 114, 487–489; on British imperialism, 10–11, 13, 31, 39, 44, 49, 52, 94, 101, 105, 116, 123, 128, 147, 178–180; on British imperialism and India, 37, 39, 78–79, 138, 625, 628; on British Labour Party, 33; on British civilians, 536, officials, 116, politicians, 762, statesmen, 743, and viceroys and governors, 622, 730; on British people, 144, 180, 635, 727, 731, 741–742, and sympathy for them, 94, 105, 116, 131; on British policy, 66, 84–86, 89–90, 132, 623; on British policy in India, 132, 137, 624, 680, 732; on British proposal for a post-war constitution for India, 108–110, 117, 128; on British recognition of Indian independence, 6, 19, 32, 35, 46, 52, 68, 87, 95; on British rule, 151, 628, 635, 658, 727, 741–742, 791–792 and ruling classes, 63, 312, 627, 743; on British vested interests, 313; on Burma, 789–790, 792–793; on Burma and China, 793–794; on Burma-China Road, 346, 793–794; on Burma Provincial Congress Committee, 789–790; on Burmese delegation to Ramgarh Congress, 203, 208; on campaigning for the Congress (1937), 167; on camping, 452–453, 455–456; on capitalistic rule, 152; on causes of conflicts and wars, 124–125; on the censor and censorship, 373, 539, 547, 564, 591–592, 623; on changes in the world and in India, 73–74, 100, 146, 269, 527–528, 728–729; on Charles F. Andrews, 381–382, 456; on China, 348–349, 368, 403, 517–518, 526, 613; on Chinese Buddhist mission, 340; on choice between two evils, 579; on Chungking, 174, 345, 349, 480, 516, 520, 526; on civil disobedience, 44; on civil liberties, 262–263, 368, 370; on close linking up of world today, 156; on the common man, 186; on a commonwealth of nations, 42–44; on communal organisations, 159, 215, 266; on communalism, 9, 111–112, 133, 158, 171–172, 700; on Communists, 94, 98, 232, 385, 692; on Communist Party of India, 231–232; on conflict between King and Parliament, 115; on conflicts within oneself, 465–466; on Congress, 7, 26, 31–32, 34, 40, 44, 47, 49–50, 64, 69, 91–94, 117–118, 128, 135–136, 138–140, 147–148, 160–161, 180, 182–183, 207, 428–429, 732, 771–773, 775–777, acceptance of office by, 168, 787–788, 796–797, attempt at cooperation with government by, 626–627, conflicts in, 100, 165, 169, 171–172, 765–766, 768–769, constitution of, 770, decision to contest elections by, 166–167, decision and action of, 636, 742, demand of, 11, 32, 35, 70, 96, 111, 137, 176, 215–216, discipline in, 58–59, 61, leaders of, 664–665, ministers and ministries of, 168–169, 575, 780, 797–802, objective of, 19, 138, 144, 247, policy of, 51–52, 55–56, 64, 266, 487, President of, 770, 777–778, proposal for a constituent assembly by, 109, resignation of ministries by, 104, 118, 133, 176, 626, 742, resumption of office by, 60, 221, unity in, 100; on Congress and British Government, 47,

69, 105, 121, 129, 132–133, 137, 143, 148, 178, 262; on Congress and communal organisations, 218, 232, 266; on Congress and Communists, 232; on Congress and democracy, 773; on Congress and the elections, 782–785; on Congress and the League, 17; on Congress and Muslims, 215, 223–224; on Congress and nonviolence, 57–58, 65, 69–70, 87–88, 129; on Congress and Sikhs, 245; on Congress and social reform, 774; on Congress and the states, 266; on Congress and the United States, 212–214; on Congress and the Wafd Party, 171; on Congress and the war, 58, 60, 625; on Congress Seva Dal, 99; on Congress Socialist Party, 766; on Congress Working Committee, 246, 764, its differences with Mahatma Gandhi, 57, 59, 64–65, 67, 92, 123, 129, 135, 177–178, 225, 232, and its various resolutions, 68–70, 76, 81–82, 85, 87–88, 92–96, 98, 129, 132, 137, 235–236, 418; on a constituent assembly for India, 5–7, 9, 11, 16, 18–20, 68, 216, 267; on contributions to and collections for war fund, 116–117, 153, 187, 227, 275–277; on cottage industries, 297, 308; on Criminal Investigation Department, 552–553; on customs and prejudices, 284–285; on cyclotron, 394–395; on Czechoslovakia, 170; on the Dalai Lama, 468; on danger of external attack on India, 31, 47, 49, 65, 159; on daughter, 377, 380, 384, 390, 396, 433–434, 440, 445, 449, 451, 453–455, 457–459, 461, 464, 466–467, 469–471, 474; 480–481, 491–492, 497–499, 505–509, 539–540, 542, 581, 587–588, 595–597, 601, 604–607, 609, 613, 638, 643–648, 650, 665–666, 738–739; on dearness allowance, 321; on death of an undertrial prisoner, 662–663; on decision to start civil disobedience movement, 179; on declaring India a belligerent country, 102, 175, 182, 487, 626; on Defence of India Act, 369, 372; on Delhi resolution, 80, 82, 92, 94–96, 98, 129, 137; on democracy, 79 and democratic method of resolving conflicts, 109–110; on Dhanush Takli, 583, 616; on his diaries, 493; on differences with his colleagues, 163, 165, 172–173; on difference of opinion among people, 731; on disarmament, 124–126; on discovery of India, 451, 639, 659; on dismissal of warder Pancham, 712; on disruptive forces in India, 26; on Divali, 753; on Dobama Asiayone group, 203, 208, 452, 793; on Dominion Status, 1, 9, 15, 78, 113; on drifting aimlessly, 295; on Eastern Group Conference, 188, 347; on economic domination of India, 294; on economic structure of present-day world, 156–158, 277–278 and changes after the war, 180, 312; on Edward Thompson, 523; on his eighth arrest, conviction and sentence, 485–491, 494–497, 753; on Eleanor Rathbone's letter and indictment, 620–621; on elections and electioneering, 779, 781; on empires in the future, 157; on England, 28, 63, 74–75, 78, 90, 144, 170, 177, 188, 278, 622; on English thought and history, 622, 635; on Europe, 26, 163–164, 170–171, 299, 464, 467, 769; on European war, 55–57, 63, 118, 310, 321; on evolving a common language, 356–357; on fall of Bastille, 71–72; on family as a unit, 717; on fascism, 102, 166; on a fascist reorganisation of the world, 278; on fast-moving events, 606; on his father, 594, 704, and his letters, 663–664, 667–668; on a federation of nations, Asiatic or Eastern, 189, 191–192, 209, 439 and European, 191, 209; on financial imperialism, 124; on Finland, 2–3; on forces at work bringing changes, 489; on foreign goods, 654–655; on Forward Bloc, 172; on France, 63, 66, 71–72, 75, 90, 116, 121, 177, 278, 371, 480; on a free future India 54, 119–120, 296, 633, 772–773, 776; on friendship and cooperation, 622; on freedom of the press, 365–373; on the future, 7–8, 478–479, 498 and dreams

for it, 662; on gaining experience, 481; on gaining goodwill and cooperation of India for war effort, 629; on Ganga river, 382–384, 661; on Garhwal mountains, 654, 660–661; on generations, 492, 498 and generation gap, 499; on Germany, 75, and her attack on Russia, 637; on giving an undertaking to the government, 554–555; on giving parole, 506; on *Glimpses of World History*, 594, its Canarese edition, 723, and its Urdu translation, 544; on Govind Ballabh Pant, 798; on Gorakhpur kisans, 331–333, 490; on Government of India, 100–101, 177, 180, 629–633, 731, 769; on Government of India Act of 1935, 166, 264, 295; on Government action against Congressmen, 236–237; on Government's attitude to industry, 630–631; on Government order on press, 360–361, and on volunteering, 99, 115, 118, 134, 138, 229–230, 477; on gradualness in change and progress, 728–729; on growing old, 401, 493–494, 587, 736; on *Gujars*, 413–414; on Gujarat Congress, 675; on hard work, 509; on Harijans, 149; on himself, 445–446, 460–461, 471, 488–489, 492–493, 499, 508, 513–514, 521, 579, 584–585, 593–594, 634, 659, 676–677, 698, 702, 718, 731, 780–781; on Hindi, Hindustani and Urdu, 356–357, 423, 756–757; on Hindu Mahasabha, 215, 657; on the *Hindustan*, 224, 424–425; on Hitler, 31, 157, 220, 672, 699, his attacking India, 221, and his *Mein Kampf*, 656–657; on hot weather, 680; on House of Commons debate on India, 740–741, 744, 748; on human beings, 617; on Hyderabad, 261, 269–273, 275; on imperialism, 13, 20, 31, 54, 102–103, 116, 130, 140, 166, 488, 623; on independence for India, 35, 78, 113, 159, 180, 206, 398, 623, 628–629, 635, 775; on Independence Day, 535–536; on India, 24, 49, 65, 89, 126, 141, 145, 167–168, 181, 225–226, 266, 279, 312–314, 348–349, 368, 416, 579, 613, 634–635, 659, 700, 728–729, 741, 769, 785, 792–793, her cultural heritage, 786–787, the Idea behind her, 785–786, what she stands for, 786 and what he owes to her, 621; on India and America, 15; on India and Britain 15, 22–23, 37, 43, 46, 48, 53, 90, 94, 101–102, 105–106, 137, 145, 147, 176, 237, 621, 623, 726, 740–741, 743, 748; on India and British Empire, 791; on India and Burma, 208, 788; on India and China, 43, 226, 340–341, 343–344, 348–349, 515–516, 519, 718, and economic contacts between them, 339, 342; on India and disarmament, 126, 129; on India and imperialism, 28, 35, 54, 79, 103, 627; on India and international affairs, 73, 166; on India and internationalism, 634; on India and her neighbours, 120, 693; on India and Sri Lanka, 208, 211, 226, 240–242, 788–789; on India and the war, 1, 10, 30, 48–49, 69, 103, 129, 131, 133–137, 152, 158, 179, 391, 489, 625–628, 700; on Indian administration, 730–731; on Indian civilization and social life, 386; on Indian Liberals, 9; on Indian middle classes, 659; on Indian nationalism vs British imperialism, 102, 128–129, 187; on Indian rivers, 382–384, 455–456, 661–662; on the Indian situation, 8, 64, 98, 262, 353–354, 378, 420, 428–429; on Indian states, 173, 257–258, 260, 263–266, 278–279; on Indian troops in Abyssinia, 664, 678–679; on Indian women's delegation to China, 340, 343; on Indians abroad, 53–54, 234, 791, 793, in South Africa, 416–417, 791 and in Sri Lanka, 209–211, 791; on India's attitude to violence and aggression, 24–25; on India's cultural association with other countries, 795; on India's defending herself, 633; on India's potential for industrial expansion, 630; on India's problems, 20, 26, 45–46, 386, 731; on India's struggle for freedom, 10–11, 43, 93, 102, 131–135, 138, 144, 147, 152–153, 157, 183, 404, 729–730; on individual civil

disobedience, 146, 487, 627; on Indo-Japanese trade talks, 342; on industrial workers in India, 166; on inevitability of war under present political system, 634; on *inqilab*, 154–155, 158; on integrity, 588, 590; on intention to resign from Congress (1936), 165, 779; on internal conflicts in India, 31, 109; on international trade, 315; on interrelation of national and international problems, 141; on jail garden, 502, 541, 545, 556, 583, 616, 652, 669, 687, 706–707, 754; on jail going, 716; on jail interviews, 548, 589; on jail rules and new restrictions, 523, 530, 533–535, 537, 540–541, 543, 545, 547–550, 554–555, 562–567, 586, 688; on jail sports, 720–721, 733; on Jammu, 408; on Jamuna river, 455–456; on Jayakar, M.R., 236; on Jaya Prakash Narayan, 161, 766; on Jayewardene's visit to India, 211–212; on Jesuit priests, 575; on Jivraj Mehta, 610; on Jobat state, 257–258; on joint families, 717; on journey from Gorakhpur to Dehra Dun Jail, 502–503; on *Jugantar*, 366; on Kamala, 755, 758; on Kamala Nehru Memorial Hospital, 528–529, 540–542, 571, 706; on Karl Marx, 385; on Kashmir, 267–269, 331, 396, 401, 403–410, 416, 473–474; on Kashmiri handicrafts, 329–330, 403–404; on Kashmiris, 392–393, 408–411; on keeping books in order, 668–669; on keeping busy in prison, 441; on Khaksars, 221–222; on Kher, B.G., 797; on kisans, 150–152, 154; on Krishna Menon, 23, and his visit to U.S., 213–214, 216; on Lahore resolution of Muslim League, 17; on language, 357, and adapting it to suit the audience, 756–758; on launching satyagraha movement, 31, 34, 40–41, 48, 50–51, 137–139, 144, 158, 182–183; on Lawrence, T.E., 576, 583–584; on leaders of freedom struggle, 765, and of religious groups, 186; on *Letters from a Father to His Daughter*, 430–431; on life, in general, 498–499, 509, 596, 617–618, 737 and his own, 601; on London, 526; on Lord Lothian, 763; on Lucknow Camp Jail incident, 568–570, 682–683, 685–686, 689–692; on Lucknow Congress, 768–769; on Maharajganj, 159–160; on Mahatma Gandhi, 41, 48, 51–52, 56–57, 59, 138, 142, 146, 149, 153, 178, 246, 259, 266, 636, 647, 649, 671, 676, 708, 734, 742–743, 770, 774–775, and his undertaking a fast, 193–195, 197–198 and his withdrawal from the Congress, 96, 98; on Mahatma Gandhi and Tagore, 671–672, 688–689; on making money, 717; on Malaya, 794–795; on his marriage, 658–659; on marriage and divorce laws, 318; on Maulana Azad, 205–206, 447, 675, 708, and his Presidential address, 203–205, 446–447; on medievalism and nationalism, 113; on meeting members of British Government, 761–763; on men of Vichy, 628; on Mesopotamian campaign, 630; on Middle East situation, 3–4; on militarism, 119; on minorities, 11, 20, 111, 176, 267, 410–411; on M.N. Roy, 234–235, 238, 249–250; on modern warfare, 32, 57; on Mohammad Ali Jinnah, 775; on Mohan Lal Kashmiri, 399–400; on his mother, 594; on mountains, 680–681; on Mridula Sarabhai, 618–619; on Muslims in India, 111; on Muslim League, 171, 215, 259, 381, 783, and its leadership, 17; on Napier, 436–438; on Narendra Deva, 766; on *National Herald*, 353, 355–361, 650, 676, 702; on National Planning Committee, 173–174, 216, 285, 287–291, 294, 296, 298–307, 309–311, 313–315, 464, 500–501, 517–518, 531–532, 631, its report, 305, 307–308, 311, 314, 501 and reports of its sub-committees, 283–289, 292–293, 298, 303–304; on nationalism, 43, 634; on Nazi Germany and Nazism, 27, 31, 74, 102, 105, 130, 134, 166, 759–760; on need for unity and discipline, 10–11, 26, 37–38, 49, 94, 122; on Neville Chamberlain, 28, on a new road to China, 346–347; on the newspaper man, 371–372; on a new

world order, 42, 50, 125, 180, 188, 278, 311, 621–622, 634; on nonviolence, 57–58, 65–67, 69, 88; on nonviolence and the state, 58, 65, 123–127, 177; on nonviolent resistance to external aggression, 65, 88; on North West Frontier Province, 219–220, 228, 409, 623–624; on the old authoritarianism in India, 580; on the old order, 39, 63, 74, 295–296, and its destruction, 39, 191–192, 470, 603; on output of work in first eight months in jail, 641; on pacifism, 634; on participation in defence efforts, 35, 37, 69, 82, 95, 105; on past five years of his life, 163, 593–595; on the Patna resolution, 11–12; on peace and freedom, 24; on Percival Spear's proposal, 419; on personal finances, 462, 470; on planning, 290–291, 293–297, 300–302, 313, 315, 406; on policy of appeasement, 84–85, 488, 624, 699; on political freedom and economic changes, 20, 386; on political prisoners and detenus, 551, 632–633, and their shameful frame-up, 641–643; on political prisoners in Lucknow Jail, 557–561, 571; on political and social reforms, 729–730; on Poona resolution of C.W.C., 132; on Poona session of A.I.C.C., 100; on possessing land and property, 705; on praise of his books by others, 653; on predictions about his future, 701–702; on preparedness for the coming struggle, 10; on the present and the future, 737; on the press, 302, and press restrictions, 248–249, 367, 371–372; on previous confinement at Dehra Dun Jail, 502; on prison life, 441, 503, 509, 513–514, 612, 617, 659, 665, 681, 703, 707, 722–723; on professional politicians, 769; on proposed partition of India, 20–21, 78, 147, 171–172 215, 266; on prospective arrest of Congressmen, 142–143; on provincial autonomy, its working, 168 and suspension, 104, 291; on provincial Congresses, 767; on Punjab press, 409; on Purushottam Das Tandon, 800–802; on Rabindranath Tagore, 456, 620, 670–673, 688; on Rajagopalachari, C., 178, 675, 798–800; on Rajni Patel, 425–427, 433–435; on Ramgarh Congress session, 448–450, and resolution, 55–56; on Ranjit Pandit and his translation of *Mudrarakshasa*, 616, 640, 652, 669, 677–678, 687; on re-election as Congress President, 170; on Reginald Maxwell's speech, 551–552; on religious groups constituting political community, 112–113; on religious tolerance in India, 112–113; on religious vested interests and sanctions, 317; on responsibility and discipline, 368; on resuming public activities in 1936, 764; on risk of civil war and foreign invasion, 658; on rumours of his release from prison, 653, 719, 721, 733–735, 739, 744–746; on Russo-German war, 697; on *sangathan*, 152; on satyagraha and satyagrahis, 38, 69, 135, 504, 709; on science, 44, 192, 462; on scrappy and incomplete reporting of speeches, 486; on Sea Customs Act, 370; on self-determination, 153, 216; on self-restraint, 592; on self-rule 151; on settlement with Britain, 52, 132, 137–138, 145–146, 162; on Shah, K.T., 701; on Shalimar Gardens, 470; on shaping of modern India, 89; on Sheikh Abdullah, 268, 407–408; on Shia-Sunni conflict, 571–573; on social changes, 439, social evils, 316, social organization, 120, social problems, 317, and social welfare, 316–318; on socialism, 5–6, 278, 313–314, 387, 766–767; on solving problems, 587; on some great men and women, 671–672; on Soviet system, 6, and Soviet Union, 156, 699–700, 742; on Spain 165, 422; on special courtesy shown to him in jail, 503; on Sri Lanka, 226, her delegates to Ramgarh Congress, 208, and a workers' federation there, 210; on Srinagar, 405; on state control or ownership of industries and production, 278, 295–298, 311–313; on statesmen and politicians, 624; on states people's movement, 173;

on strikes in tobacco industry, 321–322; on students, 26–27, 119, 393; on style of writing, 612–613; on Subhas Bose's election as Congress President (1939), 172; on Sudeten crisis, 699; on sugar industry, 323–329, 333–335; on the Superintendent of Dehra Dun Jail, 521–522, 524, 547; on Swaraj, 149–153, 155, 181; on the Swastika symbol, 759; on Syed Mahmud, 242–244, 251–252, 701; on Tai Chi-tao, 348 and his visit to India, 516, 518–520; on taking a bold decision, 89; on taking risks, 481, 499; on taluqdars and zamindars, 723; on taxation of land values, 580; on his term as Congress President, 777–779; on the theatre in India, 424; on time, 614; on touching others' feet, 183; on tour of U.P., 183–185, 248; on tourism, 404–405; on Trade Union Congress, 429; on his trial, 495; on unemployment and poverty, 147, 155–157, 312, 315; on a uniform civil code for India, 318; on United Provinces, 130, 676, 683–684, 783–784; on U.P. Congress, 122–123, 767–768; on U.P. Muslim League, 784; on U.P.P.C.C., 239–240, 366, and its issuing a review of the Urdu press, 223; on U.P. Tenancy Act, 154, 159–160, 332; on United States of America, 24, 141–142; on *Unity of India*, 669, 695; on untouchability, 149, 720, 729, 774; on vested interests, 111; on the Viceroy, 504, his Executive Council, 106–107, 127 and his proposal to enlarge it, 106–107, 127, 133, 179; on Vijayalakshmi Pandit being offered Vice-Chancellorship of Lucknow University, 696–697, and on her visiting China, 545; on visit to Bodh Gaya, Nalanda, etc., 450–451, to Burma (1937), 168, 788, to China (1939), 174–175, to hill stations, 217, to Jammu, 415, to Kashmir, 181, 396, 401–416, 455, 469, 472–473, 475, to London, 760–761, 763, to Oxford and Cambridge, 763, to Paris, 763–764, and to Sri Lanka, 174; on visiting America, 432–433; on violence and violent resistance, 56, 65–66, 266–267; on Vithalbhai Memorial Trust, 248; on volunteers, 38, 118, 146, 421, on the war, 1–2, 27, 30, 99–100, 129, 136–137, 141, 146–147, 156, 176, 180, 182, 277, 290, 311, 315, 378, 458, 468, 489, 625, 747, 749, 753–754, and its consequences, 75, 77–78, 463, 625; on a War Advisory Council, 107; on war and Indian industry, 701; on war loans, 227; on wars today, 103; on wartime censorship, 371–372; on wartime government in India, 488; on winning freedom, 157; on Winston Churchill, 672, 741–742; on women's attitude to time, 614; on Women's Sub-committee of N.P.C., 283–286, 730; on a world federation of free countries, 50, 66, 77–78, 119–120, 125, 157, 175, 180, 188–189, 191, 225, 438–439; on world problems, 165–166; on world situation, 36, 42, 47, 91, 97, 221, 480, 526; on writing down his thoughts, 593; on writing in Hindustani, 755, 758; on writing letters from prison, 465, 577, 591, 602; on writing in prison, 677, 754–755; on youth, 119

————, Kamala, 309 fn, 472, 502, 535, 556, 594–595, 605, 647, 658, 670, 680, 704–705, 754, 755, 758, 764

————, Kishenlal, 511 fn, 520 fn, 565, 648

————, Mohanlal, 359, 565, 647

————, Motilal, 472, 522 fn, 587, 594, 663, 672, 691, 704, 719, 724, 768

————, Rajan, 439–440, 548, 591, 603, 617, 680, 706, 737

————, Rameshwari, 591

————, Ratan, 548, 604, 618, 706, 737

————, Swarup Rani (Dolamma) 594

————, Uma, 558

Nepal, 189, 192, 439

New Book Company (Bombay), 434

New Deal, 328, 334–335

New Delhi, 604—*see also* Delhi

News Chronicle, 40
New Statesman and Nation, 83, 511, 590, 696 & fn
New York, 25, 497, 527, 537, 539, 553, 653
New York Times, 615, 654
New Zealand, 188 fn
Nimbkar, R.S., 429 & *fn*
Nizam-ul-Mulk, 271 fn
Nobel Prize, 394 & fn, 711 fn
North West Frontier Province, 29, 34, 41–42, 121–122, 217, 219 & fn, 220, 228, 392, 396, 402, 409, 414, 535, 623–624, 757, 765, 798
North West Frontier Provincial Congress Committee, 122 & fn, 219
Norway, 13 fn, 37, 73, 83, 145, 179
Not Yet (Mahatma Gandhi), 51 fn

Oasis, 512
Observer, 726 fn
O'Colin, Mlle., 512
Ode to the Spanish Civil War (Dorothy Enge), 442 fn
O'Dwyer, Sir Michael, 206
Oglewadi, 475
Ogpu, 143
Olli Viller, 477
On the Edges of Time (Rathindranath Tagore), 672 fn
Open Letter to Indian Friends (E.F. Rathbone) 618 fn
Orange Free State, 90 fn
Orissa, 82 fn, 250 fn
Orissa Congress Parliamentary Party, 82 fn
Osmania University, 271
Ottawa, 432
Oudh—*see* Avadh
Outline of History (H.G. Wells), 615
Oxford University, 41 fn, 163, 445, 453, 475, 529, 749, 760, 763
Oxford University Press, 430–431

Padrauna Tehsil, 154, 332
Pahalgam, 412, 414–415, 473–474
Pakistan, 35 fn
Pakistan scheme, 17, 119, 147, 215, 383, 657 fn
Palestine, 3, 73, 166, 188 fn, 209, 680
Paliwal, Sri Krishna Datt, 122 fn, 309 fn, 768
Pampur, 330
Pancham (warder), 712
Pandit, Chandralekha, 494, 500, 507, 510–512, 527, 558, 567–568, 570–571, 677–678
————, Nayantara, 494, 500, 505, 507, 510, 527, 567, 574, 653, 712, 738
————, Pratap, 638, 712
————, Ranjit S., 214, 228, 230, 382, 384, 451, 455, 494, 497, 500, 510, 515, 519–521, 528–529, 531–532, 534, 537–538, 541, 543, 545–546, 548, 554, 556–558, 566–568, 570, 572, 576, 582–584, 587, 591, 597, 604, 615–617, 638, 640, 651–652, 655, 662–663, 668–669, 676–678, 681, 685–687, 690–691, 696–697, 706, 708–709, 712, 714, 721, 726, 745–746, 749–750
————,Rita, 494, 500, 505, 507, 510, 527, 567, 652–653, 691
————, Vijayalakshmi, 168, 286, 384, 394, 441, 451, 494–497, 500, 504 & fn-505, 510, 520, 529, 536, 543, 545–547, 562, 566, 570–571, 574, 587–588, 591, 602, 615, 617, 619, 641, 647–648, 651–652, 666, 670–671, 676–678, 686–687, 689–692, 696, 702, 705, 708, 710, 712–714, 721, 724, 738–739
Pant, G.B., 745, 768, 797–798, 802
Paris, 55 fn, 71–72, 121, 170–171, 176, 415 fn, 480, 758, 763–764
Partab, Mrs. S., 654
Parting of the Ways (Jawaharlal Nehru), 743
Parvatiya Praja Parishad (Simla), 274 fn
Paston, Anne V., 385
Pataliputra, 383
Patel, Motibhai Venibhai, 427
————, Rajnikant M., 12 & *fn*, 142, 425–427, 433–435, 441
————, Vallabhbhai, 41, 81, 94, 121

& fn, 199 & fn, 233, 248, 427–428, 434, 674–675, 708, 764, 767
————, Vithalbhai, 248 fn
Path of the Masters (Santon Ki Shiksha) (Julian Johnson), 512
Patna, 365, 384, 423, 446
Patna resolution of Congress, 11
Patterson, Margaret W., 398 & fn
————, R.P., 398 fn
Patwardhan, Achyut, 217 & *fn*, 494, 778
Pawapuri, 450
Peather, D.C., 462
Penang, 451, 794
Persia—*see* Iran
Peshawar, 33, 36, 229, 416, 468–469, 472, 558
Petain, Marshal, 72 & *fn*
Peterhof (Simla), 747, 749
Petrarch, 401
Phelan, 736
Philippines, 47
Phylon, 397 & fn
Pipridih Train Dacoity, 561
Pir Panjal, 402, 415
Planning Commission, 23 fn, 293 fn
Plato, 529, 602, 714, 722–723
Pochas, 534 & fn, 545
Poland, 26, 73, 391
Poona—*see* Pune
Poona Offer, 140
Port Blair (Andamans), 559
Portugal, 539
Prague, 85, 700
Praja Party—*see* Krishak Praja Party
Prakasam, T., 800
Prakash, R., 506–507, 674, 724, 734
Prasad, Rajendra, 29, 30 fn, 33–34, 41, 76 & fn, 203, 230, 287, 327, 675, 764, 767
Pratapgarh, 247
Prayag—*see* Allahabad
Presidency College (Calcutta), 293 fn
Prisons Act, 686
Pritt, D.N. 377
Problem of Asia (A.T. Mahan), 613
Problem of India (K.S. Shelvankar), 529
Progress and Poverty (Henry George), 580
Pune, 80 & fn–81, 98, 100–101, 123, 129, 140, 225, 356, 445, 475–476, 545, 679
Punjab, 23, 34, 41, 97, 218, 222 fn, 400, 408–409, 512, 521, 665, 757, 767, 782–783, 797
Punjab Land Revenue Committee, 23 fn
Punjab Provincial Congress Committee, 222
Purushottam Das Park, 722
Pushkar Nath, 713
Puxley, H.C., 187
Pyrenees route, 85

Qaumi Avaz, 424 fn
Qazmi, Jafar Hussain, 555
Question of Sea Power (A.T. Mahan), 613
'Quit India' movement, 217 fn

Rae Bareli, 247, 276
Raipur, 614
Rajagopalachari, C., 68, 81 & fn, 94–95, 96 fn, 178 & fn, 562, 675, 720, 734, 764, 798–800
Rajahmundry Jail, 559
Rajasthan, 196
Rajatarangini (Kalhana), 640, 652
Rajgir (Rajagriha), 381, 450
Rajguru, 560
Rajkot, 172, 529, 594
Rajpur, 673–674
Rajputana, 738
Rajwade, Lakshmibai, 284
Rajya Sabha, 274 fn, 308 fn, 424 fn, 536 fn, 558 fn, 568 fn
Rallia Ram, Mrs., 97, 222
Ramani, R., 433
Ramgarh, 1 & fn, 51, 129 fn, 207–209, 260 fn, 381, 385, 446–447, 449–452
————, Congress session at, 1, 5, 7–8, 15 fn, 37, 47–51, 53, 55, 61 fn, 70, 85, 105, 203, 208–209, 234
Rampur, 473
Ram Saran, 695
Rangoon, 348, 390–391, 788–789, 794

Rao, B. Shiva, 247
————, K. Rama, 353, 356, 495
————, V.K.R.V., 306 & *fn*
Raphael, 401
Rashida Jahan (Mrs. Mahmud uzzafar), 507 & fn, 513
Rathbone, Eleanor F., 618 & *fn*–619, 620 fn, 637, 671, 726, 734
Rationalists, 447
Ratlam, 260, 263
Ratlam Praja Mandal, 260 fn
Rawalpindi, 547, 563–564
Rawat, Ghanshiam Singh, 641–642
Reading, Lord, 576
Reitzner, Richard, 698
Remarque, Erich Maria, 736
Republic (Plato), 714, 722
Revolt in the Desert (T.E. Lawrence), 583
Rhone Valley, 468
Rise & Fulfilment of British Rule in India (Thompson and Garret), 640
Roache, H., 454
Robeson, Eslanda Goode, 395 & fn, 533–534
————, Paul, 395 fn–396
————, Pauli, 396
Rockefeller Foundation, 394
Rollier, Dr., 453–454, 460, 469
Rome, 164, 237 fn, 349 & fn, 735
Roorkee, 502–503, 556
Roosevelt, Eleanor, 426
————, F.D., 104, 328, 334, 632, 672, 731
Rosa, 502–503, 556
Roy, Bidhan Chandra, 606, 608–611, 613–614, 616, 618
————, M.N., 5, 234 & fn–235, 237 & fn, 249 & fn, 768
Royal Garhwal Rifles, 558
Royal Society (London), 293 fn
Rozana Hind, 366
Rudauli, 184
Runciman, Sir Walter, 343
Runciman Mission, 85
Russia, Soviet (Soviet Union), 2–4, 15, 47, 74 & fn–75, 84, 132, 156–157, 176, 188–189, 191–192, 263, 369–370, 389, 419, 637 & fn, 644, 665, 678, 680, 697, 699–700, 759
Russian Revolution, 621
Russo-German Pact, 47, 176
Russo-German War, 649–650, 697
Rustam, 383

Sabine, George, 529 fn
Sadiya, 346–347, 794
Safdarganj, 184
Saha, Megh Nad, 394–395, 561
Sahai, Baldev, 555
Saharanpur, 321–322, 559–560, 720, 747
Saharanpur Bomb Factory Case, 559
Saint Fidelis School, 531 fn
Salamatullah, 576
Saleha, 660, 747
Sampurnanand, 239 & fn
Sanatan Adibasi Sabha, 207
Sandhurst, 436
San Min Chu I (Sun Yat-sen), 775
Santa Cruz (Bombay), 460
Santiniketan, 431, 445, 671, 673, 792
Sapru, Sir Tej Bahadur, 400, 802
Sarabhai, Ambalal, 328–329
————, Bharati, 424, 673–674, 677
————, Mridula, 286, 425, 438, 558, 607, 611, 618, 638, 641, 648, 650–651, 666, 673–677, 746
Saran, Raghunandan, 354, 359, 523, 565, 660, 664–666, 673–674, 676–677, 702, 723, 750
————, Raksha, 660, 664
Sarsa, 426–427, 434
Satyamurti, S., 33 fn, 51 & fn
Satyapal, 665
Saunders, 560
Saxena, Mohanlal, 495, 715, 734, 750, 768
————, Shibban Lal, 150, 154, 332, 335
Scandinavia, 13
Schedai, Iqbal, 250–251
School of Tropical Medicine (Calcutta) 394, 395 fn
Schuster, Sir George, 747, 748 fn, 750
Scindia Steam Navigation Company, 253
Scotland Yard, 760
Sea Customs Act (1878), 263, 370

Secker & Warburg (publishers), 530
Segaon, 467
Sen, 546
————, Gertrude, 651
Sen Gupta, J.M., 765
Seth, Padmavati, 520 & fn, 565
Sevagram (Shegaon), 467, 494, 536, 664, 692, 753
Seven Pillars of Wisdom (T.E. Lawrence), 576, 583
Sewal, R.N., 496
Shah, K.T., 286, 302, 309, 314, 500, 511, 520, 532, 571, 574, 697, 701–702
Shahjahanpur, 502
Shahnama (Firdausi), 383
Shah Nawaz, Begum, 97 fn
————, Mumtaz, 97 & fn
Shakuntalam (Kalidasa), 640
Shalimar Gardens, 470
Shamsuddin, 257–258
Shanghai, 441
Sharma, Balkrishna, 309 fn, 664–665
————, Brahma Prakash, 440 & fn
————, Shanti Prapanna, 642 & *fn*, 685, 721, 746
Shastri, Lal Bahadur, 234, 494
Shegaon—*see* Sevagram
Sheikh, Col., (I.G.), 534, 576, 692
Shelvankar, K.S., 529
Sher-e-Kashmir—*see* Abdullah, Sheikh Muhammed
Sherwani, Tasadduk Ahmad, 765, 768
Shia-Sunni conflict, 571–573
Shillong, 606, 610
Shishnag, 412
Shiva Murti, 572
Shopyan, 268 fn
Shriram, Lala, 329 & *fn*
Shukla, Ravi Shankar, 273 & *fn*
Shwe Dagon Pagoda, 789
Sialkot, 416
Siam—*see* Thailand
Siamese White (Maurice Collis), 726 fn
Simla, 85, 90, 116, 146, 151, 177, 277, 436, 603, 625, 631, 664–665, 680, 701, 709, 714, 747, 769
Simon, Sir John, 28, 85, 144
Simri, 276
Sind, 400, 436, 693, 708
Sind Valley (Kashmir), 412–413
Singapore, 426, 433, 435, 679, 777, 794–795
Singh, Bhagat, 560
————, Brajesh, 572
————, Chandra, 557–558, 561
————, Thakur Hukum, 572
————, Jai Bahadur, 561
————, Jaipal, 206
————, Mahabir, 560
————, Mangal, 186
————, Ram, 560, 570
————, Maharaja Ranjit, 400
————, Sardar Saman, 512
————, Sardar Sampooran, 35 & *fn*
————, Thakur Surendra Bahadur, 276
————, Master Tara, 245 fn
————, Tribhuvan Narayan, 568 & *fn*
Sinha, 355
————, Bejoy Kumar, 560
Sinn Fein, 634
Sino-Japanese conflict, 241, 794
Sita Ram, 696
Skelton, John, 514
Sloan, T., 536, 690 & fn–691
Smith, Vincent A., 639–640
Snell, Lord, 31 fn
Socialists (British), 761
Socialist Party (of United States), 387 fn
Sohrab, 383
Solan, 588–589, 596
Sonamarg, 412–413, 473
Sopore, 268 fn
Soraon (Allahabad district), 494
Soul of a People (Fielding Hall), 788
South Africa, 90, 188 fn, 416–417, 574, 791
Southern Rhodesia, 188 fn
Soviet Russia (Jawaharlal Nehru), 585
Spain, 24–25, 73, 85, 132, 163, 165–166, 241, 358, 391, 422 & fn, 488, 585, 755, 779
Spalding, Henry Norman, 41 & *fn*, 42 fn, 392
Spanish Civil War, 165, 369, 422, 442, 585
Spear, Sir Percival, 419
Sri Lanka, 113, 174, 188 fn–189, 192, 207–212, 225–226, 228, 231 & fn,

240–242, 253, 347–348, 402, 439, 606, 788–789, 791, 794
Srinagar, 36, 50, 229, 306, 330, 402, 405, 409, 411, 415, 473–474
Srinivasan, Kasturi, 562 & fn
Sri Prakasa, 353, 750, 768
Srivastava, Dr., 685, 744
————, Ram Sarup, 575
Stalin, Joseph, 84, 633
Stand of the Old Brigade (Sagittarius), 83
State (Harold Laski), 546
Statesman, 237, 391, 653 fn
States People, 280
Stehalin, Miss, 543
Stimson, Kay, 421 & fn, 449 & fn, 494–495, 610
————, Robert, 421 fn, 494
Streit, Clarence, 78
Subbarayan, P., 697
Sudan, 679
Sudeten Crisis, 585, 699–700
Sudetenland, 698–699
Suhrawardy, H.S., 480
Sukhdeo, 560
Sultanpur, 182, 187, 247
Suman, Shridev, 274 & fn
Sumatra, 795
Sun Yat-sen, 732 fn, 775
————, Madame, 343, 527, 545, 672, 711, 713, 723
Swaraj Party, 781
Switzerland, 30, 44, 163, 250–251, 380, 390, 396, 430, 433, 440–441, 445, 451, 454, 458, 460, 462, 474, 480–481, 492, 497–498, 505, 507–508, 510, 601, 605, 618, 665 fn, 765, 788
Syria, 3, 113, 622, 626, 680

Tagore, Rabindranath, 431, 456, 527, 615, 620 & fn, 656, 670, 671 fn–673, 680, 682 & fn, 688–689, 762
————, Rathindranath, 672 & *fn*
Tagore Birthday Number, 656, 688
Tagore Birthday Special Supplement, 681
Tagore Memorial Number, 681
Tai Chi-tao, 348–349, 515–516, 518, 520, 530
Tai Hsu, Rev., 340
Takht-e-Sulaiman, 402
Tandon, Purushottam Das, 768, 800–802
Tankha, Sham Sunder Narain, 558 & *fn*
Tankhas, 581, 724
Tara Chand, 720
Tata, J.R.D., 393 & *fn*
————, R.D., 393 fn
————, Thelma, 393
Tata Charities, 394–395
Tata Industries Pvt. Ltd., 393 fn, 701
Tata Iron and Steel Co. Ltd., 393 fn, 750
Taxila, 472
Textile Journal, 315 *fn*
Thailand, 189, 192, 546, 692–693, 792, 795
Thakin group (Burma)—*see* Dobama Asiayone
Thakurdas, Purshotamdas, 339
Theatre of the Hindus (Wilson), 529
Thermidor, 71
Tholal, M.N., 353 & fn, 357, 702
Thompson, Edward, 41, 378, 382, 392, 506, 525, 527, 530, 540, 640, 747, 750
Tibet, 341, 468, 661
Time, 590
Time & Tide, 523, 726 & fn
Times (London), 744 & fn
Times Book Club, 686
Times of India, 421 fn
Tiwari, Kamal Nath, 560
Tobruk, 679
To Every Briton (M.K. Gandhi), 87 fn
Toller, Ernst, 759
Toward Freedom (Jawaharlal Nehru), 585, 607, 615, 653, 711—See also *Autobiography*
Trade Union Congress, 429
Transjordan, 3
Transjordan Frontier Force, 3
Transvaal, 90 fn
Treaty Ports, 733 fn
Trials in Burma (Maurice Collis), 726 fn
Trichinopoly Jail, 559
Tripuri, 204
————, Congress session at, 172, 204

Turkey, 113
Tyagi, Mahavir, 506–507
U-boat campaign, 543
Udaipur, 738
Uday Shankar, 652
Ugra Sen, 581 & fn, 724, 738
Ulster, 574
Union Now (Clarence Streit), 78
United Nations, 433 fn
United National Party (Sri Lanka), 210 fn
United News of India, 365 fn
United Press, 130
United Provinces, 122–123, 159–160, 168 & fn, 224, 229, 235, 239 fn, 309 & fn, 323–325, 326 fn–327, 329 & fn, 333–334, 379–380, 388, 421, 432, 477, 550, 562, 568, 619, 675–676, 683, 738, 767, 783–784, 797–798, 800—*See also* Uttar Pradesh.
U.P. Jails, 559–560
U.P. Olympic Games, 720
U.P. Political Conference (Ayodhya), 557
U.P. Provincial Congress Committee, 5, 29, 33–34, 36–41, 48, 80–81, 99, 122 & fn, 160, 223, 234 fn, 235–240, 247, 249 & fn–250, 259 & fn, 275, 322, 366–367, 429, 438, 573, 767–768, 781, 802
U.P. Tenancy Act, 154, 159–160, 332
U.P. Tenancy Bill, 332
United States of America, 12, 15, 23–24, 43, 47, 54, 74–75, 86, 104, 124, 130, 135, 137, 141–142, 147, 156, 159, 162–163, 188–192, 212–214, 216, 226, 277–278, 312, 328, 334, 346, 389, 394, 405, 426–427, 432–433, 435, 441, 481, 527 533, 578, 653, 669, 681, 693, 696 fn–697, 711, 729, 731, 742, 771
U.S. House of Representatives, 104
U.S. Senate, 104
U.S. Supreme Court, 236
Unity of India (Jawaharlal Nehru), 14, 527, 585, 615, 623, 653, 669, 695, 700, 723, 725, 743
Universities Enquiry Committee, 239 fn
Unnao (Uttar Pradesh), 502 fn
Upadhyaya, S.D., 453, 460, 494, 500, 507, 510, 529–530, 534, 546, 565, 581, 590, 602, 608, 618, 666, 673–674, 695, 713–715
Uttar Pradesh, 189 fn, 568 fn, 642 fn, *See also* United Provinces

Vakils, 461, 475
Valley of Flowers (Garhwal), 661
Varma, 494
————, Hulas, 569
Vatican, 665 fn
Vellore Jail, 559
Venice, 454
Verdun, 72 fn
Verinag, 411
Verma, Shiv, 557, 559–560
Viceroy's Executive Council, 504 fn, 551 fn, 709 fn, 744, 748 fn
Vichy, 628, 635
Victoria Cross, 678–679
Victoria Station (London), 760
Vidyarthi, Ganesh Shankar, 768
Vienna, 758
Vijayatunga, J., 385 & fn
Vinayanand (S.P., Gorakhpur), 495
Visva-Bharati News, 656
Visvabharati Quarterly, 688
Visvabharati University, 431, 671, 673
Vithalbhai Patel Memorial Trust, 248 & fn
Vizianagram, Maharajkumar of, (Sir Vijaya Ananda Gajapatatiraj), 566 & *fn*–567
Voltaire (Brailsford), 546
Vyas, Jai Narayan, 591

Wafd Party, 171, 585
Wales, Nym, 713
Walsh, Richard J., 22, 388, 417, 419, 428, 534, 553, 609, 651–653, 669, 686, 711 & fn
Wang Ching-wei, 732 & *fn*
War Advisory Council, 106 fn–107, 504 fn
War, Peace and Finland (R.L. Buell), 114 fn
Wardha, 51, 70, 96, 131, 153, 182, 217–218, 226, 246–247, 251, 253, 275,

424, 438, 455, 459, 464, 474, 477–478, 494, 562 fn, 576, 614, 647–648, 709, 739, 753, 755
Washington, 653
Watson, Sir Alfred, 696 fn
Wazirabad, 416
Waziristan, 219, 228 fn
Wedgwood, Josiah C., 576–577, 740, 744
————, Mrs. 580
Weekly Hind, 366
Wells, H.G., 471, 615
West Bengal, 546 fn, 568 fn
Western Allies, 24 fn–25, 52 fn, 87 fn, 415 fn, 633
What the Human Race is Upto (Naomi Mitchison), 576 fn
What India Stands For? (Jawaharlal Nehru), 707
Where do we go from here? (Harold Laski), 530
White, Graham, 31 fn
White Guards, 2
Whitehall, 85, 90, 116, 625, 627, 769
White House, 426
White Russians, 3
Whittle, (Dist. Magis.), 494
Wilkinson, Ellen, 22 & fn–23, 31 fn
Williams, Rushbrook, 652
Willingdon, Lord, 761–762
Wilson, 529
Wind, Sand and Stars (Antoine de Saint Exupery), 736
Wint, Guy, 748 fn
Wisdom of China and India (Lin Yutang), 711 fn
Wisdom and Waste in the Punjab Village (Sir Malcolm Darling), 23 fn
Wiser, Arthur D., 190 & fn
Woodstock, 500
Worseldine, Major, 503
Wylie, Sir Curzon, 616 fn

Yamher, 413
Yar Khan, Bahadur, 275 & fn
Yash Dev, Dharam, 54 & *fn*, 209, 211, 241, 356
Yatindra Kumar, 720
Yazdani, Ghulam, 668 & *fn*
Yeravda Jail, 675
Yin Pao-yu, 345 & *fn*
Yunus, Mohammad, 121, 122 fn, 229, 472, 745
Yuvak Sabha, 409

Zaheer, Sajjad (Banne), 572 & fn
Zetland, 2nd Marquis, 16 fn, 21 & fn, 29 fn, 206 fn
Zutshi, Janak, 525–526
————, Laddo Rani, 476
————, Ladli Prasad, 587–588, 647, 674, 745